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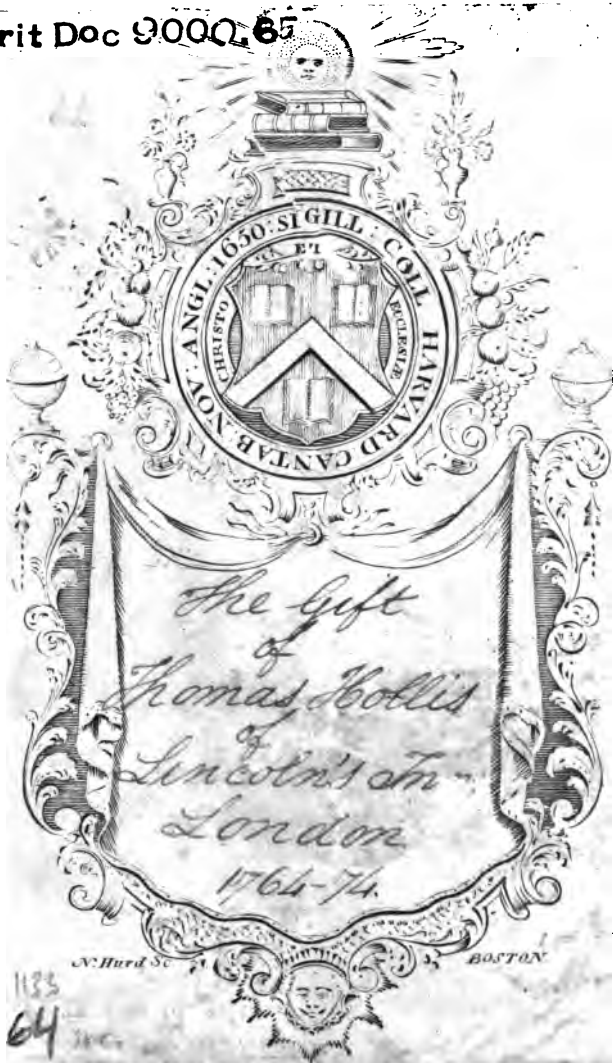
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T O

His Royal HIGHNESS,
FREDERICK,

Prince of *W A L E S,*

THE following Work,
consisting of *Speeches*
and *Debates* in the *House*
of *Commons*, from the Time
* of

of the happy Accession of
his Illustrious Grandfather
to the Throne of *Great*
Britain, is most humbly
dedicated,

By,

His Royal Highness's

Most obedient

Humble Servant,

The COMPILER.



THE PREFACE.



THE Usefulness of a Work of this Nature in general is too obvious to need any Apology ; but some Account of this in particular may be expected : It consists not only of all such *Speeches* in the *House of Commons*, as have already appear'd in Print in scatter'd Volumes ; but also of a great Number of Others, now first communicated to the Publick by
several

The P R E F A C E.

several curious Gentlemen, to whom the Editor takes this Opportunity of returning his Acknowledgments.

Those who know the Orders of the House, and the Nature and Manner of their Proceedings, know likewise that it is impossible for a Work of this Nature to be *absolutely Compleat*: This therefore will be a sufficient Apology for the Shortness of the Accounts herein given of some Sessions. All the Compiler had to do, was to range his Materials in a proper and regular Method, without adding or suppressing one Particular in Favour of any Party: This, he hopes, he has done in such a Manner as at least to escape the Censure of the Publick; nay, he even flatters himself, that he has some Title to their Thanks.

London, Dec. 31,
1740.

Advertisement.

THE *Deaths of the Earls of Carlisle and Scarborough, of the Lords Willoughby de Broke and Onslow, since this Work was put to the Press, has occasion'd an Alteration in the Notes at the Bottom of the following Pages, viz. 4, 5, 322. These the judicious Reader will easily correct.*

ERRATUM.

Page 246, *for* Lord Viscount Middleton, *read* Lord Viscount Broderick.



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S P E E C H E S

A N D

D E B A T E S

I N T H E

House of Commons,

D U R I N G

The Last Session of the Fourth Parliament
of *Great Britain.*



ER Majesty Queen ANNE dying on Sunday the first of *August* 1714, and the Crown of these Realms immediately devolving to his royal highness the Elector of Hanover, pursuant to the act of Settlement pass'd in 1701, the Parliament, according to a resolution taken in Council, met that very day; but Sir Thomas Hanmer, bart. Speaker of the House of Commons, knight of the shire for Suffolk, being in the country, Mr William Bromley, member for the university of Oxford, and Secretary of State, mov'd to adjourn to the Wednesday following; which being seconded, Sir Richard

The Parliament meet Aug. 1. 1714. being the Accession of King George I.

Mr W. Bromley's Motion to adjourn.

Sir R. Onslow.

Vol. I.

A

Onslow,

Anno 1. Geo. 1.
1714.

Onslow, bart. member of parliament for the county of Surry, oppos'd the same, as being too long an adjournment at so critical a juncture, and therefore mov'd for adjourning to the next Day only ; which last motion was agreed to. This and the three following Days being spent in taking the oaths, &c. On the 5th the * lord Harcourt, lord high Chancellor, and the rest of the Lords Justices, came to the House of Lords, and the House of Commons being sent for, and attending, the lord Chancellor made the following speech to both Houses of Parliament.

Lords Justices
Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I T having pleas'd almighty God to take to himself our late most gracious Queen, of blessed memory, we hope that nothing has been omitted, which might contribute to the safety of these realms, and the preservation of our religion, laws, and liberties, in this great conjuncture. As these invaluable blessings have been secured to us by those acts of Parliament, which have settled the succession of these kingdoms in the most illustrious house of Hanover, we have regulated our proceedings by those rules which are therein prescrib'd.

" The Privy Council, soon after the demise of the late Queen, assembled at St. James's, where, according to the said acts, the three instruments were produc'd and open'd, which had been deposited in the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the lord Chancellor, and the Resident of Brunswick. Those, who either by their offices, or by virtue of these instruments, had the honour of being appointed Lords Justices, did, in conjunction with the Council, immediately proceed to the proclaiming of our lawful and rightful sovereign King GEORGE, taking, at the same time, the necessary care to maintain the publick peace.

" In pursuance of the acts before-mention'd, this Parliament is now assembled ; and we are persuaded, you all bring with you so hearty a disposition for his Majesty's service, and the publick good, that we cannot doubt of your assistance in every thing which may promote those great ends.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" We find it necessary to put you in mind, that several branches of the publick revenue are expir'd by the demise of her late Majesty ; and to recommend to you, the making such provisions, in that respect, as may be requisite to support the honour and dignity of the Crown : And we assure

* He was removed, and succeeded by Lord Cowper, 29th September, 1714, but created a Viscount, and a Privy Counsellor, 24th Aug. 1721.

"sure ourselves, you will not be wanting in any thing that
 "may conduce to the establishing and advancing of the
 "publick credit.

Anno 1. Geo. I.
 1714.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"We forbear laying before you any thing that does not
 "require your immediate consideration, not having receiv'd
 "his Majesty's pleasure ; we shall only exhort you, with the
 "greatest earnestness, to a perfect unanimity, and a firm Ad-
 "herence to our Sovereign's interest, as being the only
 "means to continue among us our present happy tranqui-
 "lity.

Hereupon it was resolv'd, *nem. con.* that an humble Ad-
 dress be presented to his Majesty, which a Committee was ap-
 pointed to draw up ; and it was unanimously resolv'd also to
 take into consideration the next day, the Lords Justices speech
 to both Houses.

An Address to the
 King resolv'd on.

On the 6th, Mr. William Bromley accordingly reported
 the said address ; which being read, was unanimously agreed
 to, and was as follows :

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the
 Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled,
 having a just sense of the great loss the Nation has sustain'd
 by the death of our late Sovereign lady Queen Anne, of
 blessed memory, humbly crave leave to condole with your
 Majesty on this sad occasion.

The Commons
 Address.

'It would but aggravate our sorrow, particularly to enu-
 'merate the virtues of that pious and most excellent Princess:
 'The duty we owe to your Majesty, and to our Country,
 'oblige us to moderate our grief, and heartily to congratu-
 'late your Majesty's accession to the throne, whose princely
 'virtues give us a certain prospect of future happiness, in the
 'security of our religion, laws, and liberties, and engage
 'us to assure your Majesty, that we will, to our utmost,
 'support your undoubted right to the imperial Crown of
 'this realm, against the Pretender, and all other persons
 'whatsoever.

'Your faithful Commons cannot but express their impati-
 'ent desire for your Majesty's safe arrival and presence in
 'Great Britain.

'In the mean time, we humbly lay before your Majesty
 'the unanimous resolution of this House, to maintain the
 'publick credit of the nation, and effectually to make good
 'all Funds which have been granted by Parliament, for the
 'security of any money which has been, or shall be advan-
 'ced for the publick service, and to endeavour, by every
 'thing

Anno 1. Geo. I.
1714.

‘ thing in our power, to make your Majesty’s reign happy
‘ and glorious.

Mr W. Bromley.

Mr Bromley, in his motion for the foregoing address dwelt much on the great loss the nation had sustain’d by the

Mr R. Walpole.

Queen’s death; and was back’d by * Mr Robert Walpole member for Lynn, who mov’d, that they should give the King assurances of their making good all Parliamentary

Mr T. Onslow.

Funds. † Mr Thomas Onslow, member for Guilford, said thereupon, ‘ that the principal stress of the Address ought
‘ not to lie upon condoling, but upon congratulating, and
‘ giving the King assurances of their readiness to maintain
‘ both his Majesty’s undoubted title to the Crown, and publick Credit.’

Motion for a
Supply.

The same day a motion being made, that a Supply be granted to the King, for the better support of his Majesty’s household, &c. the consideration thereof was referred to the Committee of the whole House the next day, when the same was agreed to *nem. con.* and fram’d into a resolution. And on the 7th a Bill being order’d to be brought in accordingly, Mr. Wykes, member for Northampton, proposed tacking to it a Bill for limiting the number of Officers in the House of Commons, but nobody seconding that motion, it dropp’d.

Mr Wykes.

Some members having mov’d for Sir William Wyndham, bart. member for Somersetshire, and Chancellor of the Exchequer, to be Chairman of the grand Committee of Subsidy, Mr Robert Walpole reply’d, that Mr. Conyers, member for East Grinstead, had for so many years so well discharg’d that office, that it would be ungrateful, unmannerly and imprudent to chuse another; on which Mr Conyers carried it.

Mr R. Walpole.

Then it was propos’d to give the King one million sterling; but this motion, tho’ not directly oppos’d, afterwards dropt.

Mr Conyers.

Aug. 12. Mr. Conyers presented to the house a Bill for the better support of his Majesty’s household, &c. and on the second reading thereof the next day, ** Mr Horatio Walpole, member for Castle-Rising, mov’d, that the Committee of the whole House, to whom the said Bill was committed, might have power to receive one clause, to enable the Lord Treasurer, or Commissioners of the Treasury for the time being, to issue the sum of 65022 l. 8 s. 8 d. being the arrear due to the troops of Hanover, for their service in the Low Countries in the year 1712, out of the
300,000 l.

Mr H. Walpole’s
Motion for paying
the Hanoverian
Troops, and offering
a Reward to
apprehend the
Pretender.

* Since created a Knight of the Bath, afterwards of the Garter, made Chancellor, and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, &c.

† Now Lord Onslow.

** Since made Auditor of the Plantation Accounts, Joint Secretary to the Treasury, &c. now Cofferer to the Household, and Ambassador to the States General, &c.

300,000 l. granted in the last session of Parliament to her late Majesty, towards satisfying the debt due on account to the Land-Forces. And another clause to enable and require the lord high Treasurer, &c. to issue out of any money granted by parliament 100,000 l. for apprehending the Pretender, if ever he should land, or attempt to land in any of his Majesty's dominions.

Anno 1. Geo. 1.
1714.

Sir William Wyndham seconded Mr Walpole in the first clause ; and Mr Shippen, member for Saltaſh, very ingenuouſly own'd he had oppos'd that payment in the late reign, but that he was for it now. Mr Aldworth, member for Windſor, back'd likewise the motion ; but as if he design'd to expoſe the member, who, at this juncture, appear'd ſo forward to pay thoſe very troops, which, a few months before, he had treated as Runaways, he ſaid, " That for his part, he had formerly been againſt that payment, becauſe he had been given to underſtand, in that very houſe, that thoſe troops were Deſerters ; but that he had ſince been informed, that they were hir'd to fight, and had ſerv'd well as long as there was fighting ; and if when they came in fight of the enemy, they who had hir'd them, would not ſuffer them to fight, he did not ſee the reaſon why they ſhould be call'd Deſerters." As to the clause, for a reward of 100,000 l. for apprehending the Pretender, Mr Campion, knight of the ſhire for Suffex, ſaid, " That he was not in the Houſe when that clause was mov'd ; but if he had been preſent, he would have oppos'd it, becauſe, in his opinion, the Proteſtant Succeſſion was no longer in danger, ſince his Majesty's peaceable acceſſion to the throne ; and he deſy'd all the houſe to prove the contrary." He was ſeconded by Mr Shippen : but Mr * W. Pulteney, member for Heydon, and, after him the † lord Lumley, member for Arundel, argu'd, " That the Proteſtant Succeſſion was in danger, as long as there was a Popiſh Pretender, who had many friends both at home and abroad : That the late Queen was ſenſible of that danger, when ſhe iſſu'd out her proclamation againſt him ; and that the caſe was not alter'd by her Majesty's demife : That the nation would be at no charge, if the Pretender did not attempt to land ; and if he did, 100,000 l. would be well beſtow'd to apprehend him." To which no reply was made.

Sir W. Wyndham.

Mr Shippen.

Mr Aldworth.

Mr Campion.

Mr Shippen.

Mr W. Pulteney.

Lord Lumley.

The Commons having paſs'd the Subſidy Bill, and two others, and the ſame being alſo return'd to them paſs'd by the Lords ; on the 21ſt of *Auguſt* the Lords Juſtices went to the

* Made Privy Counſellor and Secretary at War, Sept. 27. 1714. and Coffer of the Houſhold, May 23, 1723.

† Now Earl of Scarbrough.

Anno 1. Geo. 1.
1714.

the House of Lords, and the Commons attending, the Speaker, on presenting the Bill, *For the better Support of his Majesty's Household, &c.* together with another Money-bill, made the following Speech.

My Lords,

The Speaker's
Speech to the
Lords Justices, on
presenting the
Subsidy-Bill, &c.

THE Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, under the present happiness they enjoy, by his Majesty's peaceable and quiet accession to the throne, could not enter upon any Work more satisfactory and pleasing to themselves, than the providing a sufficient revenue for the occasions of his Majesty's civil government, in order to make his reign as easy and prosperous, as the beginning of it hath been secure and undisturb'd.

They are sensible, that the peace of the Kingdom is not to be preserv'd, nor the rights and liberties of the Subject to be protected, without supporting the just authority and dignity of the Crown ; and therefore they have thought it their interest, as well as duty, to make such a provision, as may not barely suffice to the necessity of the Government, but may be suitable to the state, the honour, the lustre, which the Crown of Great Britain ought to be attended with.

Whatsoever is superfluous in that provision, and more than the ordinary services of his Majesty shall require, will but enable him to exert his highest and most valuable prerogative of doing good : And we can give no greater proof of the trust we repose in his Majesty's gracious disposition, than putting the same entire revenue into his hands, which his late Majesty died possess'd of ; whose virtues we all admir'd, and of whose affections and concern for the religion, laws, and liberties of this kingdom, we had had so long experience.

As the Crown itself descends immediately, and knows no vacancy, the Commons have taken care that the revenue should follow it as close as possible ; for they have given all the dispatch to this grant, which the forms of their proceedings would allow ; so that when his Majesty shall please to answer the impatient desires of his people, by coming to take possession of his kingdoms, he will find himself equally establish'd in these revenues, as if he had succeeded to all by an uninterrupted right of inheritance ; the only difference is this, that if he had inherited them, he would have wanted one single proof of the duty, and affection, and unanimity of his subjects.

Our desire is, that this may be look'd upon as an earnest and a pledge of that zeal and fidelity which we shall always retain,

retain, and which, upon every occasion, we shall be ready to demonstrate to his Majesty's person and government : As each, we hope, his Majesty will graciously accept it at this time ; and hereafter, when he shall have had experience of this first voluntary offering of his loyal Commons, we hope he will find it to his satisfaction, as large and as ample as he could wish ; might but the term of the grant be as long as we could wish, since it is to have equal continuance with his Majesty's life.

My Lords,

The Bill which the Commons have pass'd for the purposes I have mention'd, is entitled, *An Act for the better Support of his Majesty's Household, &c.*

They have also prepar'd another Bill, entitled, *An Act for rectifying Mistakes in the Names of the Commissioners for the Land-Tax, and for raising so much as is wanting, to make up the Sum of Fourteen Hundred Thousand Pounds, intended to be rais'd by a Lottery for the Publick Service in the Year 1714.* This having been recommended to their care, and appearing to them to be necessary for his Majesty's and the publick service, they have reason to think, they have abundantly supply'd the defects in the former provision ; and in this assurance, they humbly present this bill also for the royal assent.

Then the Lords Justices gave the royal assent to the two bills mentioned in the foregoing Speech ; and to *An Act to enable Persons residing in Great Britain, to take the Oaths, and do all other Acts in Great Britain, requisite to qualify themselves to continue their respective Places, Offices, and Employments in Ireland.*

The Royal Assent given thereto.

After which the Lord Chancellor made the following Speech to both Houses.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

WE cannot but express our greatest satisfaction, and, in his Majesty's name, return you thanks, for the convincing proofs which you have given, in this session, of your duty and affection to his Majesty, and of your zeal for his government.

Lord Chancellor's Speech to both Houses.

We must particularly thank you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, for the aids which you have granted to his Majesty, for the better support of the honour of the Crown, and for preventing any disappointment in the Supplies given in the last session for the service of this year. You may be assur'd, that the unanimity, the cheerfulness, and the dispatch, with which you have proceeded in granting these

aids,

Anno 1. Geo. I.
1714.

“ aids, will render them yet more acceptable to his Majesty ;
“ And you may depend upon our making a faithful representation thereof to him.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ All necessary business being now happily concluded, it
“ will be proper for us to put a speedy end to this Session.
“ We think fit, at present, in his Majesty's name, to desire
“ you forthwith respectively to adjourn your selves until
“ Wednesday next.

After which adjournment, viz. 25th of *August*, the Commons being met again, Mr Bromley acquainted the House, that the Lords Justices had receiv'd his Majesty's answer to the Address of this House at the beginning of this Session ; which he presented to the House, and is as follows :

GEORGE R.

The King's Answer to the Commons Address.

“ **Y**OUR dutiful and loyal Address is very acceptable to
“ me. The unanimity and affection my Commons
“ have shewn upon my accession to the Crown, are most agree-
“ able instances and pledges of their fidelity to me. I have
“ a just sense of your inexpressible loss, by the death of your
“ late Sovereign. You may be assur'd of my constant endeavours to secure to you the full enjoyment of your religion,
“ laws, and liberties ; and that it will always be my aim, to
“ make you an happy and flourishing people ; to which your
“ resolution to maintain the publick credit of the Nation,
“ will greatly contribute. I am hastening to you according
“ to your earnest desire, and the just expectations of my
“ people.

After this, the Lords Justices went to the House of Peers, and the Commons attending, the Lord Chancellor, made the following speech :

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Lord Chancellor's Speech on proroguing the Parliament.

“ **H**AVING, since your late adjournment, receiv'd his
“ Majesty's most gracious answer, under his sign manual, to your several addresses ; and by his Majesty's
“ command, order'd them to be deliver'd to you respectively ; we do now in his Majesty's name, prorogue this present Parliament 'till Thursday the 23d day of September next ; and this present Parliament is accordingly prorogu'd
“ to Thursday the 23d day of September next.

The End of the last Session of the fourth Parliament of Great Britain.



D E-

S P E E C H E S

A N D

D E B A T E S

I N T H E

First Session of the FIRST PARLIAMENT

O F

King GEORGE I.

Being the Fifth Parliament of *Great Britain*.

ON the 17th of March, 1714-15, the Parliament Anno 1. Geo. 1.
met at Westminster according to the writs of sum- 1714-15.
mons. And the King being come to the House of
Lords, and seated on the throne with the usual
solemnity, the gentleman Usher of the black rod was sent
with a message to the House of Commons, commanding their
attendance in the House of Peers; the Commons being come
thither, his Majesty's pleasure was signify'd to them by the
Lord Chancellor, that they should return to their House
and chuse their Speaker, and present him to his Majesty on
the 21st.

The Parliament
meet.

The Commons being return'd to their House, the Earl
of Hertford, son to the Duke of Somerset, propos'd the
honourable * Mr Spencer Compton, knight of the shire for
Sussex, for Speaker, and being seconded by † Lord Finch,
he was elected *Nem. Con.* Mr Compton elec-
ted Speaker.

On the 21st the King came to the House of Lords with
the usual solemnity; and the House of Commons attending;
presented the hon. Spencer Compton, Esq; for their Speaker;
whom his Majesty approv'd; after which the Lord Chan-
cellor

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* Made Paymaster General of the Forces in March 1721-2, since created
Earl of Wilmington, now Lord President of the Council.

† Made Comptroller of the Household May 1725, and since resign'd; now
Earl of Winchelsea, &c.

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cellor read the following Speech, deliver'd into his hands by the King.

King's Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ **T**HIS being the first opportunity that I have had of
“ meeting my People in Parliament, since it pleas'd
“ Almighty God, of his good providence, to call me to the
“ Throne of my ancestors, I most gladly make use of it to
“ thank my faithful and loving Subjects, for that zeal and
“ firmness that hath been shewn in defence of the Protestant
“ Succession, against all the open and secret practices that
“ have been used to defeat it : And I shall never forget the
“ obligations I have to those who have distinguish'd them-
“ selves upon this occasion.

“ It were to be wish'd, that the unparallel'd successes of
“ a war, which was so wisely and chearfully supported by
“ this Nation, in order to procure a good Peace, had been
“ attended with a suitable conclusion : But it is with concern
“ I must tell you, that some conditions even of this Peace,
“ essential to the security and trade of Great Britain, are not
“ yet duly executed ; and the performance of the whole may
“ be look'd upon as precarious, until we shall have form'd
“ defensive alliances to guaranty the present treaties.

“ The Pretender, who still resides in Lorrain, threatens to
“ disturb us, and boasts of the assistance which he still expects
“ here to repair his former disappointments.

“ A great part of our trade is render'd impracticable ; this,
“ if not retriev'd, must destroy our manufactures, and ruin
“ our navigation.

“ The publick debts are very great, and surprizingly in-
“ creas'd, even since the fatal cessation of arms. My first
“ care was to prevent a farther increase of these debts, by
“ paying off forthwith a great number of ships which had
“ been kept in pay, when there was no occasion for continu-
“ ing such an expence.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I rely upon you for such supplies as the present circum-
“ stances of our affairs require for this year's service, and for
“ the support of the publick faith. The estimates shall be
“ laid before you, that you may consider of them ; and
“ what you shall judge necessary for your safety, I shall think
“ sufficient for mine.

“ I doubt not but you will concur with me in opinion, that
“ nothing can contribute more to the support of the credit of
“ the nation, than a strict observance of all Parliamentary
“ Engagements.

“ The branches of the revenue, formerly granted for the
“ support of the civil Government, are so far incumber'd and
“ alie-

"alienated, that the produce of the Funds which remain,
 "and have been granted to me, will fall much short of what
 "was at first design'd, for maintaining the honour and dig-
 "nity of the Crown : And since it is my happiness (as I am
 "confident you think it yours) to see a Prince of Wales,
 "who may, in due time, succeed me on the Throne, and to
 "see him blessed with many children, the best and most va-
 "luable pledges of our care and concern for your prosperity ;
 "this must occasion an expence to which the nation has not
 "of many years been accusom'd ; but such as surely no
 "man will grudge ; and therefore I do not doubt but you
 "will think of it with that affection which I have reason to
 "hope from you.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

"The eyes of all Europe are upon you, waiting the issue
 "of this first Session. Let no unhappy divisions of Parties
 "here at home, divert you from pursuing the common in-
 "terest of your Country : Let no wicked insinuations dis-
 "quiet the minds of my Subjects. The establish'd constitution
 "in Church and State shall be the rule of my Government ;
 "the happiness, ease, and prosperity of my people, shall be
 "the chief care of my life. Those who assist me in carrying
 "on these measures, I shall always esteem my best Friends ;
 "and I doubt not but that I shall be able, with your assist-
 "ance, to disappoint the designs of those who would deprive
 "me of that blessing, which I most value, the affections of
 "my People.

On the 23d, Mr Speaker having reported to the House the
 King's Speech, Mr Robert Walpole made a speech, in which
 he set forth the great happiness of these Nations by his Maje-
 sty's seasonable accession to the Crown ; ran through the Mis-
 managements of the four last preceding years ; and concluded
 with a motion for an Address of Thanks to the King, conform-
 able to the several heads of his Majesty's Speech. He was
 seconded by the lord Hinchinbroke, * member for Hunting-
 don ; and none but Sir William Whitlocke, member for the
 University of Oxford, having rais'd any Objection against
 Mr Walpole's motion, it was resolv'd,

Mr Walpole's
 Motion for an
 Address of
 Thanks,

That an Address be presented to his Majesty ; and a Com-
 mittee was appointed to draw it up, of which Mr Walpole
 was elected Chairman ; which was as follows :

Most gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the
 Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled,

The Address.

B 2

return

* Son to the Earl of Sandwich, and a Colonel of Foot.

Anno 1. Geo. I.
1714-15.

‘ return your Majesty their unfeigned thanks for your most gracious Speech from the Throne.

‘ ’Tis with inexpressible joy that we approach your Majesty, peaceably seated upon the Throne of your royal ancestors ; and being thoroughly sensible of the many open and secret practices that have of late years been used to defeat the Protestant Succession, we cannot sufficiently adore the Divine Providence, that so seasonably interposed, and saved this Nation by your Majesty’s happy accession to the Crown.

‘ Your faithful Commons receive with the highest gratitude, your most gracious assurances, that the established Constitution in Church and State, shall be the rule of your Government ; and the safety, ease, and prosperity of your People, the chief care of your life. We are sensible of your goodness expressed to those who have distinguish’d themselves by their zeal and firmness for the Protestant Succession : And as we doubt not, but the wisdom and steadiness of your Government will unite the hearts of all your faithful subjects in duty and affection to your sacred person, so we most humbly beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we not only highly resent the wicked insinuations used to disquiet the minds of your subjects, but are resolved, to the utmost of our power, to suppress and extinguish that evil disposition that is still at work to deprive your Majesty of the affections of your people.

‘ We are sensibly touch’d, not only with the disappointment, but with the reproach brought on the Nation by the unsuitable conclusion of a war, which was carry’d on at so vast an expence, and was attended with such unparalleled successes : But as that dishonour cannot in justice be imputed to the whole Nation, so we firmly hope and believe, that thro’ your Majesty’s great wisdom, and the faithful endeavours of your Commons, the reputation of these your Kingdoms will in due time be vindicated and restored.

‘ We are under astonishment to find, that any conditions of the late peace, essential to the security and trade of Great Britain, should not be duly executed ; and that care was not taken to form such alliances, as might have render’d that peace not precarious. And as no care shall be wanting in your loyal Commons to enquire into these fatal miscarriages, so we entirely rely on your Majesty’s wisdom, to enter into such alliances as you shall judge necessary to preserve the peace of Europe ; and we faithfully promise to enable your Majesty to make good all such engagements.

‘ It is with just resentment we observe, that the Pretender still resides in Lorrain, and that he has the presumption, by
‘ decla-

' declarations from thence, to stir up your Majesty's Subjects to rebellion : But that which raises the utmost indignation of your Commons is, that it appears therein, that his hopes were built upon the measures that had been taken for some time past in Great Britain. It shall be our business to trace out those measures whereon he placed his hopes, and to bring the authors of them to condign punishment.

' Your Commons are under the deepest concern, that a great part of our trade is render'd impracticable, which, if not retriev'd, must destroy our manufactures, and ruin our navigation : But tho' we are too sensible of those fatal consequences, we are not yet without hopes, that your Majesty's great wisdom, by the assistance of your Commons, may find means to extricate your People from their present difficulties.

' The blessings derived to these Nations from your Majesty's auspicious reign, are not confined to the present times ; we have a prospect of future and lasting happiness entail'd upon your People by a long succession of your royal progeny. And as this is a blessing which these Kingdoms have a long time wanted, so they could never hope to have seen it so well supply'd, as in the person of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and his issue. Your faithful Commons shall therefore think it their duty to enable your Majesty to support the dignity of the Crown, and to make an honourable provision for the Royal Family.

' The surprizing increase of the publick debts, even since all thoughts of carrying on the war were laid aside, shall not discourage us from granting such supplies as shall be necessary for the service of this year, and the support of publick faith : And we do entirely concur with your Majesty in opinion, that nothing can contribute more towards preserving the credit of the Nation, than a strict observance of all Parliamentary Engagements, which we are firmly resolved upon all occasions inviolably to maintain.

Upon the reading of this Address, there arose a warm Debate in the House : Mr Shippen, Mr Bromley, Sir William Wyndham, Lieutenant General Roßs member for the shire of Roßs, Mr Caesar member for Hertford, Mr Ward member for Thetford, Sir * Robert Raymond member for Ludlow, Sir William Whitlocke, Mr Hungerford member for Scarbrough, and some others, raised objections against divers expressions in the Address ; but were answer'd by Mr Robert Wal-

Debate thereon.

* Made Attorney-General, 5th May, 1720 ; Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Feb. 28, 1724. and afterwards created a Baron of Great Britain.

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General Rofs's
Speech.

Mr Robert Wal-
pole and Gen.
Stanhope.

Walpole, General † Stanhope member for Cockermouth, Sir Gilbert Heathcote member for Helston, and Mr William Pulteney. General Rofs, among the rest, insisted much, 'That the condemning the Peace, and censuring the late Ministry, was a reflection on the late Queen, whose act and deed the Peace was ; and that he was sure the reflecting on the late Queen, could not be agreeable to his present Majesty.' He was answer'd by Mr Robert Walpole, and General Stanhope, 'That nothing was farther from their intentions, than to asperse the late Queen ; that they rather designed to vindicate her memory, by exposing and punishing those evil Counsellors, who deluded her into pernicious measures ; whereas the opposite Party endeavoured to screen and justify those Counsellors, by throwing on that good, pious, and well-meaning Princess, all the blame and odium of their evil counsels.' As to censuring the late Ministers, without hearing them, and condemning the Peace, without examining into particulars, as unjust and unprecedented, it was answer'd, 'That they must distinguish between censuring Ministers, and condemning the Peace in general, and condemning particular persons. That they might, in equity and justice, do the first, because the whole Nation is already sensible, that their honour and true interest were given up by the late Peace ; that in due time they would call them to an account, who made and advised such a Peace ; but God forbid they should ever condemn any person unheard.' On this occasion General Stanhope took notice of a report industriously spread abroad, 'That the present Ministers never designed to call the late Managers to an account, but only to censure them in general terms : But he assur'd the House, that notwithstanding all the endeavours that had been used to prevent a discovery of the late mismanagements, by conveying away several papers from the Secretaries Offices, yet the Government had sufficient evidence left, to prove the late Ministry the most corrupt that ever sat at the Helm : That those matters would soon be laid before the House ; and that it would appear, that a certain English General had acted in concert with, if not received orders from, Marshal Villars.'

Sir William
Wyndham.

Sir Gilbert Heath-
cote.

Sir William Wyndham endeavoured to prove, that the Peace had been very beneficial to this Kingdom ; and offered to produce a list of goods, by which it appear'd, that the Customs had increased near 100,000 l. per annum. But he was immediately taken up by Sir Gilbert Heathcote, who readily own'd, Sir William might, indeed, produce a list of vast imports from France, but defy'd him to shew that our exports thither,

† Made Secretary of State, 23d January, 1716. Chancellor of the Exchequer, 13th April, 1717, and afterwards created an Earl.

thither, particularly of our woollen manufactures, had encreas'd since the Peace. He added, that imports being only our consumption, rather prove our loss than our gain; and that the Nation gets only by exports, which keep up our manufactures, employ our poor, and bring in returns in money; to which Sir William Wyndham made no reply. Sir William Whitlocke having suggested, that the new Ministry design'd to involve the Nation in a new war, and lay six shillings in the pound, was assur'd by Mr Robert Walpole, that none in the present Ministry were for a war, if the same could any ways be avoided, and that he doubted not, but Two Shillings in the Pound would be sufficient towards this year's service.

Anno 1. Geo. L.
1714-15.

Sir William
Whitlocke.

Mr Robert Wal-
pole.

After this Debate, a motion being made, and the question put, that the Address of Thanks be recommitted, it pass'd in the negative, by 244 voices against 138; and then it was resolv'd, That the House do agree with the Committee in the said Address; and order'd, that such Members as are of the Privy Council, should know his Majesty's pleasure, when he would be attended by the House. The King having appointed the next day, the Commons, with their Speaker, attended his Majesty accordingly at St James's, with their Address, to which his Majesty return'd the following Answer :

The Address re-
solv'd on.

Gentlemen,

" I Thank you for the many kind assurances you have given me in your dutiful and loyal Address.

The King's An-
swer thereto.

" No endeavours shall be wanting on my part, to promote your true interest, and endear myself to all my People :
" And I will depend on your zeal and affection, to defeat all evil designs, that may tend to disquiet the minds of my People, and disturb the tranquility of my Government.

April 5th, the House being mov'd to appoint a day for taking into consideration the King's Proclamation of the 15th of January last for calling a new Parliament, and the same being read accordingly, Sir William Whitlocke made some exceptions to the said Proclamation, as unprecedented and unwarrantable, for which he was call'd upon by some members to explain himself; upon which he made a kind of excuse for what he had said.

Exceptions made
to some Passages
in his Majesty's
Proclamation for
calling this Par-
liament, by Sir
W. Whitlocke.

The passages here suppos'd to be alluded to are as follows,
viz. We cannot omit, on this occasion of first summoning our Parliament of Great Britain, in justice to ourselves, and that the miscarriages of others may not be imputed to us, at a time when false impressions may do the greatest and irrecoverable hurt before they can be clear'd up, to signify to our whole Kingdom, that we were very much concern'd, on our accession to the Crown,

Anno 1. Geo. 1.
1715.

to find the publick affairs of our Kingdoms under the greatest difficulties, as well in respect of our trade, and the interruption of our navigation, as of the great debts of the Nation, which we were surpriz'd to observe, had been very much increas'd since the conclusion of the last war : We do not therefore doubt, that if the ensuing Elections shall be made by our loving Subjects with that safety and freedom which by law they are entitled to, and we are firmly resolv'd to maintain to them, they will send up to Parliament the fittest persons to redress the present disorders, and to provide for the peace and happiness of our Kingdoms, and the ease of our people for the future, and therein will have a particular regard to such as shew'd a firmness to the Protestant Succession, when it was most in danger, &c.

And by Sir William Wyndham.

This Dispute would have been drop'd, had not Sir William Wyndham took up the cudgels, and even carry'd the matter farther, by advancing, that the said Proclamation was not only unprecedented and unwarrantable, but even of dangerous consequence to the very being of Parliaments. The Courtiers could not but take notice of so home a reflection, and thereupon call'd upon Sir William Wyndham to justify his charge ; but Sir William, who judg'd he could not descend to particulars, without giving farther offence, declin'd explaining himself ; tho' at the same time, he resolutely maintain'd his first assertion, saying, ' That as he thought some expressions in the said Proclamation of dangerous consequence, so he believ'd every Member was free to speak his thoughts.' He was answer'd, ' No doubt but every Member has that liberty, freedom of speech being one of the essential privileges of that House ; but that the House has, at the same time, both the liberty and power to censure and punish such Members as transgress the rules of decency, trespass upon the respect due to the Crown, and so abuse the privilege of the House within doors, as to render it contemptible without.' Sir William being again call'd upon to explain himself, and still persisting in his refusal, some Members cry'd *the Tower, the Tower* ; but Mr Robert Walpole warded off the blow by words to the following purpose. Mr. Speaker, ' I am not for gratifying the desire which the Member, who occasions this great debate, shews of being sent to the Tower ; 'twould make him too considerable : But as he is a young Man of good parts, who sets up for a warm Champion of the late Ministry, and one who was in all their secrets, I would have him be in the House when we come to enquire into the conduct of his friends, both that he may have an opportunity to defend them, and be a witness of the fairness with which we shall proceed against those Gentlemen ; and that it may not be said, that we take any advantage against them.' After several other speeches, which prolong'd this debate from one till half an hour past five

Motion for committing him to the Tower.

It is oppos'd by Mr R. Walpole

five in the afternoon, a motion was made, and the question put, that the House do now adjourn, which being carry'd in the negative by a majority of 212 voices against 134, a motion was made, and the question propos'd, that Sir William Wyndham having reflected upon his Majesty's Proclamation of the 15th of January last for calling a new Parliament, and having refus'd to justify his charge, although often call'd upon so to do, is guilty of a great indignity to his Majesty, and of a breach of the privilege of the House.' This motion occasion'd a fresh Debate, that lasted till seven of the clock; the Courtiers still insisting, that Sir William Wyndham should justify his charge, and Sir William as resolutely declining to do it, saying, he was ready to undergo whatever a majority might think fit to inflict upon him. At last the question being put that Sir William Wyndham should withdraw, the same was carry'd in the affirmative by 208 Voices against 129, whereupon Sir William withdrew accordingly; and with him, to a man, all the 129 Members who had been for the negative. Their antagonists being thus entire masters of the field, the question was put, and unanimously resolv'd, that Sir William Wyndham, having reflected upon his Majesty's Proclamation of the 15th of January last for calling a new Parliament, and having refus'd to justify his charge, although often call'd upon so to do, is guilty of a great indignity to his Majesty, and of a breach of the privilege of the House: after which, it was order'd, that Sir William Wyndham be, for the said offence, reprimanded in his place by Mr. Speaker: and that he should attend the House in his place the next morning.

Anno 1 Geo. 1.
1715.

Sir W. Wyndham order'd to be reprimanded by the Speaker.

Sir William Wyndham attending the next day in his place, Mr. Speaker address'd himself to him in this manner.

SIR,

THE arraignment a Proclamation issued by his Majesty for calling this present Parliament, and refusing to assign any Cause why such Proclamation is blameable; the House thought an Indignity to his Majesty, and so unwarrantable an use of that Freedom of Speech (which is the undoubted Privilege of Parliament) that the House thought they could not let it pass without Animadversion. But being willing their Moderation should appear, notwithstanding their Lenity has been too much desis'd and contemned, they have inflicted the mildest Censure your Offence was capable of, and have commanded me to reprimand you in your Place; and in Obedience to their Command, I do reprimand you accordingly.

Whereupon Sir William Wyndham said :

Mr. Speaker,

I Very truly return my Thanks to you for performing that duty which is incumbent upon you from your office, in so candid and gentleman-like a manner.

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Anna I Geo. I.
1715.

‘ As I am a Member, I know I must acquiesce in the determination of the House. But as I am not conscious to my self of having offered any indignity to his Majesty, or of having been guilty of any breach of the privilege of this House; I have no thanks to return to those Gentlemen, who, under a pretence of lenity, have brought me under this censure.’

April 9. General Stanhope presented to the House, pursuant to their Address to his Majesty for that purpose on the 31st of March, all the powers, instructions, memorials, papers, &c. relating to the late negotiation of peace and commerce, and to the cessation of arms, which he delivered in at the table, and told the House, ‘ That nothing had been omitted, that might either answer the desire they had express’d of being thoroughly inform’d of what had pass’d in those important negotiations, or to satisfy the whole World, that the present Ministry acted with the utmost fairness and candour, and design’d to take no manner of advantage over the late Managers in the intended inquiries: That, indeed, the papers now laid before the House were only copies, but that the originals would be produc’d if occasion requir’d:

Gen. Stanhope’s
Motion for ap-
pointing a Com-
mittee, to in-
quire into the
late Peace, and
the Manage-
ment of the late
Queen’s Mi-
nistry.

He is back’d by
Mr. Ward.

Concluding, That those papers being too many, and too voluminous to be perus’d and examin’d by all the Members of the House, he thought it more convenient, and therefore mov’d, that the said books and papers be referred to a select Committee of twenty persons, who should digest the substance of them under proper heads, and report the same, with their observations thereupon to the House.’ Mr. Ward Member for Thetford, said, ‘ Nothing could be fairer. That for his own part, tho’ his principle was that *Kings can do no wrong*, yet he was of opinion, that Ministers were accountable for their male-administration.’

Mr. E. Harley’s
Defence of the
Earl of Oxford.

Mr. Edward Harley, * Member for Leominster, on this stood up, and said, ‘ That it was easy to see that one of his nearest Relations was principally aim’d at, in the intended inquiries; but he might assure the House, that the said person, notwithstanding the various reports which had been spread concerning him, would neither fly his Country, nor conceal himself, but be forth-coming whenever he should be call’d upon to justify his conduct. That he hoped he would be able, upon the severest trial, to make his innocence appear to all the World; but if he should be so unhappy as to have been guilty of the crimes that were laid to his charge, he would think all his blood too small a sacrifice to atone for them.’ Nobody oppos’d General Stanhope’s motion: Mr. Hungerford only excepted against the number of twenty, and mov’d that one more might be added; which was agreed to, and it was resolv’d, That the papers before-mentioned be refer’d to

* One of the Auditors of the Imprest, and brother to the Earl of Oxford.

to a Committee of twenty one. That the said Committee be a *Committee of Secrecy*; that they be chosen by way of balloting: And, That the Members of the House should on the monday following prepare lists for that purpose, &c.

April 13, Colonel Bladen †, member for Stockbridge, reported from the Committee, that the Majority had fallen upon the one and twenty Persons following, viz. Sir Richard Onslow, Bart. (a) member for Surry; Mr R. Walpole (b); Mr Cowper (c), member for Truro; General Stanhope (d); Mr Boscawen (e), member for Penryn; Mr W. Pulteney (f), member for Heydon; Mr Lechmere (g), member for Cockermouth; Daniel lord Finch (h), member for Rutlandshire; Mr John Aislaby (i), member for Ripon; Mr Vernon, member for Worcesterhire; the Earl of Hertford (k), member for Northumberland; Mr Edward Wortley Montague, member for Westminster; Sir David Dalrymple, Bart. (l) member for Haddington, &c. Mr George Bailie (m), member for Berwickshire; Sir Joseph Jekyll (n), member for Lymington; Lieutenant General Erle (o), member for Wareham; Mr Richard Hampden (p), member for the County of Bucks; Sir Robert Marham (q), member for Maidston; Mr Denton (r), member for Buckingham; Mr Thomas Pitt (s), sen. member for Old Sarum; Lord Coningsby (t), member for Leominster.

Anno 1. Geo. I.
1715.

A secret Committee of 21 Members appointed.

Their Names.

An objection being made by some members to Sir Joseph Jekyll's being one of the said Committee, he having not taken the oaths at the table; it was readily answered, that the same was not owing to any voluntary neglect, Sir Joseph Jekyll being employed in the circuits, as Judge of the County Palatine of Chester. Whereupon it was resolv'd, That Sir Joseph Jekyll being a Member of this House, was capable of being chosen of the Committee of Secrecy, altho' he had not

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been

† Comptroller of the Mint, since made Commissioner of Trade.

(a) Appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, Oct. 5. 1714, in the room of Sir William Wyndham, Bart. and since created a Baron. (b) Vide P. 4. (c) Chief Justice of Chester, made a Judge of Common Pleas, Oct. 24. 1727. (d) Vid. P. 14. (e) One of the Vice-Treasurers and Paymasters-General of Ireland, P. C. created Lord Viscount Falmouth, June 8. 1720. (f) Vid. P. 5. (g) Made Solicitor General, Oct. 9. 1714. Attorney General March 14. 1717-18. Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, June 12. 1717. and created a Baron, Aug. 25. 1721, and P. C. (h) Vid. P. 9. (i) Made Treasurer of the Navy in the room of Mr. Caesar, then a Lord of the Treasury, Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, and P. C. (k) Captain of the second Troop of Guards, Governor of Tinnmouth Fort, &c. (l) Lord Advocate for Scotland. (m) A Lord of the Treasury. (n) Chief Justice of Chester, afterwards Master of the Rolls, and P. C. (o) Lieutenant of the Ordnance, Governor of Portsmouth, and P. C. (p) Teller of the Exchequer, afterwards Treasurer of the Navy, and P. C. (q) Created Lord Romney, June 25. 1716. (r) Attorney-General of the Duchy of Lancaster, made a Judge of Common Pleas, June 24. 1722. (s) Afterwards made Governor of Jamaica. (t) Created an English Earl, April 30. 1716.

Anne I. Geo. I.
1715.

been sworn at the table ; And it was also order'd, I. That the books and papers order'd to remain in the custody of the Clerk, 'till this Committee was chosen, be delivered to the said Committee ; and that they do examine the same, and report to the House what they find material in them ; and that they, or any five of them, do meet this afternoon, and sit *de die in diem* ; II. That the said Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

They meet and
choose a Chairman.

The Committee of Secrecy met that evening, and chose Mr Robert Walpole their Chairman ; but that Gentleman being the next day taken ill, the Committee chose Mr Secretary Stanhope to supply his place of Chairman, and for dispatch sake, subdivided themselves into three Committees, to each of which a certain number of books and papers were allotted.

Motion relating
to the Civil List.


May 13, The Committee of the whole House having examin'd the accounts laid before them, relating to the Civil List in the Reigns of K. Charles II. K. James II. K. William III. and Queen Anne, and other papers on that head, the Courtiers offer'd the following question, viz. That it appears to this Committee, ' that the sum of 700,000 l. per annum ' was settled upon King William, during his life, for the ' support of his Household, and other necessary occasions ; and ' at the time of his demise, after the deduction of 3700 l. a ' week which was apply'd to publick uses, was the produce of ' the Civil List revenues that were continued and settled upon ' Queen Anne, during her life.' Which question occasion'd a warm and long Debate. They who propos'd it had two things principally in their view ; I. To vindicate the present Ministry from the aspersions cast upon them, and industriously spread about, by the emissaries of the late Managers, that the Courtiers design'd to give the King a larger revenue than his Predecessors had enjoy'd ; and, II. To make good the branches of the revenue assigned for the support of the Civil List, which had been alienated, or abridg'd, so that the whole neat produce might amount to the sum of 700,000 l. per annum.

Debate thereon.

The leading Men among the opposite Party, being sensible of the first, and pretending, at least, to be ignorant of the consequences of this preliminary question, insisted a long while, ' That it was ensnaring : That what had been done by former Parliaments ought not to be a standing rule for the subsequent : That supposing the Parliament had given King William a revenue of 700,000 l. per annum for the Civil List, they ought to consider, that he was to pay out of it 50,000 l. per annum to the late Queen, then Princess of Denmark ; 15 or 20000 l. per annum to the late Duke of Gloucester ; and 40,000 l. for the dowry of the late King James's

James's Queen : That after the late Queen's accession to the Throne, the Parliament taking notice that the produce of the Civil List revenues exceeded what they had been given for ; the sum of 3700 l. per Week, (that is 192,400 l. per annum) was taken out of them, and apply'd to other uses ; notwithstanding which deduction, the late Queen had honourably maintain'd her Family, and supported the dignity of the Crown : However, if the present revenues of the Civil List were not sufficient, they were ready to consent to an addition.' The Courtiers answer'd, ' That the question before them was founded upon facts, which, if deny'd, they were ready to prove by the records of the House.' But Sir William Wyndham still urging that the question was ensnaring, General Stanhope answer'd, ' That he would be very plain with them, and own, that as 'twas notorious, that great endeavours had been used to alienate the affection of the People from the King and his Government by false suggestions, that they design'd to plunge the Nation into extraordinary expences, they thought it highly necessary to clear his Majesty and his Ministers from that malicious aspersions.' To this the lord * Guernsey, member for Surry, reply'd, ' That the disaffection of the People, if any, did not proceed from his Majesty, but from the hardships his Ministers put on the Friends of the late Ministry.' To which it was return'd, ' That as soon as it was made known to the world, how the late Ministry had used the whole Nation, nothing that could be done against them, would then be thought a hardship ; but, however, that neither that noble member, nor any of his family, had reason to complain of hardships.' After some other Speeches, which prolong'd the Debate from two 'till about five in the afternoon, the Country Party endeavour'd to drop the question, by moving that the Speaker resume the Chair ; but the question being put upon this question, the same was carried in the negative by 244 Voices against 148 : After which, the first question was put, and carry'd in the affirmative by about the same majority. Then the victorious Party mov'd, That to enable his Majesty to support the dignity of the Crown, and to make an honourable provision for the Royal Family, there be granted to his Majesty, during his life, an additional revenue, which, together with the neat produce of the Civil List branches, may make up the clear yearly sum of 700,000 l. for the service of his Majesty's Household and Family, and for his other necessary expences and occasions.' The question being put upon this motion, the same occasion'd another great Debate. Sir Thomas Hanmer, Mr Bromley, Sir William Wyndham, Mr Caesar, Mr

Anno 1. Geo. L.
1715.



Sir W. Wyndham.

General Stanhope.

Lord Guernsey.

Sir T. Hanmer.
Mr Bromley.
Sir W. Wyndham
Mr Caesar.

Hunger-

* Now Earl of Aylsford.

Anno 1. Geo. 1.
1715.

Mr Hungerford.

Mr Walpole.
General Stanhope.
Mr Lechmere.

Sir W. Wyndham.

Gen. Stanhope.

Hungerford, and some other leading Members of the late Ministry, who, on this occasion, were strengthen'd and back'd by some eminent Members of the Court Party, did not at first directly oppose the question, but insinuated, 'That before they came to that resolution, it should be proper that a particular of the King's expences should be laid before the House.' Mr Walpole, General Stanhope, Mr Lechmere, and some other Courtiers, who, on this occasion, were join'd by some of the opposite Party, having exploded that proposal as altogether inconsistent with the King's honour, to have all the private expences of his Family and Household look'd into, as if he had need of a Guardian, the Country Party then mov'd, that the sum of 600,000 l. per annum be given to his Majesty, and 100,000 l. per annum settled on the Prince of Wales. The Courtiers perceiving that the proposal of giving the Prince of Wales a separate revenue, was only a design to divide the Royal Family, by lessening the next Heir Apparent's dependence on the King, oppos'd it with great warmth; and the question being put upon that motion, the same was carry'd in the negative by a great majority. The Country Party having lost these two points, some of that Party more openly oppos'd the main question, among the rest, Sir William Wyndham said, 'He had the honour to serve Queen Anne, and had the opportunity to look both into her revenue and expences; and he could assure the House, that about 500,000 l. per annum, were sufficient for the support of her Family and Civil List; tho' she reserv'd about 50,000 l. a year for the late King James's Consort.' The Courtiers were glad of this last confession; and General Stanhope desir'd the Committee to take Notice of what that Gentleman had advanc'd, because it would serve to confirm some matters, which the Committee of Secrecy had found in the papers that were laid before them. A Courtier, who, at that time, spoke on the opposite side, made some reflections on the present unthrifty administration of his Majesty's revenue; and, in particular, took notice of the salaries of the Judges being advanc'd; not, said he, for services done, but expected. Upon the whole matter, the question being put upon the motion before mention'd, about seven o'clock in the evening, the same was carry'd in the affirmative without dividing.

May 18. The Commons resolv'd themselves into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the several lists and accounts of annuities, pensions, and bounties granted by the late Queen, or his present Majesty; upon which there arose a warm Debate. The leading Men among the Friends of the late Ministry, supported again by a great many Courtiers, exclaim'd against the pensions given by the Crown to several

several persons of quality, some of whom they nam'd who had no occasion for them; and a motion was made, that an Address be presented to his Majesty, that he would be pleas'd to retrench all unnecessary pensions, and grant no more any such for the future. Hereupon Mr R. Walpole shew'd, 'That they ought not to flint the King's beneficence, nor debar his Majesty from the exercise of the most glorious branch of his royal prerogative, which is to bestow his favours on such as distinguish themselves in his service.' He was seconded by Mr Hampden, who, on the other hand, observ'd, that all the pensions about which so much noise was made, did not amount to above 25000 l. a year; and to wave the motion made by the Country Party, he mov'd, that the Chairman should leave the Chair; which, being put to the vote, pass'd in the affirmative, by 191 votes against 188; so that the Court Party carry'd it by three voices only.

May 23. The Commons, in a grand Committee on the Supply, came to this resolution, viz. That to enable his Majesty to support the dignity of the Crown, and to make an honourable provision for the Royal Family, there be granted to his Majesty, during his life, an additional revenue of 120000 l. per annum; which, together with the neat produce of the Civil List branches, may make up the clear yearly sum of 700000 l. for the service of his Majesty's Household and Family, and other his necessary expences and occasions. This resolution was May 24 reported, and agreed to by the House.

June 1. The Lords having sent to the Commons, the *Bill for the better regulating the Forces*, &c. and the amendments to the Bill by the Lords being read, a motion was made, that the farther consideration of those amendments be adjourn'd, which was carry'd in the negative; and then those amendments being read a second time, were agreed to by the House. * Mr Shippen, member for Newton in Lancashire, having, on this occasion, reflected on the administration, as if they design'd to set up a standing army, and insinuated, as if, after all the great clamour that had been rais'd, their secret Committee would end in smoke; he was taken up by Mr Boscawen, who said, 'He could not forbear taking notice of the insolence of a certain set of men, who having committed the blackest crimes, had yet the assurance to dare the justice of the Nation; but he hoped those crimes would not long remain unpunish'd: That the Committee of Secrecy were ready to make their Report; and had directed their Chairman to move the House the very next day, that a day might be appointed for receiving the said Report; and that,

Anno 1. Geo. I.
1715.

Motion for an Address to the King, to retrench Pensions, &c.

Mr Robert Walpole's Speech.

Mr Hampden.

700,000 l. per Annum granted to the King for his Household, &c.

Motion on the Bill for regulating the Forces, &c.

Mr Shippen's Speech.

Mr. Boscawen.

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* One of the Commissioners of publick Accounts in the last reign.

Anno 1. Geo. 1.
1715.

Mr Walpole.

Gen. Stanhope.

in the mean time, he might venture to assure the House that they had found sufficient matter to impeach of High Treason several Lords and some Commoners. Mr R. Walpole said, ' That he wanted words to express the villany of the last Frenchify'd Ministry ; ' and General Stanhope added ' he wonder'd, that men who were guilty of such enormous crimes, had still the audaciousness to appear in the publick streets. '

Mr Walpole's
Motion for receiving the Secret
Committee's Report.

June 2, Mr Robert Walpole acquainted the House from the Committee of Secrecy, ' That they had examined the Books, &c. referred to them, and had matters of the greatest importance to lay before the House ; and that the Committee had directed him to move the House, that a day might be appointed for receiving their Report. ' Upon which, after a small Debate, it was order'd, that the said Report be receiv'd upon that day se'nnight ; and that all the Members do attend at that Time, upon pain of incurring the highest displeasure of the House.

The House adjourns.

June 3. The King came to the House of Peers, and gave the royal assent to the Malt-Bill and the Mutiny-Bill, and his Majesty being gone, the Commons return'd to their House, and order'd, that the Committee of Secrecy should have leave to sit during the adjournment of the House, who then adjourn'd 'till the 8th of June, by reason of the Whitsuntide Holidays.

Mr Walpole's
Motion for apprehending such
Persons as should be nam'd by the
Chairman of the
Secret Committee.

June 9, Mr Robert Walpole, from the Committee of Secrecy, acquainted the House, ' That he had a Report to present ; (according to their order) but that he had the commands of the Committee to make a motion to the House before he read the Report ; that there are in the Report matters of the highest importance : That although the Committee had power to send for persons, papers, and records, they did not think fit to make use thereof, believing it to be necessary, in order to bring offenders to justice, that some persons should be secur'd, before 'tis possible they should know what they are to be examin'd to ; and lest they should have notice from what should be read in the Report, to make their escape, he was commanded by the Committee, according to former precedents, to move, that a warrant may be issued by Mr Speaker, to apprehend certain persons who shall be nam'd to him by the Chairman of the said Committee ; and that no Members may be permitted to go out of the House.

Hereupon it was order'd, I. That the Lobby be clear'd of all strangers, and the back-doors of the Speaker's chamber be lock'd up, and the key brought and laid upon the table ; and that the Serjeant do stand at the door of the House, and suffer no Member to go forth. II. That Mr Speaker

Speaker do issue his Warrant to the Serjeant at Arms attending the House, to take into his Custody such Persons as shall be nam'd to Mr Speaker by the Chairman of the Committee of Secrecy, in order to their being examined before the said Committee.

Ann. 1. Geo. I.
1715.

Hereupon Mr Speaker issued out his Warrant to the Serjeant at Arms, to take into his Custody several Persons that were nam'd to him by Mr Walpole, particularly Mr Matthew Prior, and Mr Thomas Harley, the first of whom was immediately apprehended, and the other some Hours after.

This done, Mr Walpole acquainted the House, ' That the Committee of Secrecy had perus'd the Books and Papers referr'd to them, and had agreed upon a Report, which they had commanded him to make : That it was contain'd in two Books, one of which was the Report, and the other an Appendix to it, containing at large those Letters and Papers which were referr'd to in the Report.' And he read the Report in his Place, and afterwards deliver'd the same in at the Table, together with the Appendix and the Books which were referr'd to the said Committee. The Reading of the said Report having lasted from one till about Six in the Evening, a Motion was made by the Friends of the late Ministry, and the Question put, That the farther Consideration thereof be adjourn'd 'till next Morning, but it was carry'd in the Negative, by 282 against 171, and order'd, that the Report be now read : And the Clerk of the House having read Part of it, 'till half an Hour past Eight, the farther Consideration of it was adjourn'd.

Report from the
Secret Committee
presented.

And read.

June 10. The Commons resum'd the adjourn'd Consideration of the Report from the Committee of Secrecy, and the rest of the Report being read, which lasted 'till about four in the Afternoon, Sir * Thomas Hanmer, Bart. Member for Suffolk, mov'd, That the Consideration of the said Report be adjourn'd till the 21st of the same Month, and was seconded by the leading Men among the Friends of the late Ministry, who mov'd also, that the said Report be printed, to be perus'd by all the Members of the House. Hereupon Mr Robert Walpole said, ' He could not but wonder, that those Gentlemen who had shew'd so great Impatience to have the Report laid before the House, should now press for adjourning the Consideration of it. That as for the Committee of Secrecy, as they had not yet gone through all the Branches of their Inquiry, they could have wish'd some longer Time had been allow'd them to peruse and digest several important Papers. That in order to that, they would have de-

Debate thereon.

Mr R. Walpole.

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* Speaker of the last Parliament.

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1715.

General Stanhope.

ferr'd three Weeks or a Month, the laying their Report before the House ; but that some Gentlemen having reflected on the pretended Slowness of the Committee ; since the said Report was now before them, they must e'en go through with it.' General Stanhope added, ' That for his own Part, he would readily agree to give those Gentlemen all the Time they could desire to consider of the Report ; but that since they themselves had precipitated this Affair, he was of Opinion, they ought to prosecute it with Vigour, lest, by stopping on a sudden, they should fortify the Notion, which the Friends of the late Ministry had, with great Industry, propagated among the People, That the Report of the Committee of Secrecy would vanish into Smoke ; the rather, because these malicious Insinuations had rais'd the Spirits and Insolence of the Disaffected, and were the principal Cause of the present Ferment among the giddy Multitude. That he agreed with the Member who had mov'd for the printing of the Report ; that not only the House, but the whole World, might be convinc'd of the Fairness and Impartiality of their Proceedings ; but that the Crimes of some Persons nam'd in the Report were so obvious to every Body, that they ought, in his Opinion, immediately proceed to the impeaching of them.' Some propos'd the adjourning the Debate 'till one Time, some 'till another ; but the Court Party were resolv'd against any Delays ; and the Question being put about seven in the Evening, on the Motion made by Sir Thomas Hanmer, it was carry'd in the Negative by 280 against 160. This Point gain'd, Mr Robert Walpole said, ' He made no Question, that, after the Report had been twice read, the whole House was fully convinc'd, that Henry Lord Viscount Bolingbroke was guilty of High Treason, and other High Crimes and Misdemeanours : That therefore he impeach'd him of those Crimes ; but if any Member had any Thing to say in his Behalf, he doubted not but the House was ready to hear him.' After a deep Silence in the House for some Minutes, Mr Hungerford rose up and said, ' That, in his Opinion, nothing was mention'd in the Report, in Relation to the Lord Bolingbroke, that amounted to High Treason.' And General Ross said, ' He wonder'd no Body spoke in Favour of the Lord Bolingbroke : That, for his own Part, he had nothing to say at present ; but reserv'd to himself to speak in a properer Time.' The Resolution for impeaching the Lord Bolingbroke of High Treason and other High Crimes and Misdemeanours, being pass'd, the Lord Coningsby stood up, and said, ' The worthy Chairman of the Committee has impeach'd the Hand, but I do impeach the Head ; he has impeach'd the Clerk, and I the Justice ; he has impeach'd the Scholar, and I the Master : '

Mr Walpole
impeaches Lord
Bolingbroke of
High Treason, &c.

Debate thereon.

Mr Hungerford.

General Ross.

The Impeachment of Lord Bolingbroke agreed to by the House.

Lord Coningsby
impeaches Robert
Earl of Oxford of
High Treason, &c.

so impeach'd Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, of High Treason, and other High Crimes and Misdemeanours. Hereupon Mr † Harley made a long pathetick Speech; wherein he endeavour'd to justify his Brother, the Earl of Oxford, 'as having done nothing but by the immediate Commands of the late Queen; urging, 'that the Peace was a good one, and approv'd as such by two Parliaments: Concluding, that the Facts mention'd in the Report, and which were charg'd on the Earl, could not be construed to amount to High Treason, but only, in strict Rigour, to Misdemeanours.' He was back'd by Mr † Thomas Foley, Member for Hereford, the Earl's Brother-in-Law, who complain'd of the Hardship put upon that Nobleman, in charging him with High Treason, before they had examined the Report: But what was yet more favourable for the Earl, was spoke by Sir Joseph Jekyll, one of the Committee of Secrecy, who said, 'That as to the Lord Bolingbroke, they had more than sufficient Evidence to convict him of High Treason, upon the Statute 25 Edward III. but that as to the Earl of Oxford, he doubted whether they had either sufficient Matter, or Evidence to impeach him of Treason.' But another Member of the Committee of Secrecy having assur'd the House, That besides what had appear'd before them, and was mention'd in the Report, they had other Evidence, *viva Voce*: It was resolv'd, without a Division, That this House will impeach Robert Earl of Oxford, and Earl Mortimer, of High Treason, and other High Crimes and Misdemeanours: And order'd, that it be referr'd to the Committee of Secrecy, to draw up Articles of Impeachment, and prepare Evidence against Henry Viscount Bolingbroke, and Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer. After this, it was order'd likewise, that the farther Consideration of the said Report be adjourn'd; and that the said Report, with the Appendix, be printed.

June 11. The Commons order'd the Speaker to send a printed Copy of the Report from the Committee of Secrecy to the Sheriff of every County, and to the returning Officer of every City and Borough sending Members to Parliament.

June 15. Mr Walpole, from the Committee of Secrecy, acquainted the House, That he was directed by the Committee to move the House, That the Persons taken into Custody, pursuant to the Order of the House of the 9th Inst. might be examin'd in the most solemn Manner, according to former Precedents. Upon which it was order'd, That such Members of the Committee of Secrecy, who are Justices of the Peace for the County of Middlesex, should

D 2

examine

†† Both of them Auditors of the Imprest for Life.

Anno 1. Geo. 2.

1715.

Debate thereon.

Mr Harley.

Mr Thomas Foley.

Sir Joseph Jekyll.

The Impeachment of Robert Earl of Oxford agreed to by the House.

Articles against Lord Bolingbroke and the Earl of Oxford order'd to be drawn up.

The Report from the Committee of Secrecy order'd to be printed,

And sent to the Sheriff &c.

Anno 1. Geo. I.
1715.

examine Mr Matthew Prior, and Mr Thomas Harley, at the said Committee.

June 17. Mr Walpole acquainted the House, That pursuant to their Order, Matthew Prior, Esq; had been, the Day before, examin'd before the Committee of Secrecy, and during a long Examination, there appear'd Matters of such Importance, that the Committee had directed him to move the House, that he might be confin'd in close Custody, and no Person permitted to come to him: Upon which it was order'd, That Mr Matthew Prior, now in Custody of the Serjeant at Arms, be confin'd in close Custody, and no Person permitted to come to him without Leave from Mr Speaker.

Mr Prior order'd
into close Custody.

The Account of what pass'd at Mr Prior's Examination, as drawn up by his own Hand, may be seen in the *APPENDIX* to this Work.

June 21. The House having, according to Order, consider'd farther of the Report from the Committee of Secrecy, Gen. Stanhope stood up and said, ' He wish'd he were not oblig'd to break Silence on that Occasion; but that as a Member of the Secret Committee, and of that great Assembly, which ought to do the Nation Justice, he thought it his Duty to impeach James Duke of Ormond of High Treason, and other High Crimes and Misdemeanours; ' and was seconded by Mr Boscawen. Hereupon Mr Archibald Hutcheson, * Member for Hastings, made a long Speech in behalf of the Duke of Ormond, wherein he set forth, ' his noble Birth and Qualifications; and the great Services which both he and his illustrious Ancestors had perform'd to the Crown and Nation; urg'd, That in the whole Course of his late Conduct, he had but obey'd the late Queen's Commands; and concluded, That if all that was alledg'd against his Grace in the Report could be made out, it would, in the Rigour of the Law, amount to no more than High Misdemeanours.' This Speech made a great Impression on the Assembly; and Mr Hutcheson was seconded by General Lumley, Member for Arundel, who said, among other Things, ' That the Duke of Ormond had, on all Occasions, given signal Proofs both of his Affection and Love for his Country, and of his personal Bravery and Courage, particularly at the Battle of Landen, where he was wounded and taken Prisoner; and that the late King William was extremely satisfy'd with his Grace's gallant Behaviour. That his Grace had generously expended the best Part of his Estate in the Wars, living in a most noble and splendid Manner, for

Gen. Stanhope
impeaches James
Duke of Ormond
of High Treason,
&c.

Debate thereon.
Mr Boscawen.
Mr Hutcheson.

General Lumley.

* One of the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.

Sir Joseph Jekyll.

Gen. Ross.

Sir W. Wyndham.

Mr T. Onslow.

Mr Ward.
Mr Hungerford.Mr Lyddal.
Mr Hampden.
Mr Thompson.

Sir

for the Honour of his Country : That therefore, in Consideration both of his great Services, and his illustrious Relations, if he had of late been so unfortunate as to fail in any Part of his Conduct, they ought not to proceed against him with the utmost Rigour of the Law ; the rather, because he ever meant well, and was drawn into ill Measures by crafty Ministers.' Sir Joseph Jekyll spoke likewise in Favour of the Duke of Ormond : He said, ' That if there was Room for Mercy, he hoped it would be shewn to that noble, generous, and courageous Peer, who, for many Years, had exerted those great Accomplishments for the Good and Honour of his Country. That if of late he had the Misfortune to deviate from his former Conduct, the Blame ought not, in Justice and Equity, be laid to him, but to them principally, who abusing his Affection, Loyalty, and Zeal for the Service of his Royal Mistress, had drawn him into pernicious Counsels : That therefore, as the Statute of the 25th Edward III. on which the Charge of High Treason against his Grace was to be grounded, had been mitigated by subsequent Laws, the House ought not, in his Opinion, to take Advantage of that Act against the Duke, but only impeach him of High Crimes and Misdemeanours.' He added, ' That some Persons endeavour'd to aggravate the Duke of Ormond's Faults, by charging upon him the Riots and Tumults which the Populace committed daily in many Places ; but that he durst averr, that his Grace did no Ways countenance those disorders ; and if the disaffected made use of his Name, unknown to him, his Grace ought not to suffer for it.' General Ross laid great Strefs upon Sir Joseph Jekyll's Opinion, and said all he could in his Commendation, and the Duke's Defence. Sir William Wyndham, Member for Somersetshire, Mr Thomas Onslow, Member for Surrey, Mr Ward, Mr Hungerford, and some other Members of both Parties, spoke also on the same Side : But Mr Lyddal, Member for Lestwithiel, Mr Hampden, and Mr Thompson, * Member for Ipswich, did strongly support General Stanhope's Motion ; answer'd all that had been alledg'd in the Duke's Favour ; and among other Things represented, ' That he ever affected Popularity ; that he could not be ignorant of the Tumults and Riots of which his Name was the Signal ; and that since he did not publickly disown them who made Use of his Name, his Silence was a tacit Approbation of their Proceedings, and seem'd to summon the People to a general Insurrection.

* Recorder of the City of London, afterwards knighted and made a Baron of the Exchequer.

Anno 1. Geo. 2.
1715.

Sir Ed. Northey.

Mr Lechmere.

The Impeachment
of the Duke of
Ormond agreed
to by the House,
and Articles a-
gainst him order'd
to be drawn up.

Sir Edward Northey, † Member for Tiverton, said that he did not disown, but that in the Report of the Committee of Secrecy, there were some Matters, on which an Impeachment of High Treason might be grounded against the Duke of Ormond; but he did not think it proper to explain himself farther on that Occasion. Mr Lechmere, spoke plainer and mention'd a Case parallel to the Duke's, which had been adjudg'd Treason. This Debate lasted from One til about half an Hour past Ten, when the Question was put and resolv'd by a Majority of 234 Voices against 187, to impeach James Duke of Ormond of High Treason, and other High Crimes and Misdemeanours. After which it was order'd, That it be referr'd to the Committee of Secrecy to draw up Articles of Impeachment, and prepare Evidence against James Duke of Ormond; and that the farther Consideration of the said Report be adjourn'd to the next Morning.

Mr Aislaby im-
peaches Thomas
Earl of Strafford
of High Crimes
and Misdemea-
nours.

June 22. The Commons resum'd the Consideration of the Report from the Committee of Secrecy, and Mr Aislaby, who spoke first, ' Took Notice of the general Concern that had appear'd the Day before in the House, for the noble Person that was impeach'd; because they were persuaded, 'twas rather through Weakness than Malice that he had follow'd pernicious Counsels; but that, in his Opinion, few, if any, would speak in Favour of another Lord, whom he was to impeach. That the Person he meant, was Thomas Earl of Strafford, one of the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain at the Congress of Utrecht; whose Conduct had been vastly different from that of his Colleague, the Lord Bishop of London. * That this good and pious Prelate seem'd to have been put at the Head of that Negotiation, only to palliate the Iniquity of it, under the Sacredness of his Character; but was little more than a Cypher in the Absence of the Earl of Strafford. That the Bishop not being in the Secret, had acted with Reserve and Caution, and would do nothing without the Queen's special Commands; whereas the Earl of Strafford not only was forward to venture and undertake any Thing, as he expresses himself in one of his Letters, to be the Tool of a Frenchify'd Ministry; but in many Instances had gone beyond his Instructions, and advis'd the most pernicious Measures. That having impartially weigh'd the different Conduct of these two Ministers, he was glad that nothing could be charg'd upon the Bishop, since it gave them an Opportunity to convince the World, that the Church is not in Danger; but mov'd that Thomas Earl

† Attorney General, but remov'd.

* Dr John Robinson.

Earl of Strafford be impeach'd of High Crimes and Misdemeanours.' Mr Aislaby afterwards enlarg'd upon this Charge, which he reduc'd to these three principal Heads, viz. I. 'The Earl of Strafford's advising the fatal Suspension of Arms, which was soon after attended with several Misfortunes that befel the Allies; and at last reduc'd them to the Necessity of submitting to the Terms of an unsafe, dishonourable Peace. II. Advising the seizing of Ghent and Bruges, in order to distress the Allies, and favour the Enemy. III. The Insolence and Contempt with which he had treated the most serene House of Hanover, and their Generals and Ministers.'

Anno 1. Geo. 1.
1715.

Mr Bailie, having seconded Mr Aislaby, Sir William Wyndham endeavour'd to justify the Earl of Strafford, as to the first Head, by saying, 'That the Peace, which was but the Sequel and necessary Consequence of the Suspension of Arms, had been approv'd as such by two successive Parliaments, and declar'd advantageous, safe, and honourable.' Mr Shippen, Mr Ward, and Mr Snell, Member for Gloucester, spoke also in Favour of the Earl of Strafford; as did also Mr Hungerford, who, among other Things, said, 'That tho' the Bishop of London had an equal Share with the Earl of Strafford in the Negotiation of Peace, he was, it seems, to have the Benefit of his Clergy.' General Rois having likewise said something to excuse the Suspension of Arms, General Cadogan † Member for Woodstock answer'd, 'That considering the Situation of both Armies, the Confederates lost the fairest Opportunity they ever had in Flanders, to destroy the Enemy's Army, and to penetrate into the very Heart of France;' but added, 'That nothing less could be expected from a Princess and a Ministry, who had entirely deliver'd themselves into the Hands of France.' Sir James Campbel, Member for the Shire of Argyle spoke also against the Earl of Strafford: Sir David Dalrymple, summ'd up what had been said on both Sides; and having illustrated the present Case by parallel Instances and proper Observations, urg'd, that both by the Civil and Statute Laws, the Earl of Strafford was, at least, guilty of High Crimes and Misdemeanours. Hereupon, about seven in the Evening, the Question was put, and by 268 Voices against 100, it was resolv'd, That the House will impeach Thomas Earl of Strafford of High Crimes and Misdemeanours; and order'd, That it be referr'd to the Committee of Secrecy, to draw up Articles of Impeachment, and prepare Evidence against the said Earl.

Debate thereon.

Mr Bailie.

Sir W. Wyndham.

Mr Shippen.

Mr Ward.

Mr Snell.

Mr Hungerford.

Gen. Rois.

Gen. Cadogan.

Sir James Campbel.

Sir David Dalrymple.

The Impeachment against the Earl of Strafford, agreed to by the House, and Articles order'd to be drawn up against him.

July

† Created a Baron of England 25th June 1716. afterwards advanc'd to the Degree of a Viscount and an Earl.

Anno 1. Geo. 1.
1715.

Debate on the Bill
for explaining the
Act of K. W. III.
For the Limitation
of the Crown, &c.

Mr Shippen.

Mr R. Walpole.

Mr Boscawen.

Mr Walpole from
the Committee
of Secrecy reports
the first ten Ar-
ticles against the
Earl of Oxford.

July 4. The House resolv'd itself into a grand Committee, upon an ingrossed Bill from the Lords, intituled, *An Act to explain the Act made in the 12th Year of King William the Third*, intituled, *An Act for the farther Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject*. A Clause having been inserted in the said Bill, whereby a Door seem'd to be left open for the Admission of Foreigners into Places, many of the Court Party, headed by Mr Hampden, look'd upon that Bill as dangerous to our Constitution; and the Friends of the late Ministry, who resolv'd to oppose it, thinking this a proper Opportunity to make it drop, mov'd that the Consideration of it be put off to another Day: But the Question being put thereupon was carried in the Negative by 141 against 139. Then the Committee went thro' the Bill, and made an Amendment to the Clause before-mention'd, the Report of which was put off 'till the 6th of July. On that Day Mr Lowther, Member for Cumberland, reported from the Committee of the whole House, to whom the engrossed Bill from the Lords, intituled, *An Act to explain the Act made in the 12th Year of the Reign of King William III. intituled, An Act for the farther Limitation of the Crown, &c.* was committed, the Amendment they had directed him to report to the House; which he read in his Place, and afterwards delivered in at the Table, where the same was twice read: And a Motion being made, that the Bill be recommitted, there arose a Debate that lasted near three Hours: Mr Shippen, with some others rais'd several Objections against the Bill, but were answered by Mr Robert Walpole, Mr Boscawen, and some others of the Court Party, and the Question being put upon the said Motion, it was carried in the Negative by 190 against 140. And then the Amendment, with an Amendment thereto, was agreed to by the House.

July 7. Mr Robert Walpole, from the Committee of Secrecy, acquainted the House, 'That the Committee having prepared Articles of Impeachment of High Treason and other High Crimes and Misdemeanours, against Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, had commanded him to acquaint the House, that they should, in a short Time, have farther Articles against the said Earl; and that the Committee had directed him to report the Articles, already prepared, to the House:' And he read them in his Place, and afterwards delivered them in at the Table, where they were once read.

After this it was moved that the farther Consideration of the said Articles be adjourn'd to that Day se'nnight; but it was carry'd, without dividing, That the said Report be read a second Time the next Day. At which Time the first Ten Articles of Impeachment against Robert Earl of Oxford
and

and Earl Mortimer, were read a second Time ; and upon the Question severally put thereupon, with Amendments to some of them, there was a long Debate from Two 'till Eight in the Evening, when they were agreed to, by 280 against 125. Then a Motion being made and the Question put, That the farther Consideration of the said Report be adjourn'd 'till the next Morning, the same was carry'd in the Negative, by 247 against 139. Hereupon the Eleventh Article was read a second Time, and amended by the House ; and then there arose a great Debate, upon the Question, Whether the said Article was High Treason ? Sir Robert Raymond, Mr William Bromley, * Member for the University of Oxford, Sir William Wyndham, Mr Edward Harley, Mr Thomas Foley, Mr Ward, and Mr Hungerford, maintain'd the Negative ; and were strongly supported by Sir Joseph Jekyll, one of the Committee of Secrecy, who said, ' That it was ever his Principle to do Justice to every Body, from the highest to the lowest ; being perswaded, that it was the Duty of an honest Man never to act by a Spirit of Party. That he hoped he might pretend to have some Knowledge of the Laws of the Kingdom ; and as, in the Committee of Secrecy, he had taken the Liberty to differ from his Colleagues, he would not scruple to declare now to the whole House, that, in his Judgment, the Charge in Question did not amount to High Treason.' Most of the other Members of the Committee of Secrecy were offended at this Speech : And thereupon Mr Robert Walpole answer'd, ' That there were both in and out of the Committee of Secrecy, several Persons, who did not, in the least, yield to the Member that spoke last, in Point of Honesty ; and who, without derogating from his Merit, were superior to him in the Knowledge of the Laws ; but who, at the same Time, were satisfied that the Charge specified in the Eleventh Article amounted to Treason.' Mr Walpole was back'd by General Stanhope, the Lord Coningsby, General Cadogan, Mr Boscawen, and Mr Aislaby ; and the Eleventh Article being amended, the same was agreed to by the House, by 247 Votes against 127. Mr Harley endeavoured to justify the Earl of Oxford, I. By urging that he ever acted by the late Queen's positive Commands ; to prove which, he offered to produce two Letters from her Majesty ; and II. The Necessity of making a Peace ; He having upon this Occasion, advanc'd, that the Dutch prolong'd the War, and that their Deputies in the Army had often prevented the giving the Enemy a decisive Blow. General Cadogan answer'd, that the Dutch were more concern'd than any Prince or State in the Grand Alli-

Anno 1. Geo. I.

1715.

Debate thereon.

Debate on the
Eleventh Article.

Sir Rob. Raymond.
Mr Bromley.
Sir W. Wyndham.
Mr Harley.
Mr Thomas Foley.
Mr Ward.
Mr Hungerford.
Sir Joseph Jekyll.

Mr R. Walpole.

General Stanhope.

Lord Coningsby.
Gen. Cadogan.
Mr Boscawen.
Mr Aislaby.

Mr Harley.

Gen. Cadogan.

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ance

* Secretary of State in the last Reign.

Anno 1. Geo. I.
1715.

The said Articles
agreed to,

And ordered to
be carried to the
Lords by Lord
Coningsby.

ance to put an End to the War ; and undertook to prove, that there had not been any Campaign in Flanders, except that in which the Duke of Ormond commanded, that was not mark'd and famous to all Posterity, for some signal and glorious Event, to the Advantage of the common Cause ? Then the rest of the Sixteen Articles were severally read a second Time, and with Amendments to some of them, agreed unto by the House, who ordered, That the said Articles be engrossed ; and, that a Clause be prepared saving Liberty to the Commons to exhibit any farther Articles against the said Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer ; and that he may be sequester'd from Parliament, and committed to safe Custody.

July 9. The above Clause was offered to the House ; and being twice read, and agreed to, was ordered to be engrossed with the Articles of Impeachment. The same Day the Ingrossed Articles of Impeachment against Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, were read ; after which it was order'd, I. That the Lord Coningsby do carry the said Articles to the Lords : II. That his Lordship be directed, before he exhibit the said Articles to the Lords, to impeach Robert Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, to the Effect following, viz.

My Lords,

THE Commons assembled in Parliament having received Information of divers traiterous Practices and Designs of a great Peer of this House, Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer ; have commanded me to impeach the said Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, of High Treason, and other High Crimes and Misdemeanours : And I do here in their Names, and in the Names of all the Commons of Great Britain, impeach Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, of High Treason, and other High Crimes and Misdemeanours. I am farther commanded by the House of Commons to pray and demand of your Lordships, That the Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer may be sequester'd from Parliament, and forthwith committed to safe Custody.

After this, the Lord Coningsby, attended by most of those Members who voted for the Impeachment, went up to the House of Peers, and at their Bar impeached Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, in the Form above-mentioned, and then left with their Lordships the Articles of Impeachment against the said Earl, which the Reader may find at large in the *STATE TRIALS*, Vol. 6. p. 103.

July 20, The King came to the House of Lords, and the Commons being sent for, his Majesty gave the Royal Assent to

to such Bills as were ready ; after which the Lord Chancellor read a Speech deliver'd into his Hands by his Majesty from the Throne, as follows :

Anno 7. Geo. I.
1715.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ **T**HE Zeal you have shewn for preserving the Peace
“ of my Kingdoms, and your Wisdom in providing so
“ good a Law to prevent all riotous and tumultuous Proceed-
“ ings, give me great Satisfaction ; but I am sorry to find
“ that such a Spirit of Rebellion has discover'd itself, as leaves
“ no Room to doubt, but these Disorders are set on Foot
“ and encourag'd by Persons disaffected to my Government,
“ in Expectation of being supported from Abroad.

King's Speech re-
lating to an Inva-
sion by the Preten-
der.

“ The Preservation of our excellent Constitution, and the
“ Security of our holy Religion, has been, and always shall
“ be, my chief Care ; and I cannot question but your Con-
“ cern for these invaluable Blessings is so great, as not to let
“ them be expos'd to such Attempts as I have certain Ad-
“ vices are preparing by the Pretender from Abroad, and
“ carrying on at Home by a restless Party in his Favour.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ In these Circumstances, I think it proper to ask your
“ Assistance, and make no doubt but you will so far consult
“ your own Security, as not to leave the Nation, under a
“ Rebellion actually begun at Home, and threaten'd with
“ an Invasion from Abroad, in a defenceless Condition :
“ And I shall look upon the Provision you shall make for
“ the Safety of my People, as the best Mark of your Affec-
“ tion to me.

The Commons being return'd to their House, it was re-
solv'd, *Nemine Contradicente*, That ~~an~~ a humble Address be
presented to his Majesty, to return the most humble and du-
tiful Thanks of this House to his Majesty, for communicat-
ing to his Parliament, the Advices he has received of an At-
tempt preparing to be made upon the Nation from Abroad,
abetted and encouraged by treasonable Practices at Home, in
Favour of a Popish Pretender ; and to assure his Majesty,
that this House will, with their Lives and Fortunes, stand by
and support his Majesty against all his open and secret En-
emies ; and to desire his Majesty, that he will immediately
give Directions for fitting out such a Number of Ships as may
effectually guard the Coasts, and to issue out Commissions for
augmenting his Forces by Land ; assuring his Majesty, this
House will, without Loss of Time, effectually enable him to
raise and maintain such a Number of Forces, both by Sea
and Land, as shall be necessary for the Defence of his sacred
Person, and for the Security of his Kingdoms. After this,

Commons Address
of Thanks.

E. 2

Mr

Anno 1. Geo. I.
1715.

Mr Freeman's
Motion thereon.

Lord Guernsey.

Mr Hampden.

Mr Boscawen.

Mr Freeman, Member for Hertfordshire, stood up, and represented, 'That in so important a Juncture, they ought to lose no Time in drawing up an Address; and therefore mov'd, That the said Resolution be forthwith laid before his Majesty by the whole House.' He was seconded by the Lord Guernsey, Member for Surry, who said, 'It was well known he had, on many Occasions, differ'd from some Members in that House; but being now convinc'd that our Liberty, Religion, and all that is dear to Englishmen, were aim'd at, he would, *laying his Hand on his Sword*, rather die with his Sword in his Hand, than survive the Pretender's coming in, tho' he were to enjoy the greatest Honours and Preferments under him.' Mr Hampden having likewise back'd Mr Freeman's Motion, it pass'd into a Resolution, *Nem. Con.* and Mr Boscawen, who was order'd to wait on the King to know his Majesty's Pleasure, when he would be attended by the House, having, about six in the Evening, reported, that his Majesty had been pleas'd to appoint immediately at his Palace at St James's, the House went thither, with their Speaker, and laid before his Majesty the said Resolution, to which the King was pleas'd to return the following Answer.

Gentlemen,

King's Answer
thereto.

" I Thank you heartily for this Address. The Zeal and Vigour which you shew upon this Occasion, will, I trust in God, enable me to defeat the evil Designs of our Enemies. I will immediately give Directions for such an Increase of our Forces, by Sea and Land, as I shall judge necessary for your Security; and will order Estimates of the Charge thereof to be laid before you.

Mr R. Walpole's
Motion for an Ad-
dress to the King,
to allow the Offi-
cers on Half-Pay
Full Pay.

General Stanhope.

Gen. Rob.

The Address a-
greed to.

July 26. Mr Robert Walpole took Notice, 'Of the Measures the King had taken, pursuant to the Desire and Advice of that House, to secure his Dominions; but represented, that in Case of an Invasion, the Standing Troops and new Levies would hardly be sufficient; and as he thought it necessary, so he mov'd, that the Officers in Half-Pay should be put in a Capacity to serve the Nation, by allowing them Full Pay.' General Stanhope seconded Mr Walpole's Motion; and General Ross only having made a slight Objection to it, suggesting, that, to save Expences, the Standing Regiments might be augmented, it was resolv'd, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleas'd to allow Full Pay to such Half-Pay Officers as were not otherwise provided for; and that his Majesty would give Orders to the said Officers to hold themselves in Readiness, to be employ'd in such Manner as his Majesty should think fit; and to assure his Majesty, that
this

this House will supply such extraordinary Expence as his Majesty should be at on this Account, out of the next Aids to be afterwards granted by Parliament. This Address being the same Day presented to the King, his Majesty was pleas'd to say, " That he look'd upon it as a fresh Instance of the Duty and Affection of this House, and of their Zeal for the Security and Preservation of his People and Government.

Anne 1. Geo. I.
1715.

The King's Answer.

July 30. Mr R. Walpole reported from the Committee of Secrecy, that they had directed him to exhibit farther Articles of Impeachment of High Crimes and Misdemeanours against Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, which he read in his Place, and afterwards delivered them in at the Table, where they were read; and a Motion being made, and the Question put, that the farther Consideration of the said Articles be adjourn'd 'till the Tuesday following, it pass'd in the Negative. After this it was order'd, that the said Articles be read one by one; which was done accordingly, and, with Amendments to one of them, upon the Question severally put thereupon, they were agreed to by the House; who order'd, That the said Articles be engrossed; and, that a Clause be prepared for saving Liberty to the Commons to exhibit any farther Articles against the said Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer.

Mr Walpole, from the Committee of Secrecy, reports farther Articles against the Earl of Oxford;

August 2. The engrossed farther Articles of Impeachment against Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer were read; after which it was order'd, that the Lord Coningsby do carry those Articles also to the Lords; which his Lordship did immediately. The said farther Articles the Reader may see in the *STATE TRIALS*, Vol. 6, p. 116. The same Day the King went to the House of Peers, and the Commons being tent for and attending, his Majesty gave the Royal Assent to such Bills as were ready.

Which being agreed to, Lord Coningsby is ordered to carry to the Lords.

August 4. Mr R. Walpole from the Committee of Secrecy acquainted the House, that the Committee had prepared Articles of Impeachment of High Treason, and other High Crimes and Misdemeanours against Henry Viscount Bolingbroke; and that the Committee had commanded him, at the same Time, to acquaint the House, that they shall, in a short Time, have farther Articles to lay before the House against him; and that the Committee had directed him to report the Articles already prepared, to the House. Then Mr Walpole read the Articles in his Place, and afterwards delivered them in at the Table, where they were once read, and then a second Time, Article by Article, and upon the Question severally put thereupon, agreed unto by the House; who order'd, That the said Articles be engrossed; and that a Clause be prepared, for saving Liberty to the Commons to exhibit

Mr Walpole reports the Articles of Impeachment against Lord Bolingbroke.

Which are agreed to.

Ann^o 2. Geo. 1.
1715.

Mr Walpole reports the Articles of Impeachment against the Duke of Ormond.

Debate thereon.

Lord Stanhope.

Lord Finch.

Mr Walpole order'd to carry up to the Lords the Articles against Lord Bolingbroke.

exhibit any farther Articles against the said Henry Viscount Bolingbroke, and that he may be sequestred from Parliament and committed to safe Custody.

August 5. Mr R. Walpole, from the Committee of Secrecy acquainted the House, that the Committee had prepared Articles of Impeachment of High Treason, and other High Crimes, and Misdemeanours, against James Duke of Ormond, which they had directed him to report to the House. Then Mr Walpole read the said Articles in his Place, and afterwards deliver'd them in at the Table, where they were once read; and afterwards a second Time, Article by Article. A Motion being made, and the Question put, that the House, agree to the First Article, there arose a warm Debate, in which a Member said, that the Report of the Committee of Secrecy had begun to open his Eyes; and that the Duke of Ormond's Flight had fully convinc'd him that the Heads of the Tory Party were a Set of Knaves and Villains, who design'd to have ruin'd their Country, and made it a Province of France. The Lord * Stanhope, Member for St Germans, said, he never wish'd to spill the Blood of any of his Countrymen, much less the Blood of any Nobleman; but that he was perswaded, that the Safety of his Country required that Examples should be made of those who had betray'd it in so infamous a Manner. The Lord † Finch, Member for Rutlandshire, spoke also on the same Side; and after some other Speeches, the First Article was agreed to by a Majority of 177 Voices against 78; and then the other Articles, upon the Question severally put thereupon, were also agreed unto by the House: After which it was order'd, That the said Articles be engrossed and that a Clause be prepared for saving Liberty to the Commons to exhibit any farther Articles against the said James Duke of Ormond; and that he may be sequester'd from Parliament, and committed to safe Custody.

August 6. The engrossed Articles, against Henry Viscount Bolingbroke, were read, after which it was order'd, I. That Mr R. Walpole do carry the said Articles to the Lords. II. That he be directed, before he exhibits the said Articles to the Lords, to impeach Henry Viscount Bolingbroke to the Effect following, viz.

My Lords,

THE Commons assembled in Parliament having received Information of divers traiterous Practices and Designs of a great Peer of this House, Henry Viscount Bolingbroke have

* Now Earl of Chesterfield.

† Now Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham.

' have commanded me to impeach the said Henry Viscount Bolingbroke of High Treason, and other High Crimes and Misdemeanours: And I do here in their Names, and in the Names of all the Commons of Great Britain, impeach the said Henry Viscount Bolingbroke of High Treason, and other High Crimes and Misdemeanours. I am farther commanded by the House of Commons to pray and demand of your Lordships, that the said Henry Viscount Bolingbroke may be sequestred from Parliament, and forthwith committed to safe Custody.'

Anno 2. Geo. 2.
1715.



Accordingly, the same Day, Mr Walpole accompanied by a great many Members of the Commons, at the Bar of the House of Lords, impeach'd Henry Lord Viscount Bolingbroke as above; and the same Day the Lords sent a Message to acquaint the Commons, that their Lordships had order'd Henry Viscount Bolingbroke to be forthwith attach'd, by the Gentleman Usher of the Black-Rod attending the House of Lords, and brought to their Lordships Bar, to answer the Articles exhibited against him by the House of Commons: But the Lord Bolingbroke had long before retir'd into France. Hereupon the Commons order'd a Bill to be brought in to summon Henry Viscount Bolingbroke to render himself to Justice by a Day therein to be limited, or, in Default thereof, to attain him of High Treason.

Who being fled, is attain'd of High Treason.

August 8. The engrossed Articles against the Duke of Ormond were read, upon which it was order'd I. That General Stanhope do carry the said Articles to the Lords; II. That he be directed to impeach James Duke of Ormond, in the same Form as Henry Viscount Bolingbroke; which he did the same Day. The Articles of both which Impeachments may be seen in the *POLITICAL STATE* for August 1715. But the Duke of Ormond on the 21st of *July* before, embarking privately on board a Vessel on the Kentish Coast, landed in three Days in France: Upon which the Commons *August* the 10th, order'd a Bill to be brought in to summon and attain him in like Manner as the Lord Viscount Bolingbroke. Those two Bills having pass'd both Houses, receiv'd the Royal Assent.

General Stanhope ordered to carry to the Lords the Articles against the Duke of Ormond.

Who being gone off is also attain'd.

August 31. Mr. Walpole, from the Committee of Secrecy, acquainted the House that the Committee had prepared Articles of Impeachment of High Crimes and Misdemeanours against Thomas Earl of Strafford; which he read in his Place, and afterwards deliver'd in at the Table, where they were read. Then it was order'd, that the said Articles be read a second Time, Article by Article; which being done accordingly, the said Articles were severally agreed unto by the House, who order'd, that the said Articles be engrossed; and

Mr Walpole reports the Articles against the Earl of Strafford.

and that a Clause be prepared, saving Liberty to the Commons, to exhibit any farther Articles against the said Thomas Earl of Strafford, and that he may be put to answer the said Crimes and Misdemeanours.

September 1. The said Clause was offer'd to the House read, agreed to, and order'd to be engrossed with the Article of Impeachment; which being done accordingly, the said engrossed Articles of Impeachment of High Crimes and Misdemeanours against Thomas Earl of Strafford, were read; and it was order'd, I. That Mr. Aislaby do carry the said Articles to the Lords; II. That, before he exhibit the said Articles, he do, at the Bar of the House of Lords, impeach the said Thomas Earl of Strafford of High Crimes and Misdemeanours: which Mr. Aislaby, accompanied by many Members, did immediately; The Articles at large the Reader will find in the *POLITICAL STATE* for September 1715.

Which being
agreed to, Mr
Aislaby carries up
to the Lords.

Earl of Oxford's
Answer to the
Articles of Im-
peachment read.

Debate thereon.

Mr Robert Wal-
pole's Speech.

September 7. The Lords sent a Message to acquaint the Commons, that the Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer had put in his Answer to the said Articles of Impeachment; and also to deliver to the House of Commons a true Copy thereof, for which we refer to the *STATE TRIALS*, Vol. 6. p. 123. Hereupon the Commons order'd that the said Answer be read on the Monday following, and the said Answer being then read accordingly, there arose a small Debate. Mr Robert Walpole, among other Things, said, 'He had not yet had Time to peruse and examine that Answer, but that he now heard it read with a great deal of Attention, and, in his Opinion, it contain'd little more than what had been suggested in Vindication of the late Measures, in a Pamphlet intitled, *The Conduct of the Allies*, and repeated over and over in the Papers call'd, *The Examiner*. That the main Drift of this Answer seem'd to prove these two Assertions, I. That the Earl of Oxford had no Share in the advising and managing the Matters mention'd in the Articles against him, but that the late Queen did every Thing; and II. That the late Queen was a wise, good, and pious Princess. That if the second Proposition were not better grounded than the first, the Reputation of that excellent Princess would be very precarious: But as every-body must own her to have been a good and pious Queen, so it was notorious that the Earl of Oxford, as prime Minister, was the chief Adviser, Promoter, and Manager, of the Matters charged upon him in the Articles: And therefore his Answer was a false and malicious Libel, laying upon his Royal Mistress the Blame of all the pernicious Measures he had led her into, against her own Honour and the Good of his Country: That he hoped the Earl's endeavouring to screen himself behind the Queen's Name, would avail him nothing: That 'tis, indeed, a Fundamental

Maxim

Maxim of our Constitution, that Kings can do no Wrong ; but that, at the same Time, 'tis no less certain, that Ministers of State are accountable for their Actions ; otherwise a Parliament would be but an empty Name ; the Commons would have no Business in that Place ; and the Government would be absolute and arbitrary. That though the Earl had the Assurance to aver, that he had no Share in the Management of Affairs that were transacted while he was at the Helm, yet he pretended to justify the late Measures : And therefore, in that Respect, his Answer ought to be look'd upon as a Libel on the Proceedings of the Commons, since he endeavour'd to clear those Persons, who had already confess'd their Guilt by their Flight. Mr. Shippen could not be altogether silent on this Occasion : He said, ' That it would not become him to defend the Earl's Answer, since, as a Member of that honourable Assembly, he was become one of his Accusers : But that he could not forbear wishing, that this Prosecution might be dropt, and that the House would be satisfy'd with the two late Acts of Attainder. That this Wish of his was the stronger, because one of the principal Reasons that induc'd the Commons to impeach the Earl of Oxford, subsisted no longer, the Affairs of Europe having receiv'd a sudden Turn from the Death of the French King ; whereby the Renunciation of King Philip began to take place, in the Advancement of the Duke of Orleans to the absolute Regency of France.' Mr. Aislaby answer'd, ' That he hoped 'twas to little Purpose the Gentleman who spoke last, endeavour'd to move the Pity and Compassion of the House, and persuade them to drop this Prosecution. That this was not a proper Time to examine and reply to the Earl of Oxford's Answer ; and therefore he would content himself with saying, in general, that it was a Contexture of the Shifts, Evasions, and false Representations, contain'd in the three Parts of *The History of the White-Staff*. That as to what had been suggested concerning the Event which seem'd to have strengthen'd the Renunciation, he did not deny, there might be something in it ; which was manifest from the great Joy the well-affected to the Government had shewn, on this Occasion, and from the Mortification and Despair that appear'd in the Faces of a certain Party : But that, after all, it could not yet be ascertain'd, that the Renunciation was in Force ; that there was a vast Difference between the Regency and the Crown ; that Time only would decide that Matter ; but that even supposing that, by the Concurrence of unforeseen Events, King Philip's Renunciation should, at last, take place, yet the same would not justify the Ministers who propos'd and laid it as the Foundation of the late Peace, since they with whom they treated, were so frank and so sincere as to tell them, that it could never be

Anne & Geo. 3.
1715.

Mr. Shippen

Mr. Aislaby

Anto 2 Dec. 1.
1715.

Mr. Walpole reports the Replication to the Earl of Oxford's Answer, which being agreed to, Lord Coningsby is order'd to carry to the Lords.

The Committee of Secrecy empowered to sit notwithstanding the Adjournment of the House.

Sir W. Wyndham, Sir John Packington, Mr. Ed. Harvey, Mr. Foster, Mr. Antis, and Mr. C. Kynaston, order'd, at the King's Request, to be apprehended.

valid, by the Fundamental Laws of France.' After some other Speeches, it was order'd, That the Answer of Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, be referr'd to the Committee appointed to draw up Articles of Impeachment and prepare Evidence against the impeach'd Lords; and that the said Committee do prepare a Replication to the said Answer: Accordingly on Sept. 16. Mr. Robert Walpole, from the Committee, reported the said Replication, which he read in his Place, and afterwards deliver'd in at the Table, where the same was read, agreed unto, and order'd to be engross'd. The Monday after the engrossed Replication was read, and it was order'd, that Lord Coningsby do carry the same to the Lords; which his Lordship did accordingly. The Reader will find the said Replication at large in the *STATE-TRIALS*, Vol. 6. p. 147.

September 20. Mr. Walpole reported from the Committee appointed to draw up Articles of Impeachment, and to prepare Evidence against the impeach'd Lords, that they having, pursuant to the Order of Reference from the House, consider'd of the State and Circumstances of the Commitment of Mr. Prior, thought proper to make a Report thereupon to the House. After Reading the said Report the Commons order'd, that the Committee appointed to draw up Articles of Impeachment, and to prepare Evidence against the impeach'd Lords, be empower'd to sit, notwithstanding any Adjournment of the House.

September 21. General Stanhope, Secretary of State, acquainted the Commons, That he was commanded by the King to communicate to the House, that his Majesty having just Cause to suspect, that Sir William Wyndham, Member for Somersetshire; Sir John Packington, Member for Worcestershire; Mr. Edward Harvey, Member for Clithero; Mr. Foster, Member for Northumberland; Mr. Antis, Member for Launceston; and Mr. Corbet Kynaston, Member for Shrewsbury, are engag'd in a Design to support the intended Invasion of this Kingdom, hath given Order for apprehending them; and his Majesty desires the Consent of this House to his causing them to be committed and detain'd, if he shall judge it necessary so to do, in Pursuance of the late Act of Parliament for empowering his Majesty to commit and detain such Persons as his Majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his Person and Government. Hereupon it was resolv'd, *Nem. Con.* That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, returning the Thanks of this House for his gracious Message this Day, and for his tender Regard to the Privileges of this House; and to desire, that he will be pleas'd to give Orders for the committing and detaining the several Members nam'd in the said Message, pursuant to the Act of this Session of Parliament for that Purpose.

The

The same Day, the Lords sent a Message to acquaint the Commons, That their Lordships having address'd his Majesty, humbly to desire, that he would be pleas'd to cause Directions to be given to the proper Officers for preparing a Scaffold in Westminster-Hall, for the Trial of Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, who now stands impeach'd by this House of High Treason, and other High Crimes and Misdemeanors, his Majesty had been graciously pleas'd to say, " He would give Directions to the proper Officers pursuant to the said Address "

Anno 2. Geo. L.
1715.

Scaffold order'd to be erected for the Earl of Oxford's Trial.

The same Day likewise the King went to the House of Peers, and the Commons attending, the Speaker, upon presenting the Money-Bills, made the following Speech to his Majesty :

Most Gracious Sovereign,

YOur Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeesses in Parliament assembled, have now finish'd the Supplies granted to your Majesty for the Service of this present Year. Your Commons had much sooner offer'd these Supplies to your Majesty, had not their Zeal for your Majesty's Service, and the Duty they owe to their Country, led them into Inquiries which have drawn this Session to an unusual Length. But your Commons could not see, without the utmost Indignation, the Glories of her late Majesty's Reign tarnish'd by a treacherous Cessation of Arms; the Faith of Treaties violated; that ancient Probity, for which the English Nation had been justly renown'd throughout all Ages, expos'd to Scorn and Contempt; and the Trade of the Kingdom given up by insidious and precarious Treaties of Commerce, whilst the People, amused with new Worlds explor'd, were contented to see the most advantageous Branches of their Commerce in Europe lost, or betray'd.

The Speaker's Speech to the King, on presenting the Money-Bills.

Such was the Condition of this Kingdom, when it pleas'd the Divine Providence to call your Majesty to the Throne of your Ancestors, under whose auspicious Reign your Commons with Pleasure behold the Glories of the Plantagenets (your Majesty's royal Ancestors) revive; and have an unbounded Prospect of the Continuance of this Happiness, even to the latest Posterity, in a Race of Princes lineally descended from your Majesty.

And that nothing might be wanting on the Part of your Commons, to establish your Majesty's Throne on solid and lasting Foundations, they have apply'd themselves, with unwearied Diligence, to vindicate the Honour of the

Anno 2. Geo. I.

1715.

‘ British Nation, and to restore a mutual Confidence between
 ‘ this Kingdom and its ancient and faithful Allies, by de-
 ‘ tecting the Authors of these pernicious Counsels, and the
 ‘ Actors in these treacherous Designs, in order to bring them
 ‘ to Justice, by the Judgment of their Peers, according to
 ‘ the Law of the Land, and the Usage of Parliament.

‘ It was not to be expected, but that the Enemies to the
 ‘ Nation’s Peace, would use their utmost Endeavours to ob-
 ‘ struct your Commons in these Inquiries; but despairing
 ‘ of any Success in the Representative Body of the Kingdom,
 ‘ they fomented Tumults among the Dregs of the People
 ‘ at Home, and spirited up the Pretender to an Invasion
 ‘ from Abroad, This gave your faithful Commons fresh
 ‘ Opportunities of shewing their Affection to your Majesty’s
 ‘ Person, and their Fidelity to your Government, by their
 ‘ unanimous Concurrence in granting such Supplies as were
 ‘ sufficient to disappoint the one, and by their passing such
 ‘ Laws as were necessary to suppress the other; and, in
 ‘ every Respect, to express their Abhorrence of a Popish
 ‘ Pretender, concerning whom, nothing remains unsuspected,
 ‘ but his Bigotry to Superstition, and his Hatred to our
 ‘ holy Religion; for the Advancement of which your Ma-
 ‘ jesty has express’d your pious Care, by recommending to
 ‘ your Commons the providing Maintenance for the Mini-
 ‘ sters who are to officiate in the new Churches. This your
 ‘ Commons readily comply’d with, trusting, that the Prayers
 ‘ there offer’d to the Almighty, will bring down a Blessing
 ‘ on all your Majesty’s Undertakings; and not doubting,
 ‘ but that the Doctrines there taught, will be a Means to
 ‘ secure the Quiet of your Kingdoms, and the Obedience
 ‘ of your People.

‘ The Revenue set apart for the Uses of the Civil Go-
 ‘ vernment, your Commons found so much intangled with
 ‘ Mortgages and Anticipations, that what remain’d, was far
 ‘ from being sufficient to support the Honour and Dignity
 ‘ of the Crown: This your Commons took into serious
 ‘ Consideration, and being truly sensible, that on your Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s Greatness the Happiness of your Subjects entirely
 ‘ depends, they have put the Civil Revenues into the same
 ‘ State, in which they were granted to your Majesty’s glo-
 ‘ rious Predecessor, King William, of immortal Memory;
 ‘ and thereby enabled your Majesty to make an ample Pro-
 ‘ vision for the Prince of Wales, whose heroick Virtues are
 ‘ the best Security of your Majesty’s Throne, as his other per-
 ‘ sonal Endowments are the Joy of all your faithful Subjects.

‘ I should but ill discharge the Trust reposed in me by
 ‘ the Commons, did I not lay before your Majesty, with
 ‘ what Cheerfulness they receiv’d your Majesty’s gracious
 ‘ Intentions

' Intentions for her Royal Highness the Princess ; and with
' how much Readiness and Unanimity they enabled your
' Majesty to settle a Revenue suitable to the Dignity of a
' Princess, whose Piety, and steady Adherence to the Pro-
' testant Religion, is the Glory of the present Age, and
' will be the Admiration of all future Generations.

Anno 2. Geo. 2.

1715.

' May it please your Majesty,

' The Bills which the Commons have prepar'd to com-
' plet the Supplies for this Year's Service, and for the
' other Purposes I have mention'd, are severally intitled,

I. *An Act to enable his Majesty to settle a Revenue for sup-
porting the Dignity of her Royal Highness, &c.*

II. *An Act for enlarging the Capital Stock and yearly Fund
of the South-Sea Company, &c.*

III. *An Act for making Provision for the Ministers of the fifty
new Churches, &c.*

' Which they with all Humility now present to your
' Majesty for your Royal Assent.'

After this, his Majesty gave the Royal Assent to the three
Bills before mention'd, as also to six more publick, and
to nine private Bills.

Then his Majesty was pleas'd to declare from the Throne,
that he had order'd the Lord Chancellor to deliver his Ma-
jesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, in his Majesty's
Name and Words, which he did accordingly, as follows :

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I Am perswaded you are all by this Time very desirous
" of some Recess, and that it cannot be deferr'd longer,
" without great Inconvenience to your private Affairs.

The King's Speech
at adjourning the
Parliament.

" But before I part with you, I must return you my most
" sincere Thanks for your having finish'd, with so much
" Wisdom and Unanimity, what I recommended to your
" Care ; and particularly I must thank you, Gentlemen of
" the House of Commons, for the Provision you have made,
" as well for the Support of the Honour and Dignity of
" the Crown, as for the other necessary Occasions of the
" Publick ; especially for your having done it by Means so
" little burthenfome to my People ; which, I assure you,
" recommends the Supplies to me above any other Circum-
" stance whatsoever.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" The open and declar'd Rebellion, which is now actually
" begun in Scotland, must convince all, who do not wish to
" see us given up into the Hands of a Popish Pretender, of
" the Dangers to which we have been, and are still expos'd.

" I

Anno 2. Geo. 1.

1715.

“ I thought it incumbent upon me, to give you the earliest Notice of the Designs of our Enemies, and I cannot sufficiently commend the Zeal and Dispatch with which you impower’d me, at a Time when the Nation was in so naked and defenceless a Condition, to make such Preparations as I should think necessary for our Security. You shall have no Reason to repent of the Trust and Confidence you repose in me, which I shall never use to any other End than for the Protection and Welfare of my People.

“ It was scarce to be imagin’d, that any of my Protestant Subjects, who have known and enjoy’d the Benefits of our excellent Constitution, and have heard of the great Dangers they were wonderfully deliver’d from by the happy Revolution, should, by any Arts and Management, be drawn into Measures that must at once destroy their Religion and Liberties, and subject them to Popery and arbitrary Power, but such has been our Misfortune, that too many of my People have been deluded, and made instrumental to the Pretender’s Designs, who had never dar’d to think of invading us, or raising a Rebellion, had he not been encourag’d by the Success his Emissaries and Adherents have already had in stirring up Riots and Tumults, and by the farther Hopes they entertain of raising Insurrections in many Parts of my Kingdoms.

“ The endeavouring to persuade my People, that the Church of England is in Danger under my Government, has been the main Artifice employ’d in carrying on this wicked and traiterous Design. This Insinuation, after the solemn Assurances I have given, and by having laid hold on all Opportunities, to do every Thing that may tend to the Advantage of the Church of England, is both unjust and ungrateful : Nor can I believe so groundless and malicious a Calumny can make any Impression upon the Minds of my faithful Subjects, or that they can be so far misled, as to think the Church of England is to be secur’d by setting a Popish Pretender on the Throne.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ The Proofs this Parliament has given of their unshaken Duty and Affection to me, and of their Love and Zeal for the Interest of their Country, will recommend you to the good Opinion and Esteem of all who have their Religion and Liberty truly at Heart, and has laid a lasting Obligation upon me ; and I question not, but by your farther Assistance in the several Countries to which you are going, with the Blessing of Almighty God, who has so frequently interpos’d in Favour of this Nation, I shall
“ be

"be able to disappoint and defeat the Designs of our Enemies.

Anno 2. Geo. I.
1715.

"Our Meeting again to do Business early in the next Winter, will be useful on many Accounts; particularly, that the fitting of Parliaments may be again brought into that Season of the Year which is most convenient; and that as little Delay may be given as is possible to your judicial Proceedings; and I shall at present give such Orders to my Lord Chancellor, as may not put it long out of my Power to meet you on any sudden Occasion."

And then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's Command, said,

My Lords and Gentlemen.

"It is his Majesty's Royal Will and Pleasure, that both Houses should forthwith severally adjourn themselves to Thursday the sixth Day of October next."

The House adjourns to Oct. 6th.

October 6. The Parliament being met at Westminster, pursuant to their last Adjournment, Gen. Stanhope acquainted the House, That it was the King's Pleasure, that the Parliament should be adjourn'd for a Fortnight; and therefore desir'd that the House would adjourn itself until the 20th of October: Which the House did accordingly.

October 20. Gen. Stanhope acquainted the House with his Majesty's Pleasure, that the Parliament be adjourn'd until the 5th of November. Upon which the Commons adjourn'd themselves to that Day, and afterwards to November 21st. and then to December 14. at his Majesty's Desire.

And afterwards to Dec. 14. by his Majesty's Command.

December 14. The Commons order'd, That Sir Edward Northey be added to the Committee of Secrecy, in the Room of Sir Richard Onslow, Bart. who had accepted the Place of one of the Tellers of his Majesty's Exchequer, and was not rechose. It was order'd likewise, that Mr Speaker do write circular Letters to all the Sheriffs of the Kingdom, to summon the Members in their respective Counties to attend the Service of the House upon the 9th of January: After which General Stanhope acquainted the House, that he had a Message from his Majesty to this House, sign'd by his Majesty; which he deliver'd to Mr Speaker, as follows, viz.

Sir Edw. Northey added to the Committee of Secrecy.

Circular Letters order'd, to require the Members Attendance on the 9th of January, to which Time the House adjourns.

GEORGE R.

"HIS Majesty understanding, that many, both of the House of Lords and Commons are detain'd in the Country, as well by their private as the publick Business; and the Holidays being now so near, during which there is usually a Recess, it is his Majesty's Pleasure, that the Parliament adjourn to Monday the ninth Day of January

"next

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1715.

“ next, at which Time his Majesty intends the Parliament
“ shall sit to do Business.

Then the House accordingly adjourn'd 'till Monday the
9th of January.

The Parliament
meet.

January 9. The Parliament being met at Westminster, the
King went to the House of Peers, and the Commons being
sent for up, and attending, the Lord Chancellor read his Ma-
jesty's Speech to both Houses, as follows:

My Lords and Gentlemen,
The King's Speech. “ **T**HE Zeal and Affection to my Government, and the
vigilant Care for the Safety of the Nation, which
“ you have shewn in your respective Counties, have not
“ only fully answer'd my Expectations, but give me Assur-
“ ances that you are met together resolv'd to act with a Spi-
“ rit becoming a Time of common Danger, and with such
“ a Vigour, as will end in the Confusion of all those who
“ have openly engag'd in this Rebellion, and in the Shame
“ and Reproach of such as by secret and malicious Insinua-
“ tions, have fomented, or by an avow'd Indifference, en-
“ courag'd this traiterous Enterprize.

“ It is, I doubt not, a great Satisfaction to you to have
“ observ'd, that the Powers you entrusted me with for the
“ Preservation of the publick Safety, have been employ'd in
“ the most proper and effectual Manner, and made strictly
“ subservient to those Purposes only for which you intended
“ them; and you must have had the Pleasure to reflect with
“ me, that as the Measures taken for our Defence, have
“ been just and necessary, so it has pleas'd the Divine Pro-
“ vidence to bless them with a Series of suitable Success: And
“ I cannot but take this Opportunity of doing Justice to the
“ Officers and Soldiers of the Army, whose brave and
“ faithful Discharge of their Duty, has disappointed our
“ Enemies, and contributed so much to the Safety of the
“ Nation.

“ I did hope, that the detecting and preventing the de-
“ sign'd Insurrections in some Parts of the Kingdom, and the
“ defeating in others, those who had taken up Arms against
“ me, would have put an End to this Rebellion; but it is
“ plain that our Enemies, animated by some secret Hopes
“ of Assistance, are still endeavouring to support this despe-
“ rate Undertaking; and the Pretender, as I have Reason
“ to believe, is now landed in Scotland.

“ It is however with Pleasure I can acquaint you, that
“ notwithstanding these intestine Commotions, Great Britain
“ has, in some Measure, recover'd its Influence and Repu-
“ tation Abroad. The Treaty for settling the Barrier for
“ the

“ the Netherlands; is now fully concluded between the Emperor and the States General, under my Guaranty. The King of Spain has agreed to a Treaty, by which that valuable Branch of our Commerce will be deliver'd from the new Impositions and Hardships to which it was subjected by the late Treaties, and will stand settled for the future on a Foot more advantageous and certain, than it ever did in the most flourishing Time of any of my Predecessors; and the Treaty for renewing all former Alliances between the Crown of Great Britain and the States General, is brought very near to its Conclusion.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I must rely on your Affection to me, and your Care and Concern for the Safety of the Nation, to grant me such Supplies, as may enable me to restore and secure the Peace of the Kingdom; and I will order Estimates of the necessary Expences to be laid before you.

“ Among the many unavoidable ill Consequences of this Rebellion, none affects me more sensibly, than that extraordinary Burthen which it has and must create to my faithful Subjects. To ease them as far as lies in my Power, I take this first Opportunity of declaring, that I will freely give up all the Estates that shall become forfeited to the Crown by this Rebellion, to be apply'd towards defraying the extraordinary Expence incurr'd on this Occasion.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ It is Matter of the greatest Uneasiness to me, that the first Years of my Reign, the whole Course of which I wish'd to have transmitted to Posterity, dittinguish'd by the fair and endearing Marks of Peace and Clemency, should be clouded and overcast with so unnatural a Rebellion; which, however impotent and unsuccessful a due Care may render it in all other Respects, does most sensibly afflict me, by the Calamities it has brought on many of my faithful Subjects, and by those indispensable Returns of Severity which their Sufferings and the publick Safety do most justly call for. Under this Concern, my greatest Comfort is, that I cannot reproach myself with having given the least Provocation to that Spirit of Discontent and Calumny that has been let loose against me, or the least Pretence for kindling the Flame of this Rebellion.

“ Let those whose fatal Counsels laid the Foundation of all these Mischiefs, and those whose private Discontents and Disappointments, disguis'd under false Pretences, have betray'd great Numbers of deluded People into their own Destruction, answer for the Miseries in which they have involv'd their Fellow-Subjects. I question not, but that with the Continuance of God's Blessings, who alone is

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“ able

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“ able to form Good out of Evil, and with the cheerful Assistance of my Parliament, we shall, in a short Time, see this Rebellion end, not only in restoring the Tranquility of my Government, but in procuring a firm and lasting Establishment of that excellent Constitution in Church and State, which it was manifestly design’d to subvert : And that this open and flagrant Attempt in Favour of Popery, will abolish all other Distinctions among us, but of such as are zealous Assertors of the Liberties of their Country, the present Establishment, and the Protestant Religion, and of such as are endeavouring to subject the Nation to the Revenge and Tyranny of a Popish Pretender.

An Address of Thanks to the King for the above Speech unanimously resolv’d on.

Mr Lechmere’s Speech thereon.

The Commons being return’d to their House, and having unanimously resolv’d on an Address of Thanks to his Majesty, sent to the Lords to desire them to continue sitting for some Time. This Message was carry’d by Mr Lechmere, who having reported to the House, that the Lords consented to do so, made a Speech to the following Effect, viz. ‘ That after the general Assurances the House had given to his Majesty, one Moment ought not to be lost, without taking some effectual Step towards making them good : That the first and great Concern was, to put an End to this Rebellion ; not only to quiet the present Commotions, but to extinguish the very Possibility of their being renew’d : That for these Ends, every Gentleman would agree to strengthen the Hands of the King in such a Manner, as would enable him speedily and effectually to compleat this Work : That the House would do this with absolute Cheerfulness, from the certain Knowledge and Experience they had of the Wisdom and Justice of his Majesty, who would make no other Use of any Confidence his Parliament should repose in him, than to promote the common Welfare of his People ; and that whatever extraordinary Assistance the present Juncture of Affairs should require, would be continued no longer than the publick Necessity call’d for : That the next useful and necessary Step, was the National Justice, which was incumbent on this House, in Duty to the King, as well as in Justice to the People : And as ungrateful and disagreeable a Part as this must be, yet, when the Design of the Enemy was become so desperate, and so avow’d, as to strike at the Crown upon the King’s Head, and to involve the Nation in the Calamities of a Civil War, the House could not exert themselves too early, nor with too much Vigour ; and that as the House acquitted itself on this Occasion, he promis’d himself the Effect would be answerable : That the Spirit which should be shewn in this Instance, would animate the Friends of the Government, both at Home and Abroad ; and the Terror it must strike

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on our Enemies, would be equal at least, and contribute as much to the common Safety, as any other Preparation that had or could be made. He wish'd he could say or think, that this Rebellion was the Project of those only, who appear'd to head it; or that it was the Result of the weak or rash Counsels of those who publickly avow'd it: He wish'd he could say, that it was the Work of Papists only, or of those few Protestants who were wicked or weak enough openly to join in it. He wish'd he could say, that it was a Plot but of Yesterday, and that it had taken no deeper Root than ordinary Appearances would lead to suspect; but he thought it plain, that it was the Effect of many Years Labour, of the joint and united Labour of great Numbers, both Protestants and Papists, the plain and necessary Consequence of the Measures which had been carrying on for some Years last: That to frame a right Judgment of the Nature of this Rebellion, he thought it necessary for the House to look back, and consider the natural Tendency of the publick Proceedings of late Years, and the Connection they bore with the present unfortunate State of Things: When Men in sacred Functions suffer'd themselves to become State-Instruments, and the great Merit of such Men was, under the Pretence of asserting the Doctrines of the Church of England, to condemn the Revolution, he could never understand any other Design or Tendency from those Practices, than to undermine the Foundation of the Protestant Succession. He remember'd it was said upon a very solemn Occasion, by a very honourable Gentleman, 'That the condemning the late "happy Revolution, could have no other Meaning, than to "make Way for another:" That however wicked and dangerous these Practices were, they made too great an Impression, and contributed a great deal to the present Calamity: That as the Designs of the Enemy grew more avow'd, State-Principles of another Kind were advanc'd, which still conduc'd to the same End: That 'twas well known what Industry was us'd to inculcate the Notions of Hereditary Right to the Crown, in Opposition to the Settlement which had been made of it in the House of Hanover, by the Authority of Parliament, and with no other View, than to weaken that Settlement: That every one remember'd what extraordinary Pains were taken to poison the People with this dangerous Notion; and that those who made the best Court to Men in Power, were such who espous'd this Opinion in the most notorious Manner: That he could not forget with what Tenderness a certain Divine of the Church of England was treated below Stairs, whilst under Prosecution for the most impudent Libel [*The Hereditary Right asserted, &c.*] that ever was publish'd against any Government, that had either

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Will or Power to maintain it self. He thought the Punishment that was inflicted on that Gentleman light enough, but he could not avoid taking Notice of a remarkable Passage, which then alarm'd every thinking Man, and will, one Time or other, deserve the Consideration of this House, viz. The Order from the Government, countersign'd by a Secretary of State, to the Judges of the Queen's Bench, after the Judgment pass'd, to supersede the ignominious Part of the Punishment, by Reason of the sacred Function of the Criminal ; by which the most unexampled and dangerous Distinction was introduc'd ; and which Proceeding could bear no other Construction, than as a License and Protection, even from the Government, to Men in holy Orders, to propagate that destructive Position with Impunity ; and the Character of the Person, which ought in Justice to have aggravated his Guilt, and heighten'd the Punishment, became his Indemnity against the Reproach of it, even by the Authority of the Government it self. He remember'd in what Manner every Thing of that Nature was treated in Westminster-Hall ; what Severities were exercis'd against those Persons who had Courage enough to assert the Interest of their Country, and of the Protestant Succession, at the same Time that the Patrons of hereditary Right enjoy'd all Indulgences : That he mention'd these Things on no Uncertainties, having been an Eye-Witness of them himself, and it having fallen to his Share to bear some Part in them : That this was one of the most successful Parts of the Scheme of those who had fix'd their Eyes on the Pretender : That the House need not be told how far it had operated to the Prejudice of the Protestant Succession. That he could give many other Instances of this Kind ; all which promoted the same End. The gross Distinctions that were coin'd to elude the Oaths that had been made for the Security of the Government ; the Endeavours that were us'd to possess the People with false Fears of the Danger of the Church ; and the little Care that was taken, to say no worse of it, to instil into the Youth of the Kingdom, such Principles as were consistent with the true Interest either of Church or State. That he look'd upon these Things which he had mention'd, to be the Foundation of the Scheme that was now, by this Rebellion, carrying on into Execution ; and he own'd, that in this Respect, the Authors of it were wise in their Generation ; for by these Arts, the very Principle on which the Protestant Succession is founded, was shaken ; and tho' the Methods of doing it, were base and vile, yet the Dissatisfaction and Uneasiness that was created by them in the Minds of the People, made Way for the Change that was desir'd. That he crav'd Leave of the House, to put them

them in Mind of other Parts of this Scheme, that was carrying on at the same Time. The Enemies to the present Government judging aright for their own Purpose, by all Methods to attack the Consciences of the People, as to the Legality and Justice of the Settlement of the Crown in the House of Hanover, they thought it necessary, at the same Time, to disable, as far as they could, those Persons who had been most remarkable for their Services in the Support of it. That the great Effort was made at that Great Man, [*the Duke of Marlborough*] who is not only the Honour and Ornament of his Country, but the Glory of the Age he lives in. He added, he thought he should not be suspected of Flattery at this Time, nor, as he believ'd, at any Time, with Respect to that Great Man. That many who then heard him, remember'd the Part he took in Vindication of that Great Man, whilst his Character was under Debate in this House. That he could not forget the Rage and Inveteracy with which he was pursu'd; nor how much Stress was laid upon obtaining the Censures of Parliament upon him: That the Aspersions then thrown upon him, did not hurt that Great Man; and whatever Endeavours may at any Time be us'd to lessen him, will hurt none but those that shall promote them; but yet those vain Endeavours were a very useful Part of the Scheme then carrying on. 'Twas a necessary Step for those Men to put him out of the Way, whose very Name and Appearance, at that Time, would have been sufficient to raise Armies in Favour of the Protestant Succession, and the Liberties of his Country: But he could not but observe, that as serviceable as it was for the Measures of those Men to wound his Character, 'twas now a Reproach to the Kingdom, that those groundless Aspersions, which had been cast upon him, should remain upon the Journals of Parliament. That another Great Lord, [*the Lord Viscount Townshend*] fell under the Violence of those Times, whose Prosecution was attended with uncommon Fury. That himself had some Share in justifying that Great Man in this House, when he was voted an Enemy to his Country. That he observ'd at that Time, and the Event has made it evident, that the Barrier was but the Pretence, and the great Services he had done to the Protestant Succession, was the true Provocation which drew that Rage upon him. That two other honourable Gentlemen, [*Gen. Stanhope and Mr R. Walpole then sitting near him,*] had felt the Severity of those Times; they had distinguish'd themselves by their Zeal and Firmness to the true Interest of their Country, and were too considerable to escape the Malice of those who had other Views. That those Proceedings, how uncertain soever the Design of them might appear.

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appear while they were transacting, have been sufficiently explain'd by what has follow'd. That the Name of that General, for whose immediate Service the Great Man first mention'd, was blemish'd, and for whom there was Vanity enough to make him his Rival, is now become the Reproach of his Family and Country: He avows the Service of the Pretender, and e'er long we may hear of him at the Head of an Expedition for establishing Popery and arbitrary Power. That the Secretary of State, who distinguish'd himself in the Pursuit of the other Great Lord, has sufficiently explain'd his Designs to the whole World; and the next Tidings that we may expect from abroad, is, that he has taken upon him the Character of a Minister to the Pretender. That he look'd upon the disabling the great Asserters of the Protestant Interest, to be a second, and no small Part of the Scheme; and while these Things were carrying on, their little Engines and Tools were carrying on their Work in Westminster-Hall. That every Man who favour'd the Hanover Succession, was to be worry'd, and all open and scandalous Asserters of contrary Principles, were treated with all the Care and Tendernefs of Friends. Charters of Corporations were attack'd in a more unprecedented and dangerous Manner, than in former Times, when Practices of that Kind were most justly complain'd of, and no Stone was left unturn'd to strengthen themselves in that Respect. That he would not then trouble the House any more upon that Head, having some Thoughts, e'er long, to present them with a small Collection of Things of that Kind, for their serious Consideration. That the Master-Strokes of this grand Scheme, were yet behind: That the surest Way to destroy the Government, has been always thought to be by its own Hands, that is, by the Authority and Power of Parliament. For this Purpose, a Confederacy, by which the Liberties of Europe had been so long sustain'd against the Power of France, was broke to Pieces by Votes that were obtain'd in this House in the most extraordinary Manner. That the Honour of the Nation, the Balance of Power, and the Protestant Interest in Europe, were effectually given up in the Negotiations and Conclusion of the Peace, by which France was restor'd to its ancient and formidable State; and every Body remember'd how near they were, by the same Influences, to have given up the whole Trade of the Nation, to the Interest of the French King, who, after that, had no suitable Return left for him to make for such Services, but to bestow upon them a Pretender, bred up in his own Faith, and in his own Politicks. That nothing could have obstructed this, but the many miraculous Providences that immediately follow'd, when his Power
throughout

throughout Europe was uncontestable; and, by the Measures that had been taken, the Protestant Succession had scarce a Friend left in the World. That the King's Accession to the Throne, accompany'd by so many providential Circumstances, as it disappointed the immediate Execution of the Scheme, so it quieted the Spirit of those Men for some Time. That if the House would make a right Judgment of the present Rebellion, they must compare the Steps that immediately preceded it, with those that were taken in the last Reign, when the Hope was to have brought about the same End without a Stroke; That the same Endeavours soon appear'd to propagate the same Principles, both in Church and State; and those Endeavours, tho' at first not so open, were yet as restless to create Dissatisfaction against his Majesty's Government, as they had been before to prevent its taking Place. As the Encouragement grew stronger, Tumults and Riots were universally fomented; and 'twas well known from what Quarter they rose, and against whom they were levell'd; but yet no one Instance has been assign'd, throughout his Administration, that could offend or provoke any but a Jacobite Spirit. That his Majesty has done more for the Honour of the Church, and the true Interest of his Kingdom, than any of his Predecessors, in three Times the Number of Years: That his Personal Virtues, and the Wisdom and Steadiness of his Government, have retriev'd the Honour and Reputation of his Kingdoms, which had been so shamefully lost: That his Weight and Influence Abroad, and the Credit he has obtained in all the known Parts of the World, have already procur'd the Settlement of the Matters in Difference between the two chief Powers of Europe, from whom alone we can expect Assistance in Times of Danger. That no single Instance can be assign'd of Hardship or Oppression to any one of his Subjects, or that can give a just Reason of Dissatisfaction; but on the contrary, those who have shewn the greatest Aversion to his Government, have receiv'd the kindest Invitations, and enjoyed the highest Indulgences from him. That if any Errors may have been committed in any Parts of the Administration, during the present Disorders, every honest Man ought to judge of them by this one Rule, that is, the plain Design for which all Measures are calculated, which every Body must admit to be the Preservation of the Protestant Succession: That all Incidents of such an Administration, ought to be cover'd or justify'd by the Interest that shall appear to be carry'd on throughout the whole: That by the same Rule of Justice, when the Destruction of the Common Interest was the plain Intention of the late Administration, the greatest Weight ought to be laid on every little Circum-

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stance that attended, in order to obtain a publick Satisfaction. That by taking in all these Considerations, he thought the House would make a full and right Judgment of the Nature of this Rebellion; from whence it took its Rise, how deep it had taken Root, to what Influences it was owing, and how far it extended; That the Part the Lord Derwentwater and others, had taken in it; were to be consider'd as the first Symptoms of that general Disorder, for which so much Foundation was laid; for which Reason, he thought that the House could not consider this otherwise, than as the Cause of the Nation, in the strongest Manner. That in Justice to the King, as well as to the People, they ought to take this into their own Hands, and not to entrust the Prosecution of it with any Body but themselves. That every Body knew to what Hazards Prosecutions in the ordinary Course of Justice, were liable, tho' they were never so well concerted by those whose Business it was to carry them on: But how sure soever this Success might be, in a Case so notorious as this, yet it was obvious to every Body, of what different Weight and Influence the Prosecutions of Parliament were, from those in the ordinary Forms. That he own'd he was surpriz'd that any Measures had been taken of that Kind, against the Peers who had been taken in open Rebellion, a Parliament sitting, which had shew'd so much Zeal, and had contributed so much to the Preservation of the Government, especially at a Time when the Crown on the King's Head was fighting for. That he very well knew, that tho' the House of Commons Right of Impeaching Criminals was unlimited, yet they would exercise that Power by the Rules of Wisdom and Discretion, and not engage in trivial Matters, but in such only, where the Offenders were not within the Reach of the ordinary Justice, or the Nature of their Crimes such as were not fit to be meddled with by the ordinary Jurisdictions. That the Case of the Lords taken in Rebellion, was indeed notorious, and of which the Proof would be easy; but tho' not from the Difficulty of the Prosecution, yet from the Weight and Consequence of it, he thought he need say little more to convince the House, to make it their own Prosecution, by which they engag'd every Commoner in Great Britain, as an immediate Party against those who had carry'd a War into the Bowels of the Kingdom. That no Instance ever had risen in the English History, where their Ancestors had permitted a Prosecution of this Kind, against the chief Actors, to be carry'd any where but in full Parliament. That the five Popish Lords were pursu'd by the loud Voice and Weight of the Commons of England; and tho' at that Time the Nation was in Peace, they would not permit the Fate of these Prosecutions to depend on the Care or Skill of those

who

who are vers'd in the ordinary Forms of Justice ; and their Success was answerable. That he own'd his Desire, upon all Occasions, to raise the Honour and Authority of Parliaments, which he thought the greatest Support of the Honour and the Prerogatives of the Crown ; for which Reason, he took this Occasion to speak more fully to the Nature of Impeachments, and the rather, because he apprehended some Gentlemen had mistaken Notions concerning them : That the Power of Impeachments was the most valuable and useful Privilege that belong'd to the Body of the Commons, at least equal to that of giving Money, which belongs solely to them. That Gentlemen need not be apprehensive of any Intricacies in those Proceedings, especially at a Time, and upon an Occasion, when there was no Doubt of the Concurrence of both Houses. That the Impeachments were in themselves more plain, regular, and disentangled, than any other Forms of Justice. That they were particularly excepted out of the late Statute of Treasons, which had very much fetter'd the ordinary Course of Proceedings. That Impeachments were never made difficult, but when they were carried on against the Inclination of the Crown, or at a Time when there was no good Understanding between the two Houses ; when little Occasions might be sought to raise Disputes, and interrupt them ; or else when they are undertaken, before they are well consider'd ; which could not be the present Case. That there was another Reason, which upon this Occasion should determine Gentlemen into this Method ; which was the Consequence of the Judgment that should be obtained against those Lords ; He asserted it as his clear Opinion, and which he thought he could maintain, 'That no Pardon under the Great Seal could discharge a Judgment obtain'd upon the Impeachment of the Commons : ' That this Opinion had been strenuously asserted in this House in former Reigns ; and he thought it not weakened by the Declaration in the Act of Settlement of the Crown upon the House of Hanover. That he had heard of a very new Distinction that had been coin'd without Doors, to avoid this Opinion, viz. ' That the Pardon was not pleadable in Bar of the Impeachment, and to prevent the Commons from examining into the Offence ; but that it was pleadable after Judgment, and in Bar of Execution.' That whenever that Question should come properly before them, he undertook to shew the Idleness and Absurdity of that Distinction ; That if that Distinction was fram'd to make Court to the Prerogative, he thought it the most false and destructive Piece of Flattery of the Kind, that ever had been rais'd. That it was the greatest Ease, Security, and Support of the Crown, in his Opinion, instead of any Diminution of it, that no such Power should be

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lodg'd there, to be exercis'd on any Occasion, to prevent the Possibility of the Crown's being wrought upon by any Influences to defeat the Judgment given in full Parliament, with the Concurrence of both Houses, against the highest Offenders ; which must inevitably create the greatest Jealousy, and cause the highest Dissatisfactions between the Crown and the People : For this Reason, he took it to be the greatest Advantage to the Crown, that the Constitution of the Kingdom had not, as he thought, invested it with any such Power ; and on the other Side it would clearly appear, that such a Power was utterly inconsistent with the Fundamental Rights of Parliament. That he own'd he was surpris'd to hear, that any such Distinction should be started at this Time : But if the Law was as he apprehended it to be, it was the strongest Reason for the Commons to interpose in this Prosecution, to defend the Crown from the many Importunities to which it would be subject in the ordinary Course of Justice ; and that the Weight of the Prosecution, and the Consequences of it, should be born by the Commons, as it ought to be in a Case so National as this. That if Gentlemen wanted any other Motives to induce them to make this Prosecution their own, he had a Paper in his Hand, which would fire the Thoughts of every Gentleman there, [*meaning the Pretender's Declaration* :] That no Body could read, without the utmost Indignation, the Personal Indignities that were therein cast upon the best of Princes, whose Title to the Crown, they were bound by all the Ties of Duty, Affection, and Interest, to maintain. That the House could do no less than to resent this so far, as to make themselves the Prosecutors of those who avow'd this Cause of the Pretender, and set themselves at the Head of Armies, in the Heart of the King's Dominions. That in this Paper, the House would see how they were treated themselves : That they were represented as the most illegal and infamous Assembly of Men that ever met together. That these Considerations ought in Justice to animate and invigorate their Proceedings in every Respect, 'till the Inveteracy and Insolence of the Enemy were entirely subdued : That he did not think that the Proceedings of this House ought, in any Case, to be governed by vindictive Considerations, but by such Circumstances only, as from their real Weight and Consequence call'd for the Interposition of the Commons : That he was sensible that the Commons had a great Work upon their Hands, upon other Impeachments, which they had thought fit to enter upon, and which were still depending : That he knew also what Situation these Impeachments were in ; and hop'd they would be resum'd and carry'd on in due Season, with the same Vigour with which they were undertaken : That he likewise believed, that the Nation

Nation expected that their Inquiries upon that Head should be extended, and appear to be impartial, it not being possible that a greater Dishonour could be brought, or an heavier Imputation cast upon, the Proceedings of that House, than that of Partiality, which could not fail to sink their Credit, and to prevent all the good Effects that were hop'd and expected from them ; However he concluded, that every Gentleman would agree with him, that the present Situation and Con-juncture of Affairs made it necessary to give the Preference to those Lords who had been taken in open Rebellion : And thereupon he impeached James Earl of Derwentwater of High Treason ; which Impeachment he undertook to make good.'

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Upon this, the House resolv'd to impeach the said Earl of High Treason ; as they did likewise, upon the Motions severally made by Mr W. Pulteney, Mr Boscawen, Mr Hampden, Lord Finch, the Earl of Hertford, and Mr Wortley, to impeach of the same Crime William Lord Widdrington, William Earl of Nithisdale, George Earl of Wintoun, Robert Earl of Carnwath, William Viscount Kenmure, and William Lord Nairn. Then Mr Lechmere, and the other six Members, in Pursuance of the Commands of the House, carry'd up an Impeachment to the Bar of the House of Lords, in the Words following, viz.

The House resolve to impeach the Lords Derwentwater, Widdrington, Nithisdale, Wintoun, Carnwath, Kenmure and Nairn of High Treason.

My Lords,

THE Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, having receiv'd Information of divers Treasons committed by a Great Peer of this House, James Earl of Derwentwater, have commanded me to impeach the said James Earl of Derwentwater of High Treason : And I do here, in their Names, and in the Names of all the Commons of Great Britain, impeach the said James Earl of Derwentwater of High Treason. And I am farther commanded by the House of Commons, to acquaint your Lordships, that they will, with all convenient Speed, exhibit Articles to make good the Charge against him.

The other six Impeachments were all in the same Form.

The said seven Members being returned to the House, and having reported what they had done, a Committee was appointed, of which Mr Lechmere was Chair-Man, and order'd to draw up Articles of Impeachment against the seven impeach'd Lords, which being drawn up accordingly, and agreed to by the House, were carry'd to the Lords by Mr Lechmere. The Articles at large the Reader may see in the *STATE TRIALS*, Vol. 6.

Articles drawn up accordingly, and carried to the Lords by Mr Lechmere.

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Mr Forster expell'd
the House.

The same Day the Commons resolv'd that Thomas Forster, Esq; Member for Northumberland, having been taken in open Rebellion, bearing Arms against his Majesty, be expell'd the House.

January, 11. The Commons presented the following Address to the King.

Most gracious Sovereign,

The Commons Address to the King.

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, return your Majesty our unfeigned Thanks for your most gracious Speech from the Throne.

We beg Leave most heartily to congratulate your Majesty upon the Success that has attended your Arms; and it is with the greatest Satisfaction we observe, that the Officers and Soldiers of the Army have, by a brave and faithful Discharge of their Duty, deserv'd your Majesty's Approbation; and that the just and necessary Measures taken for strengthening your Majesty's Hands, have had so good an Effect, in preventing Insurrections in several Parts of the Kingdom.

The wise and seasonable Provision which your Majesty has made, both at Home and from Abroad, for the Safety of the Nation; your Goodness in giving all such Estates as shall be forfeited by this Rebellion, in Ease of your People; and the tender Regard and Concern which you have been pleas'd to express for their Sufferings, call for all the Returns of Duty, Zeal, and Affection, which faithful and loyal Subjects can owe or pay to the best of Kings.

This Rebellion, (for which not the least Colour of Provocation has been given) as it ought very justly to be the Object of your Majesty's Contempt, so it raises in your truly loyal Commons the highest Resentment and Indignation against those ungrateful desperate Rebels, whose pernicious Principles, private Discontents and Disappointments, have engag'd them to involve their Country in Blood and Confusion.

We look with Pity upon those unhappy deluded People, who by false Pretences, and malicious Insinuations, have been betray'd into their own Destruction; but we detest, and will do our utmost to confound the Devices of those, who, professing an unlimited Obedience, have stirr'd up a Rebellion against your Majesty, and, under the Disguise of the Danger of the Church, are endeavouring to introduce Popery: And when we reflect, that nothing less than our holy Religion, your Majesty's Crown, and the Liberties of our Country, are concern'd in the Event of this wicked

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Undertaking, We cannot but with Astonishment observe the Indifference of some in this great and important Juncture.

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But your faithful Commons, with Hearts full of a due Sense of the invaluable Blessings which they enjoy under your Majesty's most auspicious Government, offer their Lives and Fortunes in Defence of your undoubted Title to the Crown, in Support of the Protestant Religion, and in Maintenance of the Liberty and Property of the Subject; which, as they were wonderfully preserv'd to us by your Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne, can only be secur'd to Posterity by the Eye of Heaven watching over and guarding your sacred Person and your Royal Family.

And that this Nation may long continue to be a Protestant and a Free People, your most dutiful and loyal Commons do most readily promise to grant such early and effectual Supplies, as may enable your Majesty to put an End to this unnatural Rebellion, to confound and extinguish forever all Hopes of the Pretender, his open and secret Abettors, and secure the future Peace and Tranquility of your Kingdoms; being well assur'd, that your good People will think no Burthen grievous, that is necessary for the Preservation of all that is dear and valuable to them.

But your Majesty's Care and Concern for the publick Welfare has not been confin'd to your own Kingdoms; and however your Enemies might flatter themselves, that these intestine Commotions would lessen the Influence of Great Britain in foreign Parts, your Commons with Admiration see, and with Gratitude acknowledge, the Effect of your Wisdom, which has been able to surmount these Difficulties, in settling the Barrier-Treaty for the Netherlands, between the Emperor and the States-General, under your Majesty's Guaranty; in having made so great a Progress towards renewing all former Alliances between Great-Britain and the States-General; and particularly in delivering that valuable Branch of our Commerce with Spain, from those grievous Impositions and Hardships to which it was subjected by the Treachery of the late Male-Administration.

And as the same fatal and pernicious Counsels have been the Cause and Source of all the Mischiefs and Calamities that must attend this unnatural Rebellion; and as your faithful Commons, desirous to testify their Zeal and Duty to your Majesty, and their Abhorrence of this treasonable Enterprize, have already exerted themselves in endeavouring to bring to speedy and exemplary Justice, the open and declar'd Instruments of this Rebellion, they think themselves oblig'd, in Justice to their injur'd Country, to continue in the most vigorous and impartial manner, to
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“ prosecute the Authors of those evil and destructive Counsels,
“ which have drawn down these Miseries upon the Nation.

To which his Majesty was pleas'd to make this Answer.

Gentlemen,

The King's Answer. “ I Return you my hearty Thanks for the kind and warm
“ Assurances of Loyalty contain'd in this Address ; from
“ which I promise my self the most happy Consequences,
“ since nothing can so effectually restore the Peace and Tran-
“ quility of the Kingdom, as the commendable Zeal you
“ have express'd upon this Occasion.

January 21. The King went to the House of Peers, and gave the Royal Assent to a Bill intituled, *An Act for continuing an Act to empower his Majesty to secure and detain such Persons as his Majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his Person and Government, &c.*

Debate concerning
the continuing the
Bill for suspending
the Habeas Corpus
Act.

Mr Shippen.

General Stanhope.

This Bill had been strenuously oppos'd : Mr Shippen made a Speech against it, in which he insinuated, 'That it invaded the most valuable Right of English Subjects, encourag'd malicious Informations, and gave a Handle to those in Power to oppress innocent Persons ; he therefore mov'd to have a Clause inserted in it, to prevent illegal Imprisonments, and for the better securing the Liberty of the Subject, in Cases not within the Purport of the said Act.' He was answer'd by Gen. Stanhope, who endeavour'd to shew the Necessity of such an Act, at a Time of open Rebellion ; and appeal'd to the whole House, whether the King or his Ministers had made an ill or a wanton Use of the Power with which the Parliament had thought fit to intrust his Majesty.' And the Question being put upon Mr Shippen's Motion, it pass'd in the Negative.

The King having given the Royal Assent to the said Bill, the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's Command, read the following Speech to both Houses,

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech relat-
ing to the Pre-
tender's heading
the Rebellion in
Scotland.

“ I Had Reason to believe, when I spoke last to you, that
“ the Pretender was landed in Scotland ; the Accounts I
“ have receiv'd since do put it beyond all Doubt, that he
“ is heading the Rebellion there, and does assume the Stile
“ and Title of King of these Realms ; his Adherents do like-
“ wise confidently affirm, that Assurances are given them
“ of Support from Abroad. This Parliament hath, on all
“ Occasions, express'd so much Duty to me, and so true a
“ Regard for the religious and civil Rights of my People,
“ that I am perswaded this daring Presumption of our Ene-
“ mies

" mies will heighten your just Indignation against them, and
 " beget such farther Resolutions as, with the Blessing of God,
 " will enable me to defeat their Attempts.

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Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" The most effectual Way to put a speedy End to these
 " Troubles, will be to make such a Provision as may dis-
 " courage any Foreign Power from assisting the Rebels ; I
 " do therefore hope, that every sincere Protestant and true
 " Briton will look upon the extraordinary Expence which a
 " timely Preparation may require, to be the best Husbandry,
 " since it will, in all human Probability, prevent that Deso-
 " lation and those Calamities, which would unavoidably
 " ensue, if the Rebellion should be suffer'd to spread, and
 " be supported by Popish Forces from Abroad.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" The World must be convinc'd, by all you have already
 " done, that you have nothing but the Honour and Interest
 " of your Country at Heart ; and for my own Part, I rely
 " entirely upon you, and doubt not but you will take such
 " Resolutions, at this Juncture, as will be most for the pre-
 " sent Safety, and future Ease of my People.

January 24. The Commons presented an Address to the
 King, as follows :

Most Gracious Sovereign,

" **W**E your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects,
 " the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament as-
 " sembled, do, with all Humility, return our unfeigned
 " Thanks for your Majesty's most gracious Speech from the
 " Throne, and for your great Goodness in communicating to
 " us those important Advices which so highly concern the
 " immediate Safety of your Kingdoms.

The Commons Ad-
 dress of Thanks.

" We can never sufficiently express our grateful Sense of
 " your Majesty's constant Care and Tenderneſs for your Peo-
 " ple, on every Occasion, since your Accession to the Throne
 " of your Ancestors ; but 'tis with the utmost Satisfaction of
 " Heart, that we now experience the happy Effects of that
 " just Confidence which your loyal and affectionate Commons
 " have already repos'd in your great Wisdom, for making
 " such Augmentation of Troops as your Majesty should find
 " necessary for our common Safety : And tho' the Growth
 " of the Rebellion has already necessitated an Increase of For-
 " ces, yet we must ever acknowledge your wise and tender
 " Concern for your People, in having made Provision for our
 " Defence in such a Manner, at this Time of common Dan-
 " ger, as must convince the World, that it is with the utmost
 " Reluctancy to your Majesty, that any farther Burthens are
 " brought

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‘ brought on your Subjects ; and that your Majesty has nothing at Heart, but the Security and Welfare of your People.

‘ Your dutiful Commons do likewise acknowledge, with the highest Gratitude to your Majesty, that by the prudent Disposition of your Forces, not only the Designs of our Enemies to have rais’d Insurrections in many Parts of the Kingdom have been entirely frustrated, and the Peace and Tranquility of these Nations thereby, in a great Measure, preserv’d ; but to that, we owe, under God, those signal Successes which have check’d the Progress of the Rebellion, and which have given us, your faithful Commons, so early and just an Occasion to exert our selves in the most vigorous and effectual Manner, for bringing some of the chief Actors to condign Punishment. We are astonish’d at the daring Presumption of the Pretender and his Adherents ; and do most sincerely and heartily assure your Majesty, that our Indignation is hereby heighten’d against them ; and that we cannot so far forget our Duty and Affection to your Majesty, and our Concern for our Religion and Liberties, as not to take, at this critical Juncture, such farther Resolutions, as will enable your Majesty, with the Blessing of God, to defeat their Designs. Your faithful Commons being therefore firmly and unalterably resolv’d to spare no Expence, and to decline no Hazard for the Support of your Majesty’s Title and Government, whereon all that is dear and valuable to us and our Posterities, under God, entirely depends ; and being most earnestly desirous to give all imaginable Proofs of our constant and unshaken Zeal and Affection for your sacred Person, and being thoroughly convinc’d that we cannot more effectually consult our own Security, than by testifying our entire Confidence in your Majesty’s known Justice, Wisdom, and Goodness, do most humbly beseech your Majesty, that you will be graciously pleas’d to give Directions, from Time to Time, for such farther Augmentation of Troops as the Exigency of Affairs shall render necessary.

‘ And we farther assure your Majesty, that we will grant such Supplies as shall be sufficient, not only to maintain such additional Forces, and to defeat all Attempts of your Enemies, both at Home and Abroad, and to prevent those Calamities which must ensue, if this unnatural Rebellion be suffer’d to spread ; but also to enable your Majesty, with the Blessing of God, effectually to shew your Resentment against any foreign Power, that shall presume, directly or indirectly, to abet or support the Pretender or his Adherents.

To

To this Address, the King answer'd,

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The King's Answer,

Gentlemen,
 " I Thank you heartily for this Address. If any Thing
 " could add to the good Opinion this House of Com-
 " mons deserves from me, it would be the Zeal and Unani-
 " mity you have shewn upon this Occasion. You may de-
 " pend upon my continuing always, as I have hitherto done,
 " to make Use of the Confidence and Powers you put in me,
 " only for restoring and securing the Peace and Quiet of
 " my People.

The Particulars of the Trials, Condemnation, &c. of the impeach'd Lords before the House of Peers, being related at large in the sixth Volume of *STATE TRIALS*; and the inserting of them here being also foreign to our Design, which is only to mention such Proceedings as were the Subject of some *SPEECHES or DEBATES in the House of Commons*, We think it proper to omit the same.

February 17. The King went to the House of Peers, and gave the Royal Assent to such Bills as were ready.

After which, the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's Command, read the following Speech to both Houses.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I Take this Opportunity of acquainting you, that my
 " Forces have oblig'd the Pretender to fly out of Scot-
 " land; and he is since, as I am informed, landed near Gra-
 " velines, but I don't yet know, whether any Country in
 " Amity with us, will give him Protection, after having
 " so publicly invaded our Kingdom.

King's Speech re-
lating to the Pre-
tender's Flight out
of Scotland.

" The Dangers to which the Nation was expos'd, made
 " me determine, that neither the extraordinary Rigour of
 " the Season, nor any fallacious Proposal of the Rebels,
 " should divert me from using all possible Endeavours to-
 " wards putting a speedy and effectual End to this unnatural
 " Rebellion.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" I must return you my Thanks for the great Progress
 " you have made in the Supplies. The necessary Dispositions
 " are made for raising additional Forces: But as I shall al-
 " ways consult the Ease of my People, as far as it is con-
 " sistent with their own Security, so I shall not make use of
 " the Confidence you have plac'd in me, unless the restless
 " Malice of our Enemies should make it necessary to go on
 " with those Levies.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I promise my self, from the Zeal and Wisdom of this
 " Parliament, that the future Happiness and Tranquility of

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“ my Subjects, will be establish'd on a solid Foundation ;
“ and such Measures taken, as may deprive our Enemies at
“ Home of the Power, since that alone can deprive them of
“ the Inclination, again to attempt the Disturbance of my
“ Government. This, therefore, is what I think my self
“ oblig'd to recommend to you, as a Deliberation of the
“ utmost Importance to the future Safety, Ease, and Prospe-
“ rity of my People.

February 20. The House presented the following Address
to the King.

Most gracious Sovereign,

The Commons
Address.

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects,
the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament as-
sembled, do, with Hearts full of Gratitude, return your
Majesty our unfeigned Thanks for your most gracious
Speech from the Throne ; and do beg Leave most hear-
tily to congratulate with your Majesty, upon the Success
with which it has pleased Almighty God so far to bless
your Arms, as to force the Pretender out of your Ma-
jesty's Dominions.

We are willing to hope, that, no Prince or State in
Amity with your Majesty, will give Refuge, Countenance,
or Protection to a Person, who in so notorious a Manner,
has disturb'd the Peace of your Kingdoms ; but the Dan-
gers to which your Majesty's sacred Person and Govern-
ment, the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of our Country,
have been once expos'd by this vile Attempt, would leave
your Commons without Excuse to those they represent, if
they should see, with Patience, the Nation expos'd to the
like Hazard for the future, by the Pretender to your
Majesty's Crown being shelter'd in your Neighbourhood :
We do therefore make it our humble Request to your
Majesty, that you will use the most earnest and pressing
Instances with all Princes and States in Amity with your
Majesty, that he may not be harbour'd in their Territo-
ries ; and we beg Leave to give your Majesty the strong-
est Assurances that we will, to the utmost of our Power,
contribute whatever shall, by your Majesty, be judg'd ne-
cessary to render those Instances effectual.

The tender Regard which your Majesty expresses for
the Ease of your People, in declining to put the Nation
to any farther Expence at present for additional Forces,
does, if possible, heighten that Confidence which we so
justly had repos'd in you : But we beseech your Majesty,
that in settling the Proportion of Forces to be maintain'd
this Year by Sea and Land, your Majesty will have such
a Regard to the Disposition and Preparations of our Neigh-
bours,

' hours, from Time to Time, as to provide effectually for the Security of your Kingdoms against any Power that shall presume to countenance or abet the Pretender. Your Commons cannot sufficiently express the just Sense they have of your Majesty's consummate Wisdom and firm Resolution not to be diverted or amus'd by any Difficulties of the Season, or any specious Artifices, from pursuing the Rebels in Scotland to their several Retreats, since that Method alone could restore and secure, with Honour, Peace and Tranquility to that Part of your Dominions.

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' 'Tis with the utmost Concern we observe, that the Malice and Inveteracy of our Enemies at Home, is so great, that they want not the Inclination to disturb your Majesty's Government; but your faithful Commons, in Duty to your Majesty, and Love for their Country, will endeavour to deprive them of the Power, by taking such prudent and necessary Measures, as may most effectually secure the future Safety, Ease, and Prosperity of your People.'

To which his Majesty was pleas'd to return the following Answer.

Gentlemen,

" I Thank you for this dutiful and affectionate Address.
" I will endeavour, by all proper Means, to prevent the Pretender's being suffer'd to give perpetual Jealousies, by continuing in our Neighbourhood; and will, if the Advices I shall receive from Abroad do render it necessary, not lose any Time in making such an Augmentation of Forces by Sea and Land, as may, with the Blessing of God, effectually answer your Wishes to see the Nation secur'd from any foreign or intestine Attempt whatsoever."

King's Answer.

February 21. Several Petitions were deliver'd to the House of Commons in Behalf of the Earl of Derwentwater, Lord Widdrington, Earl of Nithisdale, Earl of Carnwath, Lord Viscount Kenmure, and Lord Nairn, after Sentence of Death had been pass'd on them; nevertheless, though many Members were inclined to Mercy, yet, upon a Motion made by those of the contrary Opinion, who were for having the Law executed in its full Rigour, and therefore were desirous to be rid of any farther Importunities on this Account, the Question was put, that the House should adjourn to the first of March, which was carry'd in the Affirmative, by a Majority of seven Voices only.

The Commons adjourn, to prevent any Application to them in Favour of the impeach'd Lords.

March 1. The Parliament met, according to their Adjournment: The next Day Mr Lechmere made a Speech on the

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Mr Lechmere's
Motion for a Bill
to strengthen the
Protestant Interest.

the Male-administration of the Ministry during the last Years of the late Queen, particularly with Relation to the Hardships then put on the Dissenters, who, he added, were firm Friends to the Protestant Succession ; and the visible Concurrence and Favour shewn to the Roman Catholicks, the open and declar'd Enemies of it and of the Illustrious House of Hanover ; and concluded with a Motion for bringing in *a Bill to strengthen the Protestant Interest in Great Britain, by enforcing the Laws now in being against Papists.* He was seconded by the Lord Coningsby ; and no Member opposing the Motion, the Bill was ordered to be brought in accordingly.

Nothing farther occur'd in the House of Commons, which gave Occasion to any Speeches or Debates 'till the 19th of April, except their Proceedings at the Bar of the House of Lords against the Earl of Wintoun, one of the seven impeach'd Lords, the Particulars of which are to be found at large in the *STATE TRIALS*, Vol. 6.

The Lords having
pass'd a Bill for re-
pealing the Triennial
Act, send it to
the Commons for
their Concurrence.

Debate thereon.
Lord Guernsey,

April 19. The Lords having sent Mr Justice Tracy and Mr Justice Dormer to acquaint the Commons, that they had pass'd a Bill intituled, *An Act for enlarging the Time of Continuance of Parliaments, appointed by an Act made in the 6th Year of King William and Queen Mary*, to which they desir'd their Concurrence : The Lord Guernsey immediately mov'd, to reject the Bill, without reading it : But because that would have been an unprecedented Method of Proceeding, the House would not agree to it, but read the Bill the first Time, and the Question being put, that it be read a second Time, there arose a Debate that lasted about two Hours. The most remarkable Objection that was then urg'd against the Bill, was, ' That it was an Imposition of the Lords, to take upon them to direct the Commons in a Matter which concern'd them only, as Guardians of the Rights and Liberties of the People.' But to this it was answer'd, ' That even the Triennial Act itself was begun in the House of Lords, who, as Part of the Legislature, are no less Guardians of the Liberties of the Subject than the Commons themselves. At length it was carry'd by a Majority of 276 against 156, that the Bill should be read a second Time on the Tuesday following.

April 24. Six Petitions, viz. Of the Boroughs and Towns of Marlborough, Midhurst, Hastings, Cambridge, Abingdon, and Newcastle under Line, against the Bill, being presented to the House and read, they were severally ordered to lie upon the Table. Then the Bill was read the second Time ; and a Motion being made, and the Question put, That it be committed, there arose a warm Debate, that lasted from two in the Afternoon 'till near Eleven at Night. The Speakers for the Bill were, Mr Lyddal, Member for Lest-
withiel ;

Mr Lyddal.

wichiel; Mr Trevanian, Knight of the Shire for Cornwall; Mr Molineux, (a) Member for Boffiney; Sir John Brownlow, Bart. (b) Knight of the Shire for Lincoln; Mr Hampden, (c) Member for Buckinghamshire; Mr Moleworth, (d) Member for St Michael; Mr John Smith, (e) Member for Eastlow; Lord Stanhope, (f) Member for St Germain's; Mr Young, (g) Member for Honiton; Mr Craigg, (h) Member for Tregony; Lord Coningsby, (i) Member for Leominster; Mr Giles Erle, (k) Member for Chippenham; Sir Richard Steele, (l) Member for Borough-bridge; Mr Nevile, Member for Berwick; Sir Charles Turner, (m) Member for Lynn; Sir William Thompson, (n) Member for Ipswich; Sir Joseph Jekyll, (o) Member for Lymington; Gen. Stanhope, (p) Member for Cockermouth; Mr Aislable, (q) Member for Ripon. The Speakers against the Bill were, Mr Robert Heytham, (r) Member for London; Mr Snell, Member for Gloucester; Mr Shippen, Member for Newton; Lord Paget, (s) Member for Staffordshire; Mr Wykes, Member for Northampton; Mr Hutchinson, (t) Member for Hastings; Mr Jefferies, (u) Member for Droitwich; Sir Thomas Crofs, Bart. Member for Westminster; Sir William Whitlock and Mr William Bromley, Members for the University of Oxford; Mr Archer, Member for Warwickshire; Lord Guernsey, Member for Surrey; Sir Thomas Hanmer, Member for Suffolk; General Ross, Member for the Shire of Ross; Sir Robert Raymond, (w) Member for Ludlow; Mr Hungerford, (x) Member for Scarborough; Mr Ward, (y) Member for Thetford; Mr Walter Chetwynd, (z) Member for Stafford; Mr Lechmere, (aa) Member for Cockermouth.

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Mr Trevanian.
Mr Molineux.
Sir John Brownlow.
Mr Hampden.
Mr Moleworth.
Mr John Smith.
Lord Stanhope.
Mr Young.
Mr Craigg.
Lord Coningsby.
Mr Giles Erle.
Sir Richard Steele.
Mr Nevile.
Sir Charles Turner.
Sir Wm. Thompson.
Sir Joseph Jekyll.
General Stanhope.
Mr Aislable.

Mr Rob. Heytham.
Mr Snell.
Mr Shippen.
Lord Paget.
Mr Wykes.
Mr Hutchinson.
Mr Jefferies.

Sir Tho. Crofs.
Sir Wm. Whitlock.
Mr W. Bromley.
Mr Archer.

Lord Guernsey.
Sir Tho. Hanmer.
Gen. Ross.

Sir Rob. Raymond.

Mr Hungerford.
Mr Ward.
Mr Wal. Chetwynd.
Mr Lechmere.

Mr

(a) Secretary to the Prince of Wales. (b) Created Lord Viscount Tyrconnel of Ireland, May 14, 1718. (c) Vide P. 19. (d) Commissioner of Trade, and Lieutenant General of the Ordnance, created Lord Viscount Moleworth of Ireland, June 23, 1716. (e) One of the Tellers of the Exchequer. He was Speaker of the Parliament chose in 1707. (f) Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the Prince, now Earl of Chesterfield. (g) Commissioner for stating the Debts due to the Army, afterward Secretary for Scotland, made Knight of the Bath, and Commissioner of the Admiralty, then a Commissioner of the Treasury, now Secretary at War. (h) Cofferer to the Prince, afterwards Secretary at War, and then Principal Secretary of State. (i) Vide P. 19. (k) Groom of the Bed-chamber to the Prince, made one of the Clerks Comptrollers of his Majesty's Household, since a Commissioner of the Revenue in Ireland, and now Commissioner of the Treasury. (l) Master of the Playhouse, and one of the Commissioners of forfeited Estates. (m) Commissioner of the Treasury, afterwards created a Baronet, and made a Teller of the Exchequer. (n) Recorder of London, afterwards Cusitor Baron, and then a Baron of the Exchequer. (o) Vide P. 19. (p) Vide P. 14. (q) Vide P. 19. (r) Alderman of London. (s) Made Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the Prince. (t) Vide P. 28. (u) A Welsh Judge in the late Reign. (w) Vide P. 13. (x) Cusitor of Yorkshire and Westmoreland. (y) A Welsh Judge in the late Reign. (z) Created Lord Viscount Chetwynd of Ireland, June 1, 1717. (aa) Vide P. 19.

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1716.

Mr Lyddal's Speech
for the Bill.

Mr Lyddal, who open'd the Debate, spoke as follows :

Mr Speaker,

You have now under your Consideration a Matter of as great Weight and Importance, as, I believe, ever came before any Parliament ; for where the Rights and Liberties of the Subject appear to be concern'd, then certainly it is fit to proceed with the utmost Caution and Regard. The Triennial Act was, no doubt, originally intended as a Barrier and Defence of those Rights and Liberties, against any oppressive or arbitrary Invasions of the Crown : And tho' we are so happy as to have a good Prince now upon the Throne, who is likely to be succeeded by one equally so, yet such great Blessings were never entail'd upon a People. No Body can be more for supporting the just Prerogative, than I am, because I always take it to be a Power of doing Good : And therefore, if upon the strictest Examination I could find, that what is at present propos'd, would throw the Ballance of Power too much on the Side of the Crown, I should then think it not only hurtful and dangerous to the Publick, but fatal and destructive to the Constitution. In order to enter farther into this Subject, it is proper to look back from whence a Bill of this Kind first took its Rise : In the Year 1640 a Bill for Triennial Parliaments, or that which was very like it, was pass'd ; but with a Clause in it, of a hard and compulsory Nature, derogatory to the Crown, and, indeed, unreasonable in itself, with many other disagreeable Circumstances. It is well known what was the Consequence of those unhappy Differences, between the King and his People. After the Restoration, in the 16th of King Charles II. this Act, which immediately preceded a long and bloody Civil War, was repeal'd by another Act, the Preamble of which is very remarkable : And thus Things remain'd 'till some Time after the Revolution, when King William was prevail'd upon to pass this now, I hope, dying Law. I am sure nothing could prevail with me either to enlarge or alter this Act, were I not convinc'd by comparing the Arguments on both Sides, that the not doing of it is liable to more Inconvenience and Danger. If you do it, you effectually strengthen the Hands of the King ; settle and maintain the Protestant Succession, by destroying the vain Hopes of all its Enemies, both at Home and Abroad. You encourage your Allies to join with you, nay, and to depend that what shall hereafter be stipulated and agreed upon, will be punctually perform'd. This Experiment may, perhaps, at first disquiet the Minds of the People ; especially when they are exasperated by all the Endeavours of Men averse and disaffected to the Government. However, a little Time will shew, that it will entirely break our Parties and Divisions, and by that Means lay a firm and solid Foundation

dation for the future Tranquility and Happiness of this Kingdom. Besides, if this Opportunity be lost, you may possibly never have another, at least so good a one, not only to conquer, but even to eradicate that Spirit of Jacobitism, which has long dwelt among us, and has more than once brought this Nation to the very Brink of Ruin and Destruction. Since therefore, with much Danger and Difficulty, we have at last secur'd our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, when all was at Stake, from the Treachery of the late Ministry, the unaccountable Proceedings of the last Triennial Parliament, why should you run the Risk of having a new one so soon, first chosen by French Money, and then voting by French Directions? Since the King and his Parliament exert their united Power for the Good of the Publick, and to retrieve the Honour of the Nation, why should they not continue longer together, that they may finish what they have so unanimously and so happily begun?

Upon the whole, Sir, the Electors and People of all the Boroughs in England having been, for several Years past, both brib'd and preach'd into the Pretender's Interest, and a Dislike of the Protestant Succession, it becomes rather Necessity than Choice to apply an extraordinary Remedy to an extraordinary Disease: Therefore I shall give you no farther Trouble, but make you a very short Motion, which is, *That this Bill be committed.*

Mr. Shippen spoke against the Bill as follows:

Mr. Speaker,

I know my Duty to this House, and the Consequence of any unguarded Expressions better than to say, that by any Bills we have already pass'd, we have made so wide a Gap in the Constitution, that the Force of the Law is in a Manner destroy'd; or that, by any Thing we have done, we have pav'd the Way to a despotick and military Government, the greatest Calamity that can befall a freeborn People. Such Reflections may come from Persons without Doors, who, tho' they may with Justice complain when their Liberties are invaded, yet cannot always enter into the Depth and Wisdom of our Counsels, and are too apt to censure what they do not understand. No Member can regularly arraign any Bills the same Session they have obtain'd the Force and Sanction of Laws. But this Bill, tho' it hath already got through the most difficult Part of its Passage, and tho' it will in all Probability be the next Law that shall be made, is yet unpass'd, is yet before us for our Consideration, and we have a Right to treat it with Freedom: Freedom of Speech, I presume, will not only be allow'd, but is expected on this Occasion. I hope therefore, as the Business of this Day hath rais'd an universal Expectation throughout the Kingdom, so Gentlemen who are more able, (none is more

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M. Shippen's
Speech against the
Bill.

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willing than my self) will appear with Resolution and Spirit in this important Debate ; in this, perhaps, our last Struggle for the Liberties of those we represent.

‘ I think, then, all the Arguments which have been us’d for this Bill, are grounded on mere Surmises and Imaginations only ; are either trifling in themselves, or dangerous in their Consequence.

‘ One main Reason urg’d, both in the Preamble of the Bill, and in the Debates of the Gentlemen who are for it, is this :

‘ That the Disaffections of the People are so great, and the Enemies of the Government both at Home and Abroad so watchful, that new Elections will occasion new Riots, rekindle the Rebellion, and be destructive to the Peace and Security of the Government, which will all be prevented by continuing this good Parliament, and making the Time of its Dissolution uncertain.

‘ If this Argument be apply’d to the Ministry, I can only answer, that it is no Concern of ours, whether they have render’d themselves odious to the People, or not. They are more properly the Object of our Jealousy, than of our Care. They may be destroy’d, and the Government subsist. But if it be apply’d to his Majesty, as it must be to make it any Inducement to pass this Bill, I will venture to say, that none of those, who are call’d Enemies to the Government, and Abettors of the Rebellion, could have offer’d an Argument so injurious to his Majesty’s Honour. For with what Face can any good Subject insinuate, that in the Infancy of his Reign he hath depriv’d himself of the Love and Affection of a People, who so lately receiv’d him with the utmost Expressions of Joy ? What an unjust Idea must this give of his most mild and gracious Government ? But the Assertion is the more injurious, because it is entirely groundless. For when these pretended Disaffections were at the highest, it appear’d how impotent they were, how far from being universal, by the easy and sudden Suppression of the Rebellion ; and by Consequence how absolutely his Majesty reign’d in the Hearts of his Subjects. Now the Rebellion is suppress’d, if there should be any Remains of those who are ill dispos’d, the Fate of their Friends, whilst the Terror of it is fresh in their Minds, will restrain them from any future Attempt. Besides, the Hands of the Government are strengthen’d. The *Habeas-Corpus* Act is not only now, but may be again suspended : You have a numerous standing Army distributed thro’ the Kingdom, to controul and awe unruly Spirits. But suppose the Disaffections of the People to be as great, suppose the Faction, spoke of in the Preamble, to be as restless and designing

designing, as is affirm'd ; is this the Way to extinguish Animosities, to heal Divisions, and to reconcile Parties? No, Sir, it will rather create Discontents, where there are none already : It will rather give Occasion to those that are dissatisfied, to rail at your Proceedings ; to say, that your Actions are such that you dare not venture on new Elections ; and who knows what such Suggestions may produce ? 'Tis possible when the three Years, for which you are now chosen, shall expire, they may insist, that they are unrepresented in Parliament ; and this will be a better Handle, a more plausible Foundation, for the Faction to work upon, than they could have at the Time of a regular Election. Now, if the Continuance of this Parliament be intended only to calm Men's Minds, and that it is hop'd this Storm may by Degrees subside, Gentlemen will be pleas'd to consider, that we are but a little above a Year old, though we have done so many great and glorious Things, and that there will be no Necessity, as the Law stands, of a Dissolution this Year and half ; and that no Body can imagine Discontents will last so long under so wise, so unerring, so pacifick an Administration, as we now enjoy.

' Another Reason insisted on, is, That as the Continuance of this Parliament may prevent Commotions at Home, so it may hinder any Invasion from Abroad, by encouraging our ancient Allies to enter into new Treaties with us, which they will not otherwise do.

' This is a Secret which, in my humble Opinion, ought not to have been revealed ; this is an Argument highly improper to be urg'd in a British Parliament : For it supposes, that our Allies prescribe to our Counsels, and that they expect we should alter the present Frame of our Constitution, before they will favour us with their Friendships ; which is a Thought not to be endured in this Place, where so many Millions have been raised for their Service, and must move the Indignation of every Englishman, especially if it comes from any State that first receiv'd its Being, and afterwards its Protection, from England. I hope never to see this Nation brought so low, that the Crown shall be directed, as was once attempted, when to remove or keep its Ministers, when to dissolve or continue its Parliaments. Sir, his Majesty, as King of Great Britain, is the Arbitrer of Europe, and may dictate to other Nations. They will, for their own Sakes, court his Friendship ; they have always found their Account in being Allies to the Crown he wears. The British Treasure, and the British Armies, have made them triumph over their Enemies, and establish the Balance they wanted. 'Tis farther said, that by this Bill you will restore the Prerogative to part of its Power, which is cramp'd by

the Triennial Act. Now, if this Bill is to be understood to relate to Alliances, it weakens and not strengthens the Prerogative. For it is an Insinuation, that the People have something to do in making Treaties, which must ever be deny'd by the Friends of the Crown, where the sole undisputed Right is lodg'd by the Constitution of this Kingdom. Besides, if that was any Consideration here, this Argument is also a Reflection on the present Ministry, who are to have the Honour to advise his Majesty in any Alliances he shall think fit to make: For it hath an Appearance, as if they durst not look a new Parliament in the Face; or, as if by some Demerit or other, they should not continue in their Posts, without the Help of this Bill, long enough to assist in supporting those Alliances when made. 'Tis true, we have had of late a Sort of Triennial Ministers, as well as Parliaments. But we are to hope, that the present Set of Ministers, who so far surpass all their Predecessors in Wisdom and Virtue, will behave so well, as to deserve the Continuance of his Majesty's Favour, and the Kingdom's Approbation. Their Friends ought therefore rather to reject, than to enforce this Argument, as reflecting on them, and groundless in it self.

' There is another Reason, drawn from the great and continu'd Expences occasion'd by frequent Elections, which is so weak, that it scarce deserves to be taken Notice of. For every Gentleman is a Judge of his own Circumstances, whether he will or can be at the necessary Expences of an Election: Corrupt ones are not to be suppos'd, especially in this House, which, all the World knows, was chosen without the least Corruption, without the least Violence, without the least improper Influence whatsoever.

' As to what is said, That frequent Parliaments are the Cause of obstructing Justice, and hinder Candidates from being impartial in the Distribution of it; 'tis equally trifling with the Reason last mentioned; and, if any, is an Argument only for making Parliaments perpetual. For he who will be a great deal byass'd by his Hopes of securing his Seat in a Triennial Parliament, will, by the same Principle, be a little warp'd by his Expectation of sitting in a Septennial one; and he ought in neither Case to be a Member of this House; For nothing can effectually cure such a Disposition; it will never be able to resist greater Temptations, and Court-Preferments.

' These are the chief Arguments for passing this Bill; and I humbly conceive they now appear to be of no great Weight: But the Reasons for letting the Law stand as it does, are such as, in my Opinion, cannot receive an Answer.

' First,

' First, If there were not abundance of other Arguments against this Bill, the Manner of its coming hither, is a sufficient Objection to it. 'Tis sent from the Lords, and as it chiefly relates to our selves, I shall apprehend it inconsistent with our Honour to receive it. We ought to imitate the Spirit which our Predecessors ever shew'd in resisting all Attempts of this Kind, all Appearances of Innovation by the Lords. Our Predecessors were so very jealous of their Privileges, that they never fail'd to exert themselves, even on the smallest and most minute Occasions. Shall we then! shall this glorious House of Commons be so far from doing that, as humbly to take a new Model of our Constitution from them? Surely we shall not sit tame, and acquiesce meanly, when they think fit to strike at the Foundations of this House.

' But if any here could be inclinable to receive the Dictates of the Lords, or, to speak out, the Dictates of the Ministry, I humbly apprehend it is not in our Power to consent to this Bill. For I cannot conceive, by any Rule of Reason or Law, that we, who are only Representatives, can enlarge to our own Advantage the Authority delegated to us; or that, by Virtue of that Authority, we can destroy the Fundamental Rights of our Constituents. I know indeed, that the Notion of the radical Power of the People hath been extended to a Degree of Extravagance and Absurdity, which I would never be suppos'd to contend for. But it is self-evident, that this Power with Relation to the Part we bear in the Legislature, is absolutely, is solely in the Electors. You have no Legislative Capacity, but what you derive from them. You were chosen under the Triennial Act, and could only be chosen for three Years, unless they could convey more to others, than they had in themselves; unless they could give us a longer Term to represent them, than they could claim at the Time of their Choice to be represented. Our Trust therefore is a Triennial Trust; and if we endeavour to continue it beyond its legal Duration, from that Instant we cease to be the Trustees of the People, and are our own Electors; from that Instant we act by an assum'd Power, and erect a new Constitution. If we could dissolve or alter the Form of any one Part of the Legislature, why not of the whole? And that is a Doctrine I presume will not be advanced here; I am sure it will never be allow'd in any other Place. But I know it is a very unacceptable Way of Speaking, to dispute the Power of those to whom one speaks; and it may be thought a Presumption if I should affirm in this present Parliament, which hath given so many Proofs of its Omnipotence, that even the whole Legislature cannot do every Thing. I must however always be of Opinion, that tho'

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it is a receiv'd Maxim in civil Science, that the supream Legislature cannot be bound ; yet an imply'd Exception must be understood, viz. that it is restrain'd from subverting the Foundations on which it stands ; and that it ought not, on any Pretence whatsoever, to touch or alter those Laws, which are so far admitted into the Constitution, as to become essential Parts of it. I am also of Opinion, that we cannot pass this Bill, because it would be an Infraction of the Act of Union, which I hear almost every Day in this Place call'd an irrepealable and Fundamental Law. But since the Representatives of North Britain are satisfy'd in that Point, it would be highly impertinent in me to insist upon it.

But if nothing stood in your Way, if it was never so much in your Power, I think you ought not to repeal the Triennial Act, except in the last Extremity, and in the most imminent Danger of the State. This Law was one of the Fruits of the Revolution : This Law restor'd the Freedom and Frequency of Parliaments, so far as was consistent with the Circumstances of that Reign, which was involv'd in a War, and had Occasion for constant and heavy Taxes ; This Law was a Concession made to the People by King William, in the midst of his Difficulties ; and I own the Policy of those Ministers, who shall advise his Majesty to give his Royal Assent to the repealing of it, is of too refin'd and delicate a Nature for my Understanding. For since his Majesty has been pleas'd to propose that Prince as a Pattern to himself, and is pursuing his Steps with so much Glory, it will be a Matter of Astonishment to those who are not in the Secret of Affairs, to see, that in the Reign of the one King every Thing should be done to enlarge the Liberties of the People, and to restrain his Successors from being capable of relapsing into the Errors and Abuses of former Princes ; and that in the Reign of the other, there should be the least Appearance of doing any Thing which might but seem to stretch the Prerogative, to invade, and shock the Rights and Privileges of the Subject, when both shall be found to rule by the same Principles of Liberty, and by the same Maxims of Government.

The Triennial Act is grounded on the ancient Usage and Constitution of Parliaments ; as it is intended to oblige the Crown to call them frequently. For, that Parliaments were held frequently, half yearly, or annually at least, appears not only from the best Accounts we have of the first Institution of them, and by the two Acts of Edward III, but by the Writs of Summons still extant, and by several authentick Instruments and Records. However satisfactory it might be on any other Occasion, I am sensible that a Deduction of the History of ancient Parliaments, as they

they were successively call'd, would be very tedious and unentertaining in this Debate; and I will therefore only mention two Records. One is that famous Instrument of Edward I, concerning the *Annuus Census*, then claim'd by the Popes from the Crown of England; wherein he takes Notice, that some Arrears, incurr'd on that Head, had not been rais'd, as they ought to have been in *Parlamento*, *quod circa Octavas Resurrectionis Dominice celebrari in Anglia consuevit*: But he promises that he would recommend the Payment of the Money due, in *alio Parlamento nostro, quod ad finem Sancti Michaelis proxime futuri intendimus, dante Domino, celebrare*. The other Record is a Representation from the Parliament to Richard II, some Passages of which are these — *Quod ex antiquo Statuto habent, & Consuetudine laudabili & approbata, cujus contrarietati dici non volebit*. That the King is to call *Dominos & Proceres Regni atque Communes semel in Anno ad Parlamentum suum, tanquam ad summam Curiam totius Regni*. That if the King — *a Parlamento suo se alienaverit sua sponte, non aliqua infirmitate aut aliqua alia de causa necessitatis, sed per immoderatam voluntatem proterve se subtraxerit per absentiam temporis Quadraginta Dierum, tanquam de vexatione Populi sui & gravibus expensis eorum non curans, ex tunc licitum omnibus & singulis eorum absque Domigenio Regis redire ad propria, & unicuique eorum in Patriam suam remeare*.

From the former of these Records, 'tis obvious to observe, that Edward the I, who was one of our best Princes, and so great a Preserver of the Laws of his Kingdom, that he is justly call'd by the Historians the English Justinian, chose, rather than to prolong the Sitting of his Parliament beyond their usual Time, to dissolve one, tho' it had not finish'd its necessary Business, and to summon another within the Space of a few Months.

From the other 'tis very remarkable, that Richard II, who is said to be one of the worst Kings that ever sat on the Throne of England, by absenting himself from the Business of Parliaments, and by that Means continuing their Sessions beyond their proper and accustom'd Time, drew upon himself a sharp Remonstrance from both Houses, and was at last, for such Practices, amongst other Things, depos'd.

Many Reigns after this, Henry VIII. accomplish'd what Richard II. only attempted, and he continu'd his last Parliament *ad libitum* without Reproof. But 'tis well known what exorbitant Powers they vested him with; and God forbid we should have any Resemblance of those Times; for that Parliament acted like Slaves, and that King acted like a Tyrant.

But if the Triennial Law had not been grounded on the Reasons of Antiquity, and the original Usage of Parliaments,

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it was more than a reasonable Indulgence from the Throne to the People, who had struggled for a Revolution, on Account of the Abuses of Parliaments, and the Endeavours to render them insignificant. 'Tis true, that Prince once deny'd his Royal Assent to it: But afterwards he consider'd that it could be no Diminution of his Prerogative, no Blemish to his Regal Power, to retrieve the Honour and Dignity of Parliaments, as they were his Support, as they were the essential Part of that Constitution he came to save; and this he found he could only do by the frequent Calling of them.

' Besides, this Law was not only a reasonable Indulgence to the People, as hath been said, in that it gave them frequent Opportunities of changing their Members, when they did not approve their Behaviour, and was of Advantage to the Publick, in making them act with more than ordinary Caution and Circumspection; but it prov'd of great Service to the Crown: For by frequent Parliaments the Crown could only know the immediate Sense of the Nation, which is absolutely necessary for a Prince to know on all Emergencies. However inconvenient this Law may now be thought to the Crown, and however opposite to some Projects and Schemes an active Ministry may have in View, I appeal to experienc'd Members whether they think, or can imagine, that the Crown could have got half the Money it hath been supply'd with since the Revolution, but by new and fresh Elections. Such grievous and perpetual Taxes would never have been endur'd from a stale and continu'd Parliament. There is no Injury or Dishonour therefore to the Crown, to be oblig'd, by a Law, to do what, in Justice to the Subject, and Convenience to itself, it ought to do without a Law.

' But if you had a Power to repeal this Law, and exercise that Power, the People would be in a much worse Condition, than if it had never been granted to them. They would be bound up for ever in a Legislative Way, the only Way effectually and irrecoverably to lose their Liberties. They would by us, their Representatives, condemn short and frequent Parliaments, and establish long and pension'd ones, which is a new Doctrine, and such as was never before advanc'd by the Commons of Great Britain.

' Surely there must be some secret Cause, some latent Reason for hurrying on this Bill in so precipitate a Manner. The true Reason, I believe, is not declar'd; and for my Part, I cannot but suspect, that the Ministry have something to do which they apprehend will not be acceptable to a new Parliament, and which will not stand the Test of the Nation. I say, it must be something they have to do; for I am confident they do not self condemn themselves, for what they have

have already done. They have no Remorse of Conscience for apprehending so many hundred Gentlemen, and confining them in Prison so many Months without Examination. For such Confinements were not only necessary to suppress the Rebellion, but we have been told were intended as a Favour and Kindness to the Persons who were so confin'd. It must therefore be some new Work they have upon their Hands; what that Work is, I will not presume to guess. But I will presume to say, what it cannot be. It cannot be a Design to abolish the Limitations of the Act of Settlement, with Relation to Foreigners; because that is no less than an open Violation of our new *Magna Charta*, and an entire Infraction of our original Contract, as the Government now stands.

' I fear I have quite wearied your Patience, but the Importance of the Subject will in some Measure excuse me, and I have but a very few Words now to add. I hope you will reject and not commit this Bill. For there is nothing more certain, than that it will be to your Dishonour and Diservice to pass it, if we may reason of what will be, by what hath been. Long Parliaments then will naturally grow either formidable or contemptible.

' We have an Instance of the one, in the long Parliament of King Charles First, which to its eternal Infamy overturn'd the best Constitution in the World, the Church and Monarchy of this Nation.

' We have a Proof of the other in the long Parliament of King Charles the Second. I ask Pardon if I am heard by any that were Members of it, but I only repeat what others have said. There was a famous Simile apply'd by (*Julian*) Johnson to that Parliament, which I the rather mention, because it was much applauded by the Patrons of Liberty, and Lovers of Parliaments; and because I know the Author is esteem'd above his Deserts by some Gentlemen, who are now debating for long Parliaments; 'tis this, ' That a standing Parliament will always stagnate, and be like a Country-Pond, which is over-grown with Ducks-Meat.

' I make no Application; no Man will, or can, with any Colour of Truth or Reason, apply it to this Parliament. This Parliament is so far from being a stagnating Pool, that it might rather be compar'd to a rapid Stream, or an irresistible Torrent, which, if continu'd, will bear down all before it.

To this Speech of Mr. Shippen's, Mr. Hampden replied as follows.

Mr. Speaker,

' The House is now enter'd on the Exercise of a Power, which, of Right, and agreeable to the Constitution, belongs to them: I mean that Branch of Power which they, as a Part of

Mr Hampden's
Speech for the Bill.

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of the Legislature, have, of repealing Laws, or extending and limiting them, in such Manner as shall appear to them most conducing to the Service of their Country. As this Right of altering the Laws does undoubtedly belong to the Legislature, it ought to be us'd with the utmost Regard: since 'tis equally a Crime to enervate Laws that are found to be a Support to our Government, as to omit the abolishing or suspending such as have not answer'd their End when made, or, which is worse, as have prov'd detrimental.

' It is a commendable Zeal, when Gentlemen in their Debates express a Tenderness for the existing Constitution of their Country, and their Apprehensions of the least Innovation in the Frame of the Government; and I am not surpriz'd that it is objected, in so popular a Manner, that the Passing of this Bill for suspending the Law for the Election of Triennial Parliaments, is to sap the Foundation of our English Liberties.

' But if, upon an impartial Enquiry, it shall appear, that this Bill, which was made for the Benefit of the Nation, has, in no Respect, answer'd the Purposes for which it was calculated when made into a Law, I presume it may be allow'd, that the Danger in suspending it is more imaginary than real.

' And since it is as unjustifiable to be tenacious of a Matter that has no Argument to support it, as not to give Way to what Experience has demonstrated, if this Bill should, in its Consequences, be void of Proof of its answering the Ends for which it was made, I hope it will not be so great a Crime to suspend it, as it has, with Industry, been represented without Doors.

' A principal Argument for continuing the Triennial Bill is, that it is agreeable to the ancient Laws of this Nation, that there should be frequent Parliaments. I find by the Laws I have look'd over that Parliaments ought to be frequently held; but I find it no where laid down as a Fundamental Position of the Nature of this Constitution, that there should be frequent Elections. If Gentlemen will look to the Beginning of Parliaments, they will find, in the 4th, 5th, and 36th of Edward III, that, ' For Redress of divers Mischiefs ' and Grievances which daily happen, a Parliament shall be ' holden every Year or oftener, if need be.' Let it then be consider'd in what Manner those Parliaments were held: When a King met his Parliament, they us'd to sit ten or twenty Days, and then were prorogu'd or dissolv'd; and there were frequent Intermissions of Parliaments, none being call'd for several Years. By looking over the Journals, we find the Prorogations and Dissolutions of Parliaments.

' To come down to the Time of Henry VIII. few of his Parliaments sat more than twenty Days, though there was

was not a Parliament met every Year; and from the 7th to the 25th of Henry VIII, there are no Journals, and, consequently, we cannot tell in what Manner Parliaments were held. Afterwards there were several Parliaments, but not every Year, to the End of his Reign.

A Parliament was call'd the first Year of Edward VI, and in five Years sat but four Months. In Philip and Mary there were four Parliaments, but the Sessions extremely short. From the 2d to the 5th, and from the 7th to the 13th of Queen Elizabeth, no Parliament met, and from the 14th to the 25th of Queen Elizabeth, the Parliament sat only from the 8th of May to the 30th of June; and four Years after, from the 8th of February to the 8th of March following; and in eight Years after, never sat to do Business but were then dissolv'd. There were six other Parliaments call'd in Queen Elizabeth's Time; but never sat long, unless that in the 39th of her Reign, which sat four Months.

The Parliament in the first of James I, sat about four Months, and in three Years after, sat about eight Days. That Parliament was not dissolv'd 'till the 9th of James, but sat twice or thrice only. There were three other Parliaments in his Reign, but they met very seldom.

The Sessions in K. Charles I, were much shorter than of late Days, with very frequent Prorogations; and in the 16th of his Reign an Act was pass'd, *For preventing Inconveniencies by long Intermission of Parliaments*; by which it was provided, that a Parliament should meet every three Years; which Law we find repealed in the 16th of Charles II, by reason that the Provisions in the former Law were look'd upon as a Derogation to his Majesty's just and undoubted Prerogative for calling and assembling Parliaments, and might be an Occasion of manifold Mischiefs, and might endanger the Peace of his People. The said Act is repeal'd, and a Provision made therein, that 'Because, by the ancient Laws of this Realm, in the Reign of Edward III, Parliaments are to be held very often; the Sitting and Holding of Parliaments shall not be intermitted above three Years.' In this King's Reign the long Parliament was held; and whatever Corruptions they were tainted with, they could never be accus'd of favouring the Cause of France, or attempting to enslave their own Country.

In the Reign of K. James II, that unfortunate Prince, a Parliament was held in May 1685, and sat above two Months, and was, at several Times, prorogu'd to November 1687. Then the happy Revolution took Place; and in the Bill of Rights, 1. *Guliel. & Mariae*, it is declar'd and enacted, That 'all the Rights and Liberties asserted and claim'd in the said Declaration, are the true, ancient, and undubitable

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' Rights and Liberties of the People of this Kingdom, and ought to be firmly and strictly holden and observ'd.' And in the same Bill, among that long Catalogue of Grievances which precedes the said Declaration, there is not the least Mention made of Want of frequent Elections, but only that Parliaments ought to be free. In the sixth of King William, this now favour'd Bill for Triennial Parliaments was pass'd; and upon this Occasion I cannot help observing, that it is some Satisfaction, that the People abroad, who look upon the Reign of that Prince as a Usurpation, should be fond of any one Act that pass'd in that Time; and I hope from hence, they may in Time be more reconcil'd to the Protestant Succession, which is in Consequence of that Revolution.

' If Gentlemen will look over the Writs of Summons, and the Returns of those Writs, they will find no Mention how long any Parliament is to last; but the Return makes Mention of the Persons who are to serve in the Parliament that is to meet, and be held at such a Time at Westminster. It must be allow'd, that the Parliament is subject to the Triennial Act while it subsists; and therefore the Advantages or Inconveniences of that Law ought chiefly to be consider'd in the Matter now before us: And in Case an Act be found prejudicial, if such a Veneration is to be paid to a Law, as not to alter it, from any Conviction of its being insufficient, or attended with ill Consequences, I think the Legislature will become, in a Manner, useless. I take the principal Matter to be, to examine what Benefit has accru'd to the Nation by virtue of this Bill, and if the Inconveniences do not outweigh all the Advantages?

' It is pretended, that by the Triennial Elections, the People have an Opportunity of laying aside those Persons with whose Behaviour in Parliament they are dissatisfy'd, or such whom they apprehend to be under Court-Influences: I desire it may be consider'd, how very few Examples there are, of Persons, who having accepted Places, have not been re-elected. The Reason is very obvious: Because the People, who love Expences, judge that a Man who has a Place of Profit, is much more capable of making an Expence, than he that has none. But supposing any Gentleman so wickedly dispos'd, as to sacrifice his Opinion to the Lucre of a Place, does not such a Person, who has spent five or six hundred Pounds at his Election, and his Circumstances not very able to bear it, come more prepar'd for Court-Temptation, than if he had enjoy'd his Seat in Parliament, and been free from the Trouble and Expence of frequent Elections? I appeal to Gentlemen, if Expences are not increas'd? And if any Instance can be produc'd where they are abated, many more may be where they are increas'd.

increas'd ; so that the End of the Bill, in this Respect, is no ways answer'd.

' It is said, that Expences being voluntary, it is the Fault only of those who make them ; but when we observe the Contagion of Expences to be univerfally spread in the Kingdom at the Time of Elections, and a Diffolution of Manners occasion'd by fuch Expences, it is Time for the Legislature to interpoſe, and prevent the dangerous Conſequences of ſuch an Evil. Do Gentlemen conſider the Diſtractions occasion'd by Election, and the Impoſſibility ; conſidering the ſmall Interval of Elections, to heal up thoſe Wounds which the Animofities of Parties have occasion'd ; ſo that 'tis little better than living in a continual State of Warfare. This is a no leſs fatal than undeniable Conſequence of this Bill, which was calculated for the Eaſe of the Subject.

' Its ſaid, the Reaſon of this Expedient, as it is call'd, is becauſe the Majority of this Parliament are Whigs : And tho' 'tis allow'd that this Parliament has acted for the Service of his Maſteſty and the Nation, the Proceedings of the laſt Parliament are ſaid to be as meritorious of the King's good Opinion, and the Nation's as what this Parliament has done.

' It is much inſiſted on, that the Tories gave the Civil Liſt : That is true ; But had they not given it, I believe the King would not long have been depriv'd of it. 'Tis ſaid the King was receiv'd here with the univerſal Joy of his People : Why did that Satisfaction ceaſe ſo ſoon ? Has the King done any Thing to loſe the Affection of ſo many of his People ? or have his Miniſters ? If his Miniſters, why has the Spirit of Patriotiſm been ſo much wanting in Gentlemen, as not to repreſent to the King, or in this Houſe, the Crimes of thoſe he employs in his Service ? But if no real Handle for theſe Diſcontents has been given by King or Miniſters, then thoſe who pretended ſuch a Zeal for the King and his Service, at his Arrival here, acted a hypocritical Part, and meant nothing leſs than what they now make Profeſſions of. Let us conſider the preſent Situation of the Minds of the People, how exaſperated one Set of them are at the neceſſary Proſecutions of thoſe, who ſo fatally concerted the Ruin of their Country ; and to what Degree that reſtleſs Spirit influenc'd the People in the late Rebellion ; and how induſtriouſly a falſe and miſtaken Cauſe of the Church has been of late propagated in this Nation.

' From theſe and many other Circumſtances of Affairs, and other Symptoms of the ill Temper of the Nation, I think the Diſpoſition of the Peoples Minds far from being ſuitable to the Buſineſs of an Election, but rather for a Reſtoration of
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that Person, who the deluded People have been taught has alone a Right to the Crown, and is to come to free you from the Oppressions you now lie under.

‘ So much has been said concerning the Preparations which the Regent is making, by extorting vast Sums from the Subjects of France; and so much has been spoken concerning our Alliances, and the Necessity of applying our selves to find out effectual Methods for discharging the publick Debts, that after so long a Debate, I shall not trouble you with my Thoughts upon those Subjects.

‘ It must be allow’d, that the Nation has Obligation to those Patriots who fram’d this Law, with a View and Expectation it would prove a secure Provision for the Liberty and Ease of the Subject: But could those great and honest Men have foreseen into what a degenerate State this Nation would fall, they would have been convinc’d how insufficient and Cobweb a Remedy such a Bill must prove; and they would scarce have been content with leaving to Posterity a Legacy, which Experience has shewn to be destructive, instead of any real Advantage to them.

‘ I humbly apprehend, that when Laws do not answer their End, or prove prejudicial in their Consequenees, ’tis the Duty of the Legislature to interpose; and that the Suspension of this Bill is so far from being a Violation of our Constitution, that it is the healing a Breach made in the Constitution by those who obtain’d this Law.

‘ The Reasons why I am now for the Bill are,

‘ To dispose the People to follow their Callings and to be industrious, by taking from them, for a Time, the Opportunity of distracting one another by Elections: To prevent such who have the Will, from the Power of giving any new Disturbance to the Government: To prevent another Rebellion, there being just as much Reason to expect one this Year, as there was the last: To check that evil Spirit in those who have sworn to the King, and rose in Arms against him, or abetted such who have: To discountenance that Spirit which lately did so far prevail in this Nation, as to approve of a most ignominious Conclusion of a successful War, by a ruinous Peace: To render fruitless any concerted Project of the Regent, or any other foreign Princes, to disturb this Nation at a Time when Elections, or the Approach of them, have rais’d a Ferment in the Minds of the People; and to procure to the Clergy an Interval from being Politicians, that they may be the better able to take Care of their Flocks, in the Manner the Scripture has prescrib’d.

‘ For these and many other Reasons, too long to enumerate at this Time, I am for the Commitment of this Bill.

Six

Sir Richard Steele spoke next for the Bill as follows,

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1716.

Mr Speaker,

Sir Richard Steele's
Speech for the Bill

‘ It is evident that new chosen annual Parliaments were never the Custom or Right of this Kingdom : It remains therefore only to consider, now that there is a Law, which makes Parliaments meet, as of Course, at such a stated Time, whether the Period of three Years answer’d the Purposes intended by it ? The Preamble to the Triennial Act expresses, that it was introduc’d into the Constitution for the better ‘ Union and Agreement of the King and his People ; ’ but it has had a quite contrary Effect ; and Experience has verifi’d what a great Man [*meaning the late Earl of Sunderland*] said of it, when it was enacted, ‘ That it had made ‘ a Triennial King, a Triennial Ministry, a Triennial Alliance.’ We feel this in all Occurrences of State ; and they who look upon us from abroad, behold the Struggle in which we are necessarily engag’d from Time to Time under this Law. Ever since it has been enacted the Nation has been in a Series of Contention : The first Year of a Triennial Parliament has been spent in vindictive Decisions and Animosities about the late Elections ; the second Session has enter’d into Business, but rather with a Spirit of Contradiction to what the prevailing Set of Men in former Parliaments had brought to pass, than of a disinterested Zeal for the common Good : The third Session languish’d in the Pursuit of what little was intended to be done in the second ; and the Approach of an ensuing Election terrify’d the Members into a servile Management, according as their respective Principals were dispos’d towards the Question before them in the House. Thus the State of England has been like that of a Vessel in Distress at Sea : The Pilot and Mariners have been wholly employ’d in keeping the Ship from sinking ; the Art of Navigation was useless, and they never pretended to make Sail. It is objected, ‘ That the Alteration propos’d is a Breach of Trust : ’ The Trust, Sir, repos’d in us, is that of the publick Good ; the King, Lords, and Commons, are the Parties who exercise this Trust ; and when the King, Lords, and Commons exercise this Trust by the Measure of the common Good, they discharge themselves, as well in the altering and repealing as in the making or confirming Laws. The Period of Time, in this Case, is a subordinate Consideration ; and those Gentlemen who are against the Alteration, speak in too pompous a Style, when they tell us, ‘ We are breaking into the Constitution.’ It has been farther objected, ‘ that all this ‘ is only giving great Power to the Ministers, who may ‘ make an arbitrary Use of it : ’ The Ministers are indeed like other Men, from the Infirmity of human Nature
liable

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liable to be made worse by Power and Authority ; but ~~this~~ Act gives no Addition to that Authority it self ; though it may possibly prolong the Exercise of it in them. They are nevertheless responsible for their Actions to a Parliament ; and the Mode of enjoying their Offices is exactly the same. Now, when the Thing is thus, and that the Period of three Years is found, from infallible Experience it self, a Period that can afford us no Good, where shall we rest ? The Ills that are to be done against single Persons or Communities are done by Surprise, and on a sudden ; but good Things are slow in their Progress, and must wait Occasion. Destruction is done with a Blow ; but Reformation is brought about by leisurely Advances. All the Mischiefs which can be wrought under the Septennial Act, can be perpetrated under the Triennial ; but all the Good which may be compass'd under the Septennial, cannot be hop'd for under the Triennial. We may fear that the Ministers may do us Harm, but that is no Reason why we should continue them under a Disability of doing us Good. For these Considerations, I am unreservedly for the Bill.

Then Mr Snell spoke against the Bill.

Mr Speaker,

Mr Snell's Speech
against the Bill.

' We are told there is an absolute Necessity for the Bill which is now before you, and that those who oppose it, are no better than Friends to a Popish Pretender. But as I wish as well to his present Majesty's Person and Government, as the most zealous for his Service, I shall never resign my Opinion to Words only, and betray my Trust to serve the Purposes of a Ministry.

' I cannot but think this Bill, if it pass into a Law, will highly infringe the Liberties of the People ; and as I can by no means assent to the Reasons that are offer'd to prove it necessary, so I shall heartily give my Negative to it.

' I don't wonder to hear a Necessity urg'd for altering the Constitution of our Parliaments, by those who have given up their own.

This last Expression, which was suppos'd to be owing to Mr Haldane's, a Scots Member, having declar'd for the Bill, was refuted by Mr * Thomas Smith, Member for Glasgow, &c. who said, ' That Mr Snell would not be so bold as to speak those Words any where else.' He was seconded by Lord Coningsby ; and the Dispute being like to grow warm, Mr Speaker interposed, and said, ' That all the Members having the Privilege of explaining themselves, Mr Snell ought to have the Liberty of so doing.' Hereupon Mr Snell

* One of the Commissioners for stating the Debts due to the Army.

Snell said, ' That he meant no personal Reflection on that worthy Member, for that he spoke only of the Scots Nation in general.' To which Sir David Dalrymple replied, ' That Mr Snell's Explanation increased the Offence, instead of lessening it, and that he demanded Satisfaction.' — Some other Members also calling out, ' To the Bar, To the Bar,' Mr Snell excused himself, by begging Pardon for any unguarded Expressions that might have escap'd him : Upon which the Affair drop'd, and he went on as follows :

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Sir,

' The chief Arguments made Use of for the Bill, as it repeals the Triennial Act, and continues the present Parliament, are,

' To appease the groundless Annimofities of the People :

' To avoid Expences, which frequent Elections occasion, to the impoverishing of many Gentlemen's Families :

' To obviate tumultuous Riots and Assemblies, which might give a Handle to a second Rebellion : And, lastly,

' To further our Alliances abroad.

' How we can possibly expect to quiet the groundless Animofities of the People by this Bill, I must own, I am at a Loss to imagine, unless stripping them of their most valuable Privileges, which they and their Ancestors have for many Ages past exercis'd and enjoy'd, may be thought a proper Expedient to reconcile their Affections, and endear the present Administration to them.

' The Expences at Elections are merely voluntary, and if any one suffers by them he has none to blame but himself ; and I scarce believe Gentlemen to be serious in this Particular ; for let us look but a little backward, and trace this mischievous Evil, this growing Corruption, that needs such an extraordinary Remedy, to its Original, and we shall find it has its Rise from the same Place whence the Remedy propos'd had its Beginning ; and that former ill Ministries, the better to forward their sinister Views, have, by sending their Agents through the Kingdom at an approaching Election, debauch'd the People with the publick Money ; to that Pitch of Corruption we are now arriv'd. 'Tis otherwise impossible to give an Account how so many Gentlemen are chosen to serve in Parliament, in Counties and Places where they have no visible Estates or Interest ; nay, some perhaps whose Names were never heard of in the County a Month before the Election.

' The Rebellion is happily now at an End, and the Government so much better secur'd against Riots and tumultuous Assemblies, by the wholesome Laws provided by the Wisdom of this Parliament, that little or no Danger can be reasonably apprehended from thence ; especially, if we consider the Number of Forces prudently quarter'd throughout the

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the Kingdom, sufficient to suppress the most daring Commo-
tions that shall be attempted.

‘ The last Reason made Use of to prove the Necessity of
this Bill, is, that it will enable the Government the better
to treat and negotiate Foreign Alliances.

‘ But surely those who make Use of this as an Argument,
are Strangers to the Constitution of England; for by the
known and standing Law of the Land, the Right of making
Peace and War, Treaties and Alliances, are undeniably the
King’s Prerogative; and the King may exercise that Right,
as to him seems best, and most for the Good and Benefit of
his People, without Application to Parliament, either to ap-
prove or confirm. But admitting that of late Years Parlia-
ments have thought themselves intitled to interpose their Ad-
vice in Treaties and Alliances, though I deny it to be their
Right, this is an Argument singly sufficient with me to sup-
port the Triennial Bill. For supposing a Ministry shall at
any Time negotiate an Alliance prejudicial to the Interest of
England, and by their Artifice impose upon a Parliament
to approve and confirm it; is it not a peculiar Happiness,
that such a Parliament will quickly have an End; and that
the People have it in their own Power, by another, which
must soon be call’d, to correct the Misdeeds of such a Mini-
stry, and prevent the farther ill Consequences of such a Tre-
aty to the Nation.

‘ But allowing the Arguments that are made Use of suffi-
cient to prove the Necessity of repealing the Triennial Bill at
present, I would beg Leave to consider, whether it be in our
Power or no, to continue the present Parliament beyond the
Time for which the People chose us?

‘ And as for my own Part, I freely declare it as my Opi-
nion, though I shall always acquiesce in the Judgment of the
Majority, that the Purport of this Bill, so far as it relates to
the Continuance of this present Parliament, is not within the
Compass of the Trust reposed in us by the People. And to
satisfy Gentlemen that I am not singular in this Opinion, I
would beg their Patience to read to them a Passage or two
from *Mr Lock’s Treatise of Government*.

‘ The Power of the Legislative, *says he*, being deriv’d from
‘ the People by a positive voluntary Grant and Institution,
‘ can be no other than what that positive Grant convey’d;
‘ which being only to make Laws, and not Legislators, the
‘ Legislative can have no Power of transferring their Autho-
‘ rity of making Laws, and placing it in other Hands.

Again, he lays it down as a Rule, ‘ That when the So-
‘ ciety has plac’d the Legislative in any Assembly of Men,
‘ to continue in them and their Successors, the Legislative
‘ can never revert to the People whilst that Government lasts;
‘ because,

because, having provided a Legislature with Power to continue for ever, they have given up their Political Power to the Legislative and cannot resume it : But if they have set Limits to the Duration of their Legislative, and make this Supreme Power in any Person or Assembly only temporary ; at the Determination of the Time set, it reverts to the Society, and the People have a Right to place it in new Hands.

I beg Pardon for the Length of the Quotation ; but as the Author, in his Life-time, was always esteem'd a Man of great Learning and Candour, and no ways suspected as disaffected to the Succession in the House of Hanover, I could not omit taking Notice of the Sentiments of so great a Man, so conducive to a right Understanding of the Point now in Question.

And if these Positions are true, the Inferences are very obvious : The People of England have a Fundamental indisputable Right to appoint their Representatives in Parliament ; and by a Law still in Being, for three Years and no longer, subject to the King's Power of Dissolution, have chosen us their Representatives, in Pursuance of that Law ; and therefore, whenever that Triennial Term shall expire, have a Right to chuse new ones.

It may be objected, That when the People have once constituted the Legislative, that the Legislature is thereby vested with the whole Power of their Electors : And it cannot be deny'd, but, generally speaking, it will hold true. And the People of England, having chosen us to represent them, we are thereby impower'd, not only to make Laws, but to alter or repeal any Law in Being, as we shall think fit, for their Benefit and Security ; and they will undoubtedly be bound thereby. But then this is to be understood, where the Subject-Matter of the Laws we make is within Compass of the Trust which the People have or may at least be suppos'd to delegate to us ; and it is an ill Way of Reasoning to assert, that we have a Power to do what we cannot do without Prejudice to those we represent.

The Right of electing Representatives in Parliament, is inseparably inherent in the People of Great Britain, and can never be thought to be delegated to the Representatives, unless you'll make the Elected to be the Elector ; and, at the same Time, suppose it the Will of the People, that their Representatives should have it in their Power to destroy those that made them, whenever a Ministry shall think it necessary to screen themselves from their just Resentments : This would be to destroy the Fence to all their Freedom ; for if we have a Right to continue our selves one Year, one Month, or Day, beyond our Triennial Term, 'twill unavoidably follow, we have it in our Power to make our selves perpetual ; and what-

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ever Necessity we may be reduc'd to hereafter, Matters are not yet in that apparent bad Condition, to convince the People that there is a present Occasion for this dangerous Innovation in their Constitution.

' To say that the passing this Bill is not to grasp to our selves the Right of Election, but only to enlarge the Time for calling new Parliaments, is a manifest Fallacy ; for whenever our three Years are expir'd, we can no longer be said to subsist by the Choice of the People, but by our own Appointment ; and 'tis a Jest to tell me, I have a Right to that which another has a Right to take from me.

' Whoever will consider well the Frame and Nature of our Constitution, will find it calculated for every Circumstance needful for the Security of a free People. We are guarded, by our Representatives in Parliament, against any arbitrary Encroachments of the supreme executive Power ; and by frequent and new Parliaments, against the Weakness, Folly, and Corruption of our Representatives : And tho' many Instances may be given of long Intermissions of Parliaments, yet that does by no means prove frequent and new Parliaments not to be Part of our Constitution ; and 'tis obvious to every impartial Person, that without them our Constitution is defective. For these Reasons I cannot approve of this Bill : I think it an open Violation of the People's Liberties, or, to speak most mildly of it, a Breach of our Trust in that Part which will most sensibly affect them ; and of that ill Tendency in its Consequence, that as nothing but the Security of the Ministry can make it at this Time needful, so nothing but a standing Force can make it lasting.

Mr Bromley spoke next against the Bill.

Mr Speaker,

Mr Bromley's
Speech against the
Bill.

' I may venture to affirm, that the Bill now before you is of higher Concern to the Commons of Great Britain, than any that ever yet was before you : It takes away the People's Right of appointing their Representatives ; it deprives them of their Share in the Legislature, and, in my Opinion, wounds the Constitution of Parliaments very deep.

' No Gentleman is ignorant, that the Frame of our Government is made up of the King, the Lords, and the Commons. These, with Respect to each other, have ever been esteem'd separate, altho', when put together, they make but one entire Government. The Duration of this Form of Government in England, longer than in our neighbouring Countries, is manifestly owing to the Care taken by those that went before us, in keeping these three Constituent Parts of the Political Body up to the Rules of their first Institution, by restraining Each to its proper Bounds, and in not suffering

One

One to be over-born or swallow'd up by the other two : However these Three great Parts may in other Respects be consider'd, yet with Regard to the Legislative they must act in Conjunction. The Assent of Each to the Making of Laws is essentially necessary ; but the Manner of giving this Assent is different in the People, from what it is in the King, and in the Lords. The People, by Reason of their Number, cannot be personally present at the passing of Laws ; their Assent can no otherwise be signify'd, than by their Representatives. The Disadvantage the Commons are, in this Respect, under, is in some sort made up to them by the Care taken in the Framing of our Government, That they should be truly and fairly represented.

' That Elections shall be free, is often declared in our written Laws. 'Tis in Effect saying, That neither the Power of the Crown, nor the Power of the Lords, should interpose in them.

' The Resolution of this House, renew'd every Session, viz. ' That for a Lord to concern himself in the Election of ' Members to serve for the Commons in Parliament, is a ' high Infringement of the Liberties and Privileges, of the ' Commons of Great Britain,' sufficiently shews the Jealousy the Commons ever had of the Lords intermeddling in the Elections of their Representatives.

' The Attempts made on the King's Part, towards influencing Elections, have been principally by Officers under the Nomination of the Crown. As this Mischief from Time to Time appear'd, Laws were introduc'd providing against it. The Statute 7 Hen. IV. c. 15. recites that Law to be made ' At the grievous Complaint of the Commons of the ' undue Elections for Parliament,' and directs, among other Things, ' That Sheriffs should proceed to Elections freely and ' indifferently, notwithstanding any Command to the con- ' trary.' Many subsequent Laws were made for preserving to the People this Privilege, on which all other depend, of being faithfully represented in Parliament. No less than seven Acts were made in King William's Time for that Purpose : So greatly did the Endeavours of Officers to influence Elections at that Time abound. The Statute of 3. Will. and Mar. c. 1, takes Notice, ' That the Officers of the Excise, ' by Reason of the Greatness of the Duty, and the extraor- ' dinary Powers given to them, had frequently, by Threats, ' or Promises, so far prevail'd on Electors, that they had ' been absolutely debarr'd of the Freedom of giving their ' Votes ; which, according to the known Constitution of this ' Kingdom, every Person ought to have and enjoy.' It then enacts, ' That any such Officer who persuades or dissuades ' any Elector from giving his Vote, shall forfeit one hundred ' Pounds,

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‘ Pounds, and be incapable of executing any Office relating to the Excise.’ Another Law of the like Nature was lately made in Relation to the Officers concern’d in collecting the Post-Office Duty. These Laws are now all to be laid asleep. Provisions made for protecting the People’s Right of Election must become insignificant, if Elections themselves are no longer to be allow’d.

‘ The Care taken by the Founders of our Government to preserve this Right, did not stop here ; it was not sufficient to that Purpose, that Elections should be free ; it was likewise necessary that they should be frequent.

‘ The People’s Right to frequent Elections was founded on substantial Reasons ; for since they, who could act no otherwise than by Representatives, were capable of being mistaken in their Choice, and the Person chosen liable to be tempted over to a Dependence on the Crown, or on the Lords, and thereby receive an undue Influence, it became necessary that frequent Opportunities should be given to the Commons to correct their Choice, and thereby prevent the Danger which the Unfaithfulness of their Representatives might otherwise bring upon them.

‘ That the People had a Right to frequent Elections, is made unquestionable by the best of Evidence, Perpetual Usage.

‘ From the first Footsteps of Parliaments, down to the Time of K. Henry VIII, not only from Records, but from the printed Statutes, the Frequency of Elections does appear. The most repeated Instances, within that Period of Time, are of Parliaments determining within the Compass of a Year ; no Instance where they continu’d longer than three.

‘ King Charles I, that unfortunate Prince, was put upon governing without Parliaments ; but the Necessity of Affairs forcing him to change his Purpose, a Parliament was call’d in the 16th Year of his Reign, in which a Law of an extraordinary Nature was pass’d, viz. ‘ That in case the King did not call a Parliament within three Years after the Determination of the preceding Parliament, then the Lord Chancellor, &c. should issue Writs for that Purpose ;’ with many other extraordinary Provisions. That Parliament soon after perpetuated themselves, so far as it was capable of being done ; and by an Act made the same Year, ‘ they were not to be dissolv’d but by Act of Parliament.’ To the long Continuance of which Parliament were all the Calamities of the Civil War to be imputed.

‘ This Statute of the 16th of Charles I was repeal’d by the Statute of the 16th of Charles II. c. 1. But notwithstanding the fond Humour the Nation was then in, even by the same Act it was declar’d, ‘ That by the Laws of this Realm, Parliaments

Parliaments are to be held very often, and to the End there might be a frequent Calling, Assembling, and Holding Parliaments once in three Years at least, it was declar'd and enacted, ' That Parliaments should not be intermitted above three Years at the most.

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' In King Charles II. Time another Turn of Policy was taken, which was to bring the House of Commons to the Bent of the Ministry, by the secret Application of Pensions to the Members. Such was the Modesty even of that Age, as not openly and avowedly to byass with Offices, those who ought at least to be the faithful Representatives of the People.

' For the effecting of this pernicious Purpose of corrupting the Commons, it was necessary that the Parliament should be prolong'd ; which it was for eighteen Years : Assurance of which being privately given to many of the Members, and there being Time sufficient to gain upon others, not so far intrusted with the Secret, the Design was effected. And such was the Behaviour of that Parliament, that it acquir'd the infamous Name of the Pensioner-Parliament.

' The Attack thus made on the Constitution of Parliaments, by depriving the People of their Right of frequent Elections, gave Birth to the Jealousy the Nation entertain'd, of the Intention that Prince had of assuming to himself a despotick Power. How uneasy the later Part of his Reign became on that Account, is well known ; and this Nation has felt the Effects of the Ferment and Divisions which then arose ; and by the Artifice of ill-designing Ministers, have been ever since continu'd.

' The People being warn'd by the narrow Escape their Liberties met with from that Parliament, did, after much Struggle, obtain this Law of Triennial Parliaments, the only Remedy left for preserving their ancient Constitution.

' And now, after above an hundred Millions given by the People, in order to preserve their old Form of Government, here is a Bill sent us by the Lords, which, if it passes, must expose us again to the greatest of Dangers, which is that of a long Parliament.

' In the Time of that Pensioner-Parliament, which began in 1662, the Means of Temptation in the Ministers Hands, were not so great as they now are : The Civil List is well nigh double to what it then was : The Dependence on the Crown is greatly enlarg'd, by Reason of the Increase of Officers for managing the publick Revenue and Funds. What Influence these may have upon an exhausted Nation, under the Terror which forty thousand regular Troops carry with them, is easily foreseen.

' No

‘ No Wonder the Lords, who are ever fond of Power, have sent us a Bill which admits of their having a Share in the Nomination of the House of Commons: But I can’t guess what should induce them to expect our Concurrence. Surely they cannot think so meanly of us, that for the Sake of continuing our Seats here, we should give into what so greatly affects the Rights of those that sent us. Can we be thought so ungrateful, as to join in the Destruction of the Power that rais’d us? Can they think us so unfaithful, as to betray our Trust in this gross Manner, by renouncing our Relation to the People, and accepting from the Crown, and from themselves, a Renewal of our Right to sit here? Should they imagine us no longer to be influenc’d by the Rules of Justice and Morality; yet methinks they should allow us to have some Sense of Shame remaining, which must give us Pain when we return into our Countries, and look those in the Face whom we have so greatly injur’d.

‘ I would take Notice of a Matter that was mention’d in the Debate, viz. ‘ That supposing this Bill should undergo the Forms us’d in the passing of Bills, whether it would carry with it the Obligation of a Law? Of this I own my self much in Doubt.

‘ The Powers we are intrusted with, as Representatives of the People, appear in the Form of the Writ for summoning the Parliament. And in the Indentures annex’d to the Return, the Writ recites, ‘ Whereas we have thought ‘ fit to call a Parliament, touching divers urgent Affairs, ‘ concerning Us, the State, and Defence of our Kingdom ‘ of Great Britain,’ It then requires, ‘ That the Sheriff do ‘ cause two to be elected Knights, &c. to act in, and consent to what shall be ordain’d by the Common Council of ‘ Great Britain, *super negotiis antedictis.*’

‘ The Indenture annex’d to the Return, answers the Writ, viz. ‘ That they have elected such and such to attend according to the Tenor of the Writ, and given them full ‘ Power to act in, and consent to, all Things in the said Parliament, which shall be by Common Council and Consent ‘ ordain’d, touching the State and Defence of his Majesty’s ‘ Kingdom of Great Britain.’ The Question then is, Whether the Authority thus given us to act, touching the Defence of the Government, does enable us to lay aside one of the three great Estates, the People, by denying them their Right of acting by their Representatives in Parliament, and consequently their Share in the Legislature? Does the Power put into our Hands by the People, justify our turning the Dagger into the Bowels of the Constitution? This Doubt is increased,

creas'd by the Notion that prevail'd touching the Invalidity of the Statute of the 16th Car. I. c. 7. whereby that Parliament was not to be dissolv'd but by an Act of Parliament. No Act of Parliament was ever made for that Purpose ; which would certainly have been done, had the subsequent Parliament thought that a Law made in Diminution of the People's Interest in the Legislature had been valid, [*It is to be observ'd, that by an Act of the Convention that met in April 1660, the Long Parliament that met in 1640 was declar'd to be dissolv'd: But that Act was not confirm'd by Parliament, as most of the other Acts of that Convention were by the Statute of the 13th Car. II. c. 7.*]

‘ I should be very willing to hear answer'd what a worthy Member who just now spoke for committing the Bill, and own'd his Sentiments alter'd touching the Triennial Act, has told the World in an excellent Treatise of his, [*Meaning Mr Moleworth, in his Preface to his Account of Denmark*] ‘ That ‘ no People can give away the Freedom of themselves and ‘ their Posterity: That such a Donation ought to be esteem'd ‘ of no greater Validity than the Gift of a Child, or of a ‘ Mad-man: That People can no more part with their legal ‘ Liberties, than Kings can alienate their Crowns.

‘ Every Body is sensible that the publick Occasions will require large Supplies ; and should so much as a Doubt arise in Men's Minds touching the Legality of the Taxes, it will tend to increase the general Dissatisfaction, so often mention'd in this Debate, and subject us to Hazard there is no Occasion to run, did we content our selves with proceeding in the common Methods, which the Usage of many Ages does justify. For these Reasons I am against committing the Bill.

After Mr Bromley, Sir Robert Raymond spoke likewise against the Bill as follows.

Mr. Speaker,

‘ I am very sensible under what Disadvantage I must speak after so long a Debate : I will therefore endeavour to contract what occurs to me on this Subject, and to avoid repeating what has been said before by other Gentlemen. And in what I have to offer, I shall observe this Method ; I will first consider the Arguments that have been us'd for this Bill, and then give my Reasons why I am against it.

Sir Robert Raymond's Speech against the Bill.

‘ The Arguments for the Bill are, I think, chiefly these :

‘ The Expences in Elections.

‘ The Animosities and Divisions made and continu'd by Triennial Elections.

‘ The Advantages our Enemies may take of these Animosities and Divisions: And

‘ The

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‘ The Encouragement, I think no Gentleman has spok
plainer, that this Bill will give to our Allies to treat with us,
and to enter into proper, Alliances, for our mutual Benefit
and Advantage.

‘ As to the Expences in Elections, it must be acknowledg’d
that they are grown very scandalous, as well as grievous and
burthensome to the Gentlemen of England. They have in-
creas’d upon them, not from the Conteſts of neighbouring
Gentlemen with one another, but from Strangers, by what
Influence or Direction I cannot tell, coming to their Boroughs,
who have no natural Interest to recommend them, nothing
but Bribery and Corruption, which has put Gentlemen under
the Necessity of great Expences to preserve their Interests,
and serve their Country. And you must give me leave to
add, that another Cause has been, the Impunity that Bribery
and Corruption have met with in this House, when they
have been very notorious, and very fully detected. But, I
fear, this Bill can be no Cure to that Evil, it will rather in-
crease it; for as the Term of the Continuance of a Parlia-
ment is prolong’d, so the Expences will increase with it. An
Annuity for seven Years deserves a better Consideration, than
for three; and those that will give Money to get into
Parliament, will give more for seven than for three Years.
Nothing will so effectually prevent Expences, as Annual Par-
liaments: That was our ancient Constitution, and every De-
parting from it, is usually attended with great Inconveni-
ences.

‘ As for our Animosities and Divisions, I am sorry there
are any, but cannot believe this Bill will be a Remedy for
them. The Animosities and Divisions rais’d by Elections
are of a private Nature, and little affect the Publick; those
that do, are otherwise to be accounted for, which might have
been extinguiſh’d; but the Opportunities have been neglect-
ed, and I wish some Persons have not study’d rather to con-
tinue and increase them, than to extinguiſh them. I will
speak plainly on this Occasion. I think the greatest Ani-
mosities and Divisions, the greatest Discontents and Uneasi-
nesses now among us, have been owing to the unreasonable
Resentments, Avarice, and Ambition of some, and to the un-
accountable Folly and Madness of others.

‘ That our Enemies will take Advantage of our Divisions,
is not to be doubted, if it is in their Power; but I must ob-
serve, that since the Triennial Act pass’d, there have been
ten several Parliaments call’d, most of them when you were
actually in War, your Animosities and Divisions great, and
your Enemies vigilant; yet no Inconveniences follow’d, nor
were any, as I have heard of, so much as attempted at the
Times of those Elections.

‘ The

' The last of the Arguments I have recited, is the Encouragement this will give to your Allies to enter into Treaties with you. No one says they want this Encouragement ; no one says they ask it ; so that I may conclude this is only a Pretence. I should be sorry we had such Allies as would not treat with his Majesty without our giving up our Constitution. Should the like be ask'd of them, they would certainly entertain such a Proposition with the Contempt and Indignation it deserv'd. But what you are now going to do, instead of strengthening the King's Hands, will, I am persuaded, lessen him in the Opinion of his Allies ; for this is proclaiming to the World, that he dares not call a new Parliament ; that he dares not trust the People in a new Choice. Besides, not daring to call a new Parliament, carries along with it a Supposition to the Dishonour of this House ; for it supposes that another House of Commons would act differently from the present ; which is to confess that this House does not truly represent the People ; that they and their Representatives are of different Minds ; and that if they were to chuse again, they would chuse Men of other Principles, of other Sentiments.

' I will not trouble you farther with Answers to the Arguments for this Bill ; those against it, that weigh most with me, are these : That frequent new Parliaments are our Constitution ; that a long Parliament is plainly destructive of the Subject's just Right, and many Ways inconsistent with the Good of the Nation. Is it reasonable any particular Men should for a long Time engross so great a Trust, exclusive of others ; Can it be of Advantage to the Publick, that the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, should be long confin'd to those they have once chosen, their Interests admitting of great Variation in Length of Time ?

' Frequent new Parliaments are our Constitution, and the Calling and Holding of them was for many Ages the Practice. Before the Conquest, Parliaments were held three Times every Year, at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. In Edward the III, Time it was enacted, ' That Parliaments should be holden every Year once, or oftner if need be.' This must be understood of new Parliaments, for Prorogations and long Adjournments were not then known ; they were never heard of 'till later Years. They began in Henry the VIII, Time, that Prince and his Ministers knowing long Parliaments were best fitted to make great Changes. They were therefore Inventions when extraordinary Things were to be done ; when what was then the Church was to be alter'd, and the Church-Lands to be taken away. There is nothing of this Sort now, I hope, intended. From that Time our Histories tell us, that when ever the same Parliaments were

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long continued, or the Meetings of Parliaments long discontinued, they gave great Uneasiness. In the unfortunate Reign of King Charles I, there had been an Intermission of Parliaments twelve Years, which produc'd an A&t in the sixteenth Year of that King, *For the preventing the Inconveniences happening by long Intermission of Parliaments.* That A&t, in the Preamble, recites the Law made in the Reign of Edward the III, 'That Parliaments ought to be held every Year once ; but that the Appointment of Time and Place belong'd to his Majesty and his Royal Progenitors : And that it had been found by Experience, great Inconveniences and Mischiefs had happen'd to the King, and to the Commonwealth, by not holding Parliaments accordingly.' And for the Prevention of the like for the future, it enacts, 'That the said Laws shall be strictly observ'd ; and that in case there be an Intermission of the sitting of Parliament for three Years together, if there is a Parliament in being, that Parliament shall be dissolv'd,' and very extravagant Powers were given for the Calling and Assembling of another ; 'And every such Parliament was not to be dissolv'd of fifty Days, without their own Consent.' This extraordinary Step was soon follow'd, by an A&t intituled *That the Parliament should not be dissolv'd, prorogu'd, or adjourn'd, but by A&t of Parliament ; nor the Houses of Parliament adjourn'd but by themselves respectively.* I need not be particular in recounting the Consequences of this A&t of Parliament ; for every one knows, that Set of Men, when they had thus continued themselves, never stopp'd 'till they had murder'd the best of Princes, and entirely subverted our Constitution both in Church and State.

'Soon after the Restoration of King Charles II, the A&t for the preventing the Inconveniences happening by the long Intermission of Parliaments was repeal'd, because derogatory to the Prerogative, and because it might be an Occasion of many Mischiefs and Inconveniences, and endanger the publick Peace and Safety ; but at the same Time it is declar'd and enacted, 'That because, by the ancient Laws and Statutes, Parliaments are to be held very often, the sitting and holding of Parliaments shall not be intermitted above three Years at the most.' This Law not having been so well observ'd, as it ought to have been at the Revolution in the Convention-Parliament, when it was thought necessary to declare the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, after many Breaches had been made upon them, it was, among other Things, declar'd, 'That Parliaments ought to be held frequently.' And what follows in that A&t is very strong, for it declares and enacts, 'That all and singular the Rights and Liberties asserted and claim'd in the said Declaration, are the indubitable Rights and Liberties of the People of
' this

‘ this Kingdom, and so shall be esteem’d, allow’d, adjudg’d, and taken to be ; and all the Particulars thereof shall be firmly and strictly holden and observ’d, as they are express’d in the said Declaration.’ The Right claim’d and asserted, is, ‘ That Parliaments ought to be held frequently ; And soon after a new Parliament was call’d, which sate annually : But this was not look’d upon to be a complying with the Right claim’d, and therefore, after that Parliament had sat three Times, in the fourth Session it was thought necessary to come to a farther Explication, and a Bill pass’d both Houses, but was rejected by the Throne, *For the frequent Meeting and Calling of Parliaments.* Others were attempted in the next Session, and it is well known how they came to miscarry in this House ; but in the succeeding Session, a Bill pass’d both Houses, and had the Royal Assent. That is the Act this Bill is to alter : But before it is alter’d, I hope it will be shewn, that what is asserted in the Preamble, is mistaken, and has prov’d otherwise. In the Preamble two Things are asserted, ‘ That by the ancient Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom, frequent Parliaments ought to be held ; and that frequent new Parliaments tend very much to the happy Union and good Agreement of the King and his People. The first Proposition is incontestable ; and the latter, I think, will not be deny’d ; for frequent and new Parliaments create a Confidence between the King and his People, a very necessary Step towards an Union and good Agreement. If the King would be acquainted with his People, and have more the Hearts of them, this is the surest Way ; and I am perswaded this House will never consent to any Thing that may prevent the one, and intercept the other.

‘ I cannot entertain so unworthy a Thought of this House, that any Gentleman in it would at this Time, in direct Terms, be for perpetuating themselves ; yet if they consent to this Bill, I shall reckon they are doing it ; for tho’ it only prolongs this Parliament for seven Years, I cannot doubt but hereafter there will be another for continuing it longer ; because, before the End of this Term, the Reasons will probably be stronger for it, than they are now. Neither can I imagine that Gentlemen are afraid to trust the Peoples Choice again : Do they think that the great and memorable Things this Parliament has done for the Service and Benefit of their Country, will make them less acceptable to the People ? No one will say so ; and then I see no Reason why they should be for making this Alteration in our Laws and Constitution, which will certainly have a very ill Effect upon the Minds of the People : For they will be ready to say, and with Reason, that after the Expiration of the three Years, you are no longer their Representatives,

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because they chose you to serve them no longer. With great Submission I speak it, in my poor Opinion, King, Lords, and Commons, can no more continue a Parliament beyond its natural Duration, than they can make a Parliament. I know at extraordinary Junctures, Conventions have been turn'd into Parliaments; but it has been thought adviseable soon to determine them, and to pass Acts in the subsequent legal Parliaments, to confirm what they have done. And I make no doubt, but if this Bill passes into a Law, and this Parliament is continued more than three Years, there will be an Act in the succeeding Parliament to confirm whatever shall be done after the three Years. There is an Instance in your Statute-Book, where all the Acts of a Parliament were declar'd void, and repeal'd, because the Parliament was unlawfully summon'd, and the Members not duly chosen.

‘ I need not urge farther, that the wisest Governments that have preserved a Face of Liberty, have never continu'd those long, with whom they have intrusted the supreme Power.

‘ That by this Bill, you have all the Mischief of a long Parliament, without any of the Good of a short one.

‘ That a standing Parliament and a standing Army are convertible, and only necessary to support one another.

‘ And that there can be no Occasion for this Bill at this Time, because this Parliament may have two more Sessions, if the King pleases.

‘ But as I have already taken up so much of your Time, I shall only add, that for the Reasons I have given, I am against committing this Bill.

These were the chief Arguments that were urg'd on either Side, for and against the Bill; and upon the whole Matter it was resolv'd, by a Majority of 284 against 162, that the Bill be committed to a Committee of the whole House.

Petitions presented
against repealing
the Triennial Act.

April 25. Two Petitions against the said Bill, one of the Borough of Horsham, the other of Westbury, were presented to the House and read: The last of them was order'd to lie on the Table; but the House taking Offence at an Expression in that from Horsham, viz. ‘ That they look'd upon it as an Overturning of the Constitution, and ‘ as an Infringement of their Liberties,’ rejected their Petition. After this Mr Lechmere moved, and the Question was propos'd, That it be an Instruction to the Committee of the whole House, to whom the said Bill was committed, that they have Leave to receive a Clause, to disable Persons from being chose Members of either Houses of Parliament,

Debate concerning
a Clause for pre-
venting Pensioners
from sitting in
Parliament.

ment, who have Penſions during Pleaſure, or any Number of Years: But General Stanhope having repreſented, that ſuch a Clause would but clog the Bill, and endanger its Miſcarriage, Part of it being derogatory to the Privileges of the Houſe of Lords; and that if any Jealouſy were entertain'd of the Members of the Houſe of Commons having Penſions from the Crown, a Bill might be brought in to exclude them; the previous Queſtion being put, that the Queſtion be now put, it paſſed in the Negative. Then the Houſe, in a Grand Committee, of which Mr Hampden was Chairman, went thro' the Bill, and directed it to be reported without any Amendment; which being done, the Houſe order'd it to be read the third Time the next Day. After this General Stanhope moved, and it was order'd accordingly, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill to diſable any Perſon from being choſe a Member of, or ſitting and voting in, the Houſe of Commons who has any Penſion during Pleaſure, or for any Number of Years, from the Crown; and that General Stanhope, Mr Craggs, and Mr Boſcawen, do prepare and bring in the ſame.

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April 26. Two Petitions againſt the ſaid Bill, one of the Borough of Caerdiſſe, the other of Petersfield, being preſented to the Houſe, and read, were order'd to lie upon the Table. After which, the Bill was read a third Time, and upon Mr Hampden's Motion, the Queſtion was put, That the Bill do paſs, which occaſion'd a Debate that laſted about two Hours. Thoſe who ſpoke againſt the Bill, were Mr Freeman, Mr Hungerford, Mr Wykes, and Lord Finch, who were ſeverally answer'd by Sir Richard Steele, Mr Boſcawen, Sir William Thompſon, Mr Erle, Mr Tuſnell, and Sir John Brownlow.

More Petitions
againſt repealing
the Triennial Act.

Debate on the third
Reading of the
Septennial Bill.
Mr Hampden.
Mr Freeman.
Mr Hungerford.
Mr Wykes.
Lord Finch.
Sir Richard Steele.
Mr Boſcawen.
Sir Wil. Thompſon.
Mr Erle.
Sir John Brownlow.

Mr Freeman and Mr Hungerford having, among other Things, inſiſted, That no ſatisfactory Answer had yet been made, either as to the Truſt repos'd in the Commons by their Principals, or as to the repealing the Triennial Act Now, Mr Tuſnell, Member for Malden, made thereupon the following Speech.

Mr Speaker,

' I think the only Queſtion before us is, Whether the Triennial Act, as it now ſtands, or as it is propos'd to be alter'd by this Bill, is likely to conduce moſt to the Benefit of the Publick? However, ſince in this Debate there has been a good deal ſaid of the Conſtitution of Parliaments, I muſt beg Leave to mention a Word or two on that Subject.

Mr Tuſnell's
Speech for the Bill

' That Parliaments were anciently to be held annually, appears by two Acts made, the one in the 4th, the other in the 36th of Edward III. But tho' they were to be held annually,

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annually, or oftner if Occasion should be, in order to remedy the Grievances of the People, yet I can't find that there ever was any Time limited for Elections: But as the Crown had always the Power of dissolving, so likewise of calling a Parliament whenever they thought fit. There was indeed a Triennial Act made in the 16th of Charles I, *To prevent the Inconveniences which may arise by the long Intermision of Parliaments*; and therefore it provided, 'That there should be a Session once in three Years;' but by no Means limited any Time for the Duration of Parliaments. This Act was repeal'd in the 16th of Charles II, because there were some Provisions made in it, which were look'd upon as a Derogation to the Rights of the Crown. I believe I may venture to say, the first Restriction which ever the Crown lay under, as to the Continuance of Parliaments, was in the 6th of William and Mary. Then sprang up the Triennial Law, which is the Subject of our present Debate; and which, however well design'd, was certainly an Innovation, 'till then unheard of. So that what is now offer'd in this Bill, is only, in some Measure, to reinstate the Crown in that Power which it had always enjoy'd. And I can't but be surpriz'd, that those Gentlemen who have hitherto boasted themselves to be the zealous Assertors of the Prerogative of the Crown, should of a sudden be so fond of a Law which undoubtedly is a very great Diminution of it. I hope I shall not be misunderstood, as if this were the only Reason which induces me to approve of the present Bill: No, though I shall always have a due Regard to the Prerogative, yet if I could imagine that this Bill would prove the least Detriment to the Publick, the least Infringement of the Liberties of my Fellow-Subjects, my Vote should never flatter any Crown, so far, as to revive such a Prerogative.

'The Design of this Bill is only to enlarge the Time for the Continuance of Parliaments, by making them Septennial instead of Triennial. Of the Law, as it now stands, we have already had the Experience about two and twenty Years; and what Advantage have we gain'd? Has it ever answer'd one single End for which it was intended? On the contrary, has it not produc'd the most mischievous Effects? What endless Divisions has it created among Neighbours, Friends, nay, the nearest Relations? How has it ruin'd Gentlemen's Estates, Made them not only Beggars, but Slaves to the very meanest of the People? What a Scene of Corruption has it every where introduced? How has it debauch'd the Morals of the Nation? Even the Administration of Provincial Justice, which has always been esteem'd the Glory of our Constitution, has been infected: And I wish the Infection may have reach'd

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no farther. These are some of the fatal Consequences we have already experienced by this Triennial Law ; and those alone, in my humble Opinion, would be sufficient Reasons for the Alteration of it. However, let us consider the present Circumstances of our Affairs. In order to it, let us a little look back to the Original of our Misfortunes : And are they not owing to that unreasonable Cry of the Danger of the Church, under the specious Pretence of supporting the Church of England, though manifestly in Favour of that of Rome ? That unhappy Delusion, which has been so industriously, so maliciously spread, and so fatally indulg'd ! Let us consider that unnatural, unprovok'd Rebellion, which has so lately rag'd among us ; and that sullen groundless Spirit of Discontent which still lies murmuring in so many traitorous Breasts. And notwithstanding that Indifference, nay Contempt, with which I hear the Argument of our Alliances treated by some Gentlemen, I must own I cannot but think there ought to be a good deal of Strefs laid upon it : For how can we imagine, that any Foreign Powers will readily enter into any Treaties with us, for our Advantage, without some Security that they shall be made effectual, as long as our Government is subject to such a Fluctuation, and as it were Triennial ? Especially if it be consider'd in how shameful and how infamous a Manner the Grand Alliance was broken ; the Faith of Treaties violated ; the Credit of this Nation sunk ; its Interests betray'd ; our ancient and best Allies abandon'd, and ill treated ; new ones sought for, and care's'd, with no other Design, but to make us a more easy Prey to the Pretender ? Nay, have we not too just Ground to suspect that this Cause has all along been underhand supported by these very Allies, the old inveterate Enemies of our Constitution, who are always envious of our Prosperity, and only wait a fair Opportunity to give us fresh Disturbances ? And could their Vigilance, their artful Management, and their Treasure, join'd with the unwearied Endeavours of a restless Faction at Home, procure an Election in their Favour, what would be the Consequence, but to unloose the Doors of your Prisons, to set Traitors once more at the Head of your Affairs, to give them an Opportunity of re-acting their former unfinish'd Scenes of Treachery, to make you a tributary Province to France, and for ever compleat the Ruin of these Kingdoms ? To see the British Honour thus prostituted, the once Arbitress of Europe thus insulted ; these Things, I say, ought to raise in every British Breast a just Resentment of the Injuries of his Country, After all, I am sensible there have been several Objections made against this Bill, which carry an Air of Popularity with them ; yet which, upon Examination, must appear to be of no real Weight. I shall take Notice of but one

one or two of the most considerable, lest I should trespass too far on your Indulgence. It is said, our Electors chose us their Representatives but for three Years, and that we can't prolong the Term without betraying that Trust which they have repos'd in us. In Answer to which I must desire Gentlemen to consider the Nature of the Writs of Summons, and the Returns to them : Is it not to consult *de Rebus arduis Regni* ? and that they should have *plenam & sufficientem Potestatem pro se et Communitate Comitatus prædicti, & prædictorum Civium & Burgorum, divisim ab ipsis, ad faciendum quod de communi Consilio ordinari contigerit in Præmissis : Ita quod pro defectu hujusmodi Potestatis Negotia prædicta infecta non remaneant* ? Nay, may not the same Objection be made against the repealing or altering any Law in Force at the Time of an Election, and consequently defeat the very End for which a Parliament is chosen ? And I should be glad to know what particular Authority they were invested with, who made the Triennial Law, which was certainly a great Alteration of the Constitution ? There is another Thing which I find is very much insisted on, and that is, Supposing this Bill were reasonable, yet why now ? Because 'tis now there's the most Occasion for it. Are we not every Day threaten'd with new Insurrections, new Invasions ? And is it not the Prospect of Success at the next Election, however ill-grounded, which still keeps alive the Spirit of Jacobitism ?

‘ No Wonder then there are such Clamours rais'd without Doors against this Bill, by the Enemies to our Government, as well knowing that this must prove its best Security ; that it must effectually defeat their Measures ; that it must strike at the very Foundation of all their traiterous Designs ; and for ever blast the Pretender's Hopes of rekindling the Flames of Rebellion. In short, I am so entirely convinced, not only of the Reasonableness, but of the absolute Necessity of this Bill, in order to put an End to our unhappy Divisions, to stop that raging Deluge of Corruption which is so universally spread throughout the whole Nation, to make the Crown sit easy on his Majesty's Head, and perpetuate the Protestant Succession in his Royal Family ; and at the same Time, that it is no ways prejudicial to the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects of Great Britain ; that how ill soever a Recommendation it may be to any future Election, if I can have but the Pleasure to see my Country secur'd, to see these Blessings fix'd upon a solid and lasting Foundation, and if I can have but the Honour to contribute the least Share towards so glorious a Work, my Ambition will be sufficiently rewarded, tho' I should, by this Day's Vote, for ever after be excluded a Place in this House.’

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The Lord Guernsey having, in the Course of this Debate, asserted, 'That if a Man did not fall into all the Measures of the Ministry, and lap with them like the Men of Gideon, he was immediately Brow-beaten.' Mr Boscawen answer'd, 'That that honourable Member was of another Opinion not many Weeks before; so that what he now said must proceed either from Repentment or Disappointment.' Sir John Brownlow said, 'That for his own Part, he neither expected nor looked for a Place: That he would not have been for this Bill during the last Ministry, because he was sure they would have made an ill Use of it, but that he was for it Now, because he was satisfied the present Ministers would not abuse it.'

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Lord Guernsey.
Mr Boscawen.

Sir J. Brownlow.

Upon the whole Matter the Question being put, That the Bill do pass, it was carry'd in the Affirmative by 264 Votes against 121; and Mr Hampden was ordered to carry the Bill back to the Lords.

The Bill for repealing the Triennial Act passes the House.

May 2. The Lords having sent down to the Commons a Bill, intituled, *An Act for allowing of Counsel to all Persons who shall be proceeded against in Parliament for any Crimes of Treason, or Misprision of Treason*; to which they desir'd the Concurrence of the Commons, the said Bill was read the first Time; and after some Debate, the Question being put, That it be read a second Time, it pass'd in the Negative.

Bill sent from the Lords, relating to High Treason, thrown out by the Commons.

By this Bill Counsel for Prisoners, in Cases of High Treason, were to be permitted to speak to Matters of Fact as well as Points of Law.

Nothing farther material happen'd in the House, during this Session; but perhaps it may not be improper to take Notice, that the King having resolv'd to visit his German Dominions; and by the Act of Settlement his Majesty being restrain'd from going out of the Kingdom, without Consent of Parliament, a Motion was made by Sir John Cope, and seconded by Mr Hampden, for bringing in a Bill to repeal that Clause of the said Act; which Bill was accordingly brought in *Nem. Con.* and pass'd into a Law.

The Act, for restraining the King from going out of the Kingdom, repeal'd.

June 26. The King went to the House of Peers, and the Commons attending, his Majesty gave the Royal Assent to several publick and private Bills; after which the Lord Chancellor read the following Speech deliver'd into his Hands by his Majesty from the Throne.

• My Lords and Gentlemen,
“ I Cannot put an End to this Session, without expressing
“ to you my Satisfaction in the Proceedings of this Par-
“ liament. The wholesome and necessary Laws which have
“ been pass'd with so much Steadiness, Resolution, and Unani-
“ mity, will, I trust in God, answer those good Ends
“ which,
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King's Speech at concluding the Session.

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“ which, it is evident, you have had in View, by defeating
“ the Designs and reducing the Spirit of our Enemies, by
“ encouraging our Friends, and raising the Credit and Re-
“ putation of the Nation Abroad to such a Degree, as that I
“ may reasonably expect the Fruits of a settled Government ;
“ especially being supported by a Parliament-zealous for the
“ Prosperity of their Country, and the Protestant Interest
“ of Europe.

“ I am confident my Conduct hitherto, in suppressing the
“ Rebellion, and punishing those concern'd in it, has been
“ such, as demonstrates that I desire rather to lessen their
“ Numbers by reclaiming them, than by making Examples ;
“ but I am sorry to find that the numerous Instances of Mercy
“ which I have shewn, have had no other Effect, than to en-
“ courage the Faction of the Pretender, to renew their In-
“ sults upon my Authority, and the Laws of the Kingdom,
“ and even to affect, with the greatest Insolence, to distin-
“ guish themselves from my good and faithful Subjects, acting
“ with such Folly and Madness, as if they intended to con-
“ vince the World, that they are not to be reduc'd to Quiet
“ and Submission to my Government, by such gentle Methods
“ as are most agreeable to my own Inclinations.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I return you, in particular, my Thanks for the Supplies
“ you have given ; which, although they fall short of the
“ Sums you found necessary, and have voted, for the Ser-
“ vice of the whole Year ; yet, by the Encouragement you
“ have given to make them effectual, may, I hope, be so
“ manag'd as to carry on the current Service 'till another
“ Session of Parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I am very sensible there are Matters of great Conse-
“ quence still depending before you ; but as they have hither-
“ to been postpon'd, out of absolute Necessity, by interve-
“ ning Affairs of a more pressing Nature and of the most
“ immediate Concern to the Peace and Safety of the Nation,
“ I thought the Season of the Year requir'd I should defer
“ your farther Proceedings 'till the next Session, rather
“ than you should be detain'd out of your respective Coun-
“ tries longer than could be consistent with your private
“ Concerns.

“ I cannot doubt but that, during this Recess, you will
“ all use your best Endeavours to preserve the Peace of the
“ Kingdom, and to discourage and suppress all Manner of
“ Disorders, since, as the first Scene of the late Rebellion
“ was open'd and usher'd in by Tumults and Riots, so you
“ may be assur'd, upon what Pretence soever they are rais'd,
“ they can have no other Tendency, but to support the Spi-
“ rit

“ rit of a Faction, restless and unwearied in their Endeavours to renew the Rebellion, and to subvert the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of their Country.

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“ I design to make Use of the approaching Recess, to visit my Dominions in Germany, and to provide for the Peace and Security of the Kingdom, during my Absence, by constituting my beloved Son, the Prince of Wales, Guardian of the Realm, and my Lieutenant within the same.

Then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's Command, prorogued the Parliament to the 7th Day of August ; after which they were farther prorogued to the 20th of February, 1716-17.

The Parliament
prorogued.



SPEECHES and DEBATES

In the SECOND SESSION of the

First Parliament of King GEORGE I.

THE King came to the House of Peers, on the 20th of February, and the Commons being sent for and attending, the Lord Chancellor read his Majesty's Speech, as follows :

Anno 3. Geo. I.
1716-17.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I Was in Hopes that the Success which it pleas'd God to give us, in defeating the late Rebellion, might have secur'd to the Nation, Peace, Plenty, and Tranquility.

King's Speech at
opening the Second
Session.

“ My Endeavours have not been wanting, during your Recess, to improve the happy Prospect which was in View, by entering into such Negotiations as I judg'd most conducive to those good Ends ; and 'tis with Pleasure I can acquaint you, that many Defects in the Treaty of Utrecht, which very nearly affected the Trade, and even the Security of these Kingdoms, have been remedied by subsequent Conventions ; the happy Consequences of which have already very sensibly appear'd by the flourishing Condition of our Trade and Credit.

“ By the Alliance lately concluded with France and the States-General, we are soon to be eas'd of all future Apprehensions from Dunkirk and Mardyke ; the Pretender is actually mov'd beyond the Alps ; his Adherents are depriv'd of all Hopes of Support and Countenance from

O 2.

“ France :

Anno 3. Geo. I.
1716-17.

“ France ; and even the Assistance of that Crown is stipulated to us in case of Exigency.

“ It seem'd reasonable to expect, that such a Situation of Affairs at Home and Abroad should have recover'd, from their Delusion, all such of our Subjects as had unhappily been seduced by the Craft and Wickedness of desperate and ill-designing Men, and thereby have afforded me the Opportunity which I desir'd, of following the natural Bent of my own Inclinations to Lenity, by opening this Session with an Act of Grace ; but such is the obstinate and inveterate Rancour of a Faction amongst us, that it hath again prompted them to animate and stir up foreign Powers, to disturb the Peace of their native Country : They will choose rather to make Britain a Scene of Blood and Confusion, and to venture even the putting this Kingdom under a foreign Yoke, than give over their darling Design of imposing a Popish Pretender.

“ I have order'd to be laid before you Copies of Letters which have pass'd between the Swedish Ministers on this Occasion, which contain a certain Account of a projected Invasion ; and I promise my self, from your experienc'd Zeal and Affection to my Person and Government, that you will come to such Resolutions as will enable me, by the Blessing of God, to defeat all the Designs of our Enemies against us.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I did hope the putting an End to the late Rebellion would have so far secur'd the Peace and Tranquility of the Nation, that I might, consistently with the Safety of my People, have made a considerable Reduction of the Forces ; but the Preparations which are making from Abroad to invade us oblige me to ask such Supplies, as you shall find absolutely necessary for the Defence of the Kingdom.

“ You are all sensible of the insupportable Weight of the National Debts, which the Publick became engag'd for from the Necessity of the Times, the Pressures of a long and expensive War, and the languishing State of Publick Credit ; but the Scene being now so happily chang'd, if no new Disturbances shall plunge us again into Streights and Difficulties, the general Expectation seems to require of you, that you should turn your Thoughts towards some Method of extricating your selves, by reducing, by Degrees, the Debts of the Nation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I have an entire Confidence in you, and have therefore nothing to ask, but that you would take such Measures as will best secure your Religion and Liberties : While you preserve

" preserve those inestimable Blessings, I shall sit easy and safe
 " on my Throne, having no other View but the Happiness
 " and Prosperity of my People.

Anno 3. Geo. L.
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The Commons being return'd to their House, General Stanhope, by his Majesty's Command, laid before them Copies of Letters which pass'd between Count Gyllenborg, the Barons Gortz and Sparre, and others, relating to the Design of raising a Rebellion in his Majesty's Dominions, to be supported by a Force from Sweden; and the said Copies were read in the House: After which, Mr. Thomas Onslow mov'd for an Address of Thanks to his Majesty. He was Seconded by Sir John Brownlow, who said, 'That we had no need of the King of Sweden to maintain the English Liberties and support the Church of England.' This in Count Gyllenborg's and Baron Gortz's Letters, was hinted to be the Pretence of the intended Invasion. Mr. Hungerford took this Occasion to say, 'That he was sorry to find that a Member he had in his Eye [*meaning Mr. Robert Walpole,*] was mention'd in those Letters; but that he had the Honour to defend him formerly, and would be ready to do the like for the future.'

Gen. Stanhope lays before the House several Letters relating to an Invasion from Sweden.

Mr Onslow's Motion for an Address of Thanks

Sir John Brownlow.

Mr Hungerford.

February 21. The Commons made their Orders, and came to the Resolutions usual at the opening of a new Session; Then Mr. Tho. Onslow reported the Address to his Majesty, which was read and agreed to by the House; after which, they order'd, *Nem. Con.* that a Bill should be brought in to authorize his Majesty to prohibit Commerce with Sweden, during such Time as his Majesty should think it necessary for the Safety and Peace of his Kingdom. A Member having mov'd for declaring War against Sweden, Gen. Stanhope said; 'That it was Time enough to do that, if the King of Sweden refus'd to disown the Practices of his Ministers.'

A Bill order'd to be brought in, to prohibit Commerce with Sweden.

February, 22. The House presented the following Address to the King.

Most gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majesty's dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, return your Majesty their humblest Thanks for your most gracious Speech from the Throne.

The Commons Address.

' Your Majesty's safe and happy Return into your Kingdoms gave an universal Joy to all your People; and as the prudent Administration of the Government by his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, under your Majesty, did in some Degree make the Want of your Royal Presence more easy to us, we beg Leave to congratulate your Majesty upon the Peace and Security that, during your Majesty's

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‘ *ty’s Absence, was, by the great Care of his Royal Highness, preserv’d in the Kingdom, to the general Satisfaction of all your Subjects.*

‘ *We can never sufficiently acknowledge the repeated Instances of your Majesty’s Goodness, and unwearied Concern for the Welfare of your Kingdoms ; we see with Admiration many of the fatal Defects of the Treaty of Utrecht, and the great Disadvantages that were impos’d upon this Nation, at the Head of a victorious Army and powerful Confederacy, happily remedied by your Majesty, even in the Midst of intestine Dangers and Troubles. Your consummate Wisdom has renew’d those Alliances that were basely betray’d and dissolv’d, and concluded such new Treaties as may render the Peace safe and lasting ; and we are at a Loss to determine, whether in future Ages the suffering the Demolition of the Port of Dunkirk to be scandalously evaded, will be a greater Reproach, or the procuring the Destruction of the Sluices of Mardyke a greater Honour, to the British Nation.*

‘ *We cannot at the same Time, but with the highest Resentment and Indignation, look upon the obstinate and inveterate Rancour of those who are again endeavouring to embroil their native Country in Blood and Confusion. It is astonishing to find, that any, who call themselves Protestants, can be so inflexible and restless in their Endeavours, to impose upon us a Popish Pretender ; and rather venture to subject the Kingdom to a foreign Yoke, than depart from their darling and avow’d Design of altering and subverting the present happy Establishment in the Protestant Succession.*

‘ *We adore the watchful Eye of Heaven, that has so wonderfully guarded and protected your sacred Person, and cannot too much extol the Wisdom and Vigilance that have been us’d in so early and seasonably discovering this desperate Attempt. And in order most effectually to defeat it, your faithful Commons, with Hearts sincerely zealous in the Cause of their King and Country, assure your Majesty, that they will to the utmost stand by and support your Majesty against all your Enemies at Home and Abroad, that shall in any Manner presume to aid or abet the Pretender to your Crown, and will most chearfully grant to your Majesty such Supplies as shall be found necessary for the Safety of your Royal Person, and the Defence of the Kingdom.*

‘ *We are all but too sensible of the unsupportable Weight of the National Debts, and therefore will not neglect to apply our selves with all possible Diligence and Attention, to the great and necessary Work of reducing and lessening,*

ing, by Degrees, this heavy Burthen, which may prove the most effectual Means of preserving to the publick Funds a real and certain Security.'

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To this Address, his Majesty gave the following Answer.

Gentlemen,

"**T**HE Duty and Zeal which you express, in this loyal Address, to my Person and Government, your affectionate Concern for the Welfare of your Country, your Promises of an effectual Support against all our Enemies at Home and Abroad, and your Resolution of applying your selves to ease my People, by reducing gradually the heavy Load of the publick Debts, deserve my hearty Thanks. You shall never have Cause to repent of the Confidence you repose in me; the Honour, Welfare, and Prosperity of the Nation being what I have chiefly at Heart."

King's Answer thereto.

March 4. The House met according to their Adjournment, when, in a Grand Committee on the Supply, it was mov'd to take into Consideration the Estimates relating to the Land-Forces; upon which, Sir Robert Davers, Member for Suffolk, Mr Freeman, and Mr Hungerford endeavour'd to get that Affair put off to another Day, by moving that Mr Farrer, the Chair-man, should leave the Chair. They alledg'd, 'That the late Rebellion being happily suppress'd, and the Swedish Conspiracy seasonably discover'd, there was Reason to hope, that the Counties of England would soon be eas'd of the grievous Burthen of quartering Soldiers; but if it appear'd, that the King of Sweden persisted in his Design to invade Great Britain, they would all readily give their Votes for keeping the present Forces on Foot.' (a) Mr R. Walpole, (b) General Stanhope, Mr John Smith, (c) Mr W. Pulteney, General Lumley, and several other Courtiers, on the contrary, urg'd the Necessity of taking speedy and vigorous Resolutions in Relation to the Army; and after a Debate that lasted near two Hours, the Question being put, That the Chair-man leave the Chair, it was carry'd in the Negative, by a Majority of 222 Voices against 57.

Motion relating to the Land-Forces.

Debate thereon.

Sir R. Davers.
Mr Freeman.
Mr Hungerford.

March 5. Mr Farrer, Member for Bedford, reported the Resolutions taken the Day before, in the grand Committee on the Supply; which being agreed to, Mr R. Walpole mov'd, and it was resolv'd, *Nem. Con.* That whosoever shall advance or lend any Sum, not exceeding 600,000 l. for the Service

Mr R. Walpole.
Gen. Stanhope.
Mr J. Smith.
Mr Pulteney.
Gen. Lumley.

Mr R. Walpole.
moves for borrow-
ing 600,000 l. for
the publick Service
at 4 l. per Cento

(a) First Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer. (b) Secretary of State. (c) Secretary at War.

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Debate thereon.

Mr Lechmere.

Mr Walpole.

Service of the Publick by Sea or Land, shall be repaid the same with Interest, at 4 l. *per Cent.* out of the first Aid to be granted this Session of Parliament. The putting the Interest of this intended Loan so low as 4 l. *per Cent.* gave Reason to surmise, that those, who had the Management of his Majesty's Treasury, design'd to put on the same Foot the Interests of all publick Funds: Whereupon Mr Lechmere took Notice, 'That several Schemes and Proposals for reducing the National Debts had been printed and dispers'd, which gave the Persons concern'd in the publick Securities the greater Uneasiness, in that there was Reason to apprehend, that those Schemes came abroad with the Privy and Countenance of Men in great Places: That the general Alarm which this had occasion'd among the money'd Men, might very sensibly affect publick Credit, and be, at this Juncture, of very dangerous Consequence: To prevent which, he thought it necessary, to move, That the House would come to a Resolution, effectually to make good all Parliamentary Engagements.' To this Mr Robert Walpole, immediately answer'd, 'That his Majesty having, with great Tenderness, recommended to them from the Throne, the reducing, by Degrees, the Debts of the Nation; and the Commons having afterwards in their Address to his Majesty, promis'd to apply themselves, with all possible Diligence and Attention, to that great and necessary Work, they ought to exert themselves to make good that Promise, and appoint a Day to take that important Matter into Consideration: And he did not doubt but the Commons would then shew all possible Regard to Justice and publick Faith. He own'd, there had been, indeed, several Schemes publish'd, relating to the Reduction of the national Debts, but that they were made by private Persons, and, he did assure the House, without the Participation of any of his Majesty's Ministers, and therefore they were not to be regarded; but that in a short Time, such Proposals would be laid before the House, as, he hop'd, would give them Satisfaction, and meet with their Approbation; therefore he mov'd, That Mr. Lechmere's Motion might be thus alter'd, viz. That this House will effectually make good the Deficiencies of all Parliamentary Engagements.' This after a short Debate, was carry'd in the Affirmative, *Nem. Con.* But Mention being made of the great Services done by the Bank of England, and those, who by their Money had supported the Court Interest and the present Establishment, Mr. Aislaby,* took Notice of the Management of some Directors of the Bank, who, upon the alluring Prospect of Gain, were as ready to support

* *Treasurer of the Navy.*

port the late Ministry. On the other Hand, a Courtier having defy'd any Body to charge any Breach of publick Faith, or of the Laws, on the Administration, since his Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne, Mr. Hungerford said, 'That this put him in Mind of a Coronation, when the King's Champion, coming into Westminster-Hall, throws down one of his Gloves to make the Challenge, but that he never saw any Body so bold as to take it up.

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Mr Hungerford.

March 8. While the House was in a Committee on the Supply, Mr. Lechmere, told them, 'That he was sorry he found himself oblig'd to take Notice, that their late Vote for a Loan, at 4 *l. per Cent.* Interest, was like to prove ineffectual, there not being in three Days Time above 45,000 *l.* subscrib'd to the Loan of 600,000 *l.* on the Land-Tax. And therefore since the present Exigency requir'd a speedy Supply, he thought it necessary, and therefore mov'd, That a Day be appointed to consider farther of that Matter. 'Mr. Robert Walpole seconded this Motion, and said, That there was the greater Necessity for it, because he was inform'd, that some Stock-Jobbers, in order to deter the Parliament from pursuing the Design of reducing the publick Debts, had form'd a Combination to distress the Government, and ruin publick Credit; which was the Occasion that the late Vote for borrowing 600,000 *l.* at 4 *l. per Cent.* had not had the desired Effect.' To this Mr. Lechmere answer'd, 'That as none but the most wicked of Men could enter into such a Combination against the Good of their Country, so the honourable Member, who spoke last, would do well to name them, that the House might shew the utmost Resentment and Indignation against them. But that, in his Opinion, the ill Success of the Loan was rather mainly occasion'd by some Reflections on the money'd Men and Stock-Jobbers, and by certain Maxims lately advanc'd, viz. That the Parliament may exert their Authority to extricate themselves, by reducing the National Debts; that such Maxims could not but alarm the Persons concern'd in the publick Securities; and the more, when they saw that a Slur had been put upon the Motion made three Days before, 'That all Parliamentary Engagements should effectually be made good. That he still thought such a Vote absolutely necessary, both to remove Peoples Fears and Jealousies, and to vindicate the Honour and Justice of the Nation; that the same was entirely agreeable to his Majesty's Sentiments, who, in his first Speech to this Parliament, had been pleas'd to recommend to the Commons, in a particular Manner, the strict Observance of all Parliamentary Engagements, than which nothing could more contribute to the Support of the Credit of the Nation; with which Opinion of his Majesty the Commons did entirely concur; and

Mr Lechmere takes Notice that only 45,000 *l.* had been subscrib'd towards the Loan at 4 *l. per Cent.*

Mr R. Walpole.

Mr Lechmere.

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that

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that he could not believe, that any of his Majesty's Ministers could be so regardless of his Honour and known Equity, or put so hard a Thing upon him, as to make him, in the least, contradict what he had in so solemn a Manner declar'd from the Throne. He added, That the Commons having already appointed a Day, to consider of the State of the Nation, with Relation to the publick Debts, he would not anticipate that important Affair: But he could not forbear declaring on this Occasion his private Opinion, That it would be the greatest Ingratitude, as well as Injustice, in the least to wrong those who had supported the Government in the most pressing Exigencies and perilous Junctures; and, on all Occasions, shewn their Zeal and Affection for the Protestant Succession. That he had nothing to say, as to such publick Securities as were redeemable by Parliament; but, as to Annuities granted for Terms of Years, he would be positive, that they could not be meddled with, without breaking in upon Parliamentary Engagements, and violating the publick Faith; since those Annuities were not to be look'd upon as Debts, but as a Sale of Annual Rents for a valuable Consideration, of which Contract the Parliament had propos'd and made the Terms and Conditions, and the Rentees became Purchasers upon the Parliamentary Faith and Security. And that, besides the Injustice of breaking through a National Contract, those Annuities could not be touch'd, without occasioning great Confusion and Disputes in private Families, by Reason that most of the said Annuities had been settled for Portions, Joyntures, and the like.' Then Mr Walpole, in Answer to this, declar'd, 'That there never had been a Design to use any Compulsion with Relation to Annuities; that, indeed, an Alternative might be offer'd to the Proprietors of them, but that it should be in their Choice either to accept or refuse it: And as for such Funds as were redeemable, that nothing should be propos'd that did not entirely consist with Justice and publick Faith.' Mr. Aislable took also that Occasion to explain some Expressions he us'd, in the Debate of the 5th Instant, in relation to the Bank of England, which had been constru'd amiss; owning, that they had supported the Government in the most difficult Exigencies; and that, in his Opinion, if any Thing ought to remain untouched, it should be the Bank.' After a Debate of about two Hours, it was resolv'd to consider farther of the Supply, in a grand Committee, on the 13th of March.

March 9. The House agreed to the Resolutions of the Committee on the Supply, so that the Money already voted amounted to above two Millions.

March 23. It was ordered, That the Committee of the whole House, to whom the Land-Tax Bill is committed, have

Mr R. Walpole.

Mr Aislable.

have Power to receive a Clause to transfer to the Register appointed to be kept by the said Act, all the Loans which have been made upon the Resolution of the House on the 5th Instant, to be repaid with Interest not exceeding 5 *l. per Cent. per Annum*. On which last Resolution, the whole Loan of 600,000 *l.* was immediately fill'd up.

March 26. It was resolv'd to address his Majesty, That the Treaties made with the Bishop of Munster and the Duke of Saxe-Gotha, for putting six Battalions of their Troops into his Majesty's Service, might be laid before the House: According to which Address General Stanhope, two Days after, presented to the House the said Treaties, with Translations of the same. It was generally suppos'd, that these Treaties were call'd for with a Design to find Fault with them, and to bring a Censure upon some German Ministers, who had been employ'd in those Transactions: But a Motion being made the next Day, and the Question put, That an Address be presented to his Majesty, That he will be pleas'd to give Directions, that the Instructions given to his Majesty's Ministers, who transacted the Treaties for taking four Battalions of the Bishop of Munster's Troops, and two Battalions of the Duke of Saxe-Gotha's Troops into his Majesty's Pay, to supply the Place of such as, during the late Rebellion, should be drawn from the Garrisons of the States General of the United Provinces to assist his Majesty, may be laid before this House, it pass'd in the Negative by 165 Votes against 38.

April 3. Gen. Stanhope delivered to the House the following Message from the King.

GEORGE R.

" **H**IS Majesty being desirous, above all Things, not only to secure his Kingdoms against the present Danger, with which they are threaten'd from Sweden, but likewise to prevent, as far as is possible, the like Apprehensions for the future, thinks it necessary that such Measures should be early concerted with other Princes and States, as may conduce most effectually to this End.
 " And as this may require some Expence, his Majesty hopes that his Commons will, by their Assistance at this Juncture, enable him to make good such Engagements as may ease his People of all future Charge and Apprehensions upon this Account.

The Consideration of this Message was put off to the next Day.

April 4. General Stanhope mov'd, That a Supply be granted to enable his Majesty to concert such Measures with Foreign Princes and States, as may prevent any Charge or

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The Commons resolve to allow 5 *l. per Cent.* on the Loan of 600,000 *l.* Upon which the whole Sum is immediately subscrib'd.

Motion relating to the Bishop of Munster's and Duke of Saxe-Gotha's Troops.

Message from the King relating to the Swedish Invasion.

Gen. Stanhope's Motion for a Supply on that Account.

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Debate thereon.

Mr Shippen.

Apprehensions from the Designs of Sweden for the future. ' He urg'd the Advantage and Security that would redound to the Nation, by enabling his Majesty to reduce the King of Sweden ; and what Confidence they ought to repose in the King's Honour, Wisdom, and Oeconomy in the Management of what Money should be thought necessary for that Service.' Hereupon Mr Shippen said, ' That it was a great Misfortune, that so wise and so excellent a Prince as his Majesty, was as little acquainted with the Usage and Forms of Parliamentary Proceedings, as with the Language of our Country ; That if he had known either, he would not have sent such a Message, which, he was sure, was unparliamentary and unprecedented ; and therefore 'twas his Opinion, That it was penn'd by some Foreign Minister, and then translated into English : That since the King's Accession to the Throne, there had been many Reflections cast, in that House, upon the late Ministry, as if they had betray'd the Interest of, their Country : That, on the contrary, they had often been told, that his Majesty had retriev'd the Honour and Reputation of the Nation ; the Effects of which had already appear'd in the flourishing Condition of our Trade : That after all this, he could not but be very much surpriz'd to find a Motion made for a Supply of Money, to enable his Majesty to enter into new Measures, to secure his Kingdom against any future Apprehensions from the Swedes : That the Necessity that was urg'd for this, seem'd to be inconsistent with the Accounts of those glorious Advantages his Majesty had obtain'd for us : And he could not help being of Opinion, That if the new Alliances and Measures to be concerted, were such as were to be obtain'd purely by the Force of our Money, that ever the Happiness or the Security of the Nation could be the Consequence of such Counsels ; for, whenever Foreigners come to taste the Sweetness of English Money, we might depend upon it, that their Adherence to our Interest would last no longer than we continu'd to supply their Necessities.' Mr Hungerford, who seconded Mr Shippen, said, ' That for his Part, he could not understand what Occasion there was for new Alliances, much less that they should be purchas'd with Money : That it must needs be very surprizing to the whole World, that a Nation, not long ago the Terror of France and Spain, should now seem to fear so inconsiderable an Enemy as the King of Sweden ; especially when we had so good a Fleet at Sea, and so great an Army on Land.' Some other Speeches were made on the same Side, which gave Gen. Stanhope Occasion to say, ' That he was sorry to find Gentlemen grow so warm upon a Subject of this Nature : That the King was a Prince of that Integrity and Honour, and had already given such convincing Proofs

Mr Hungerford.

Gen. Stanhope.

of

of his tender Care for the true Interest of the Nation, that they might entirely depend upon his Wisdom in this Matter; and therefore he was of Opinion, that none would refuse Compliance with this Message, but such as either were not the King's Friends, or who distrusted the Honesty of his Ministers.' This gave Offence to several Members; and Mr Lawson, Knight of the Shire for Cumberland, reply'd thereupon, ' That he was very much surpriz'd to find such unguarded Expressions fall from that worthy and honourable Gentleman, for whom, he was sure, the whole House had a very great Regard; but since he had thought fit to speak so openly, he hop'd he might be well justify'd in saying, That if every Member of this House, that us'd Freedom of Speech on any Subject of Debate, must be accounted an Enemy to the King, when he happens not to fall in with his Ministers, he knew no Service they were capable of doing for their Country in that House; and therefore it was his Opinion, That they had nothing else to do, but to retire to their Country-Seats, and leave the King and his Ministers to take what they pleas'd.' Mr Boscawen, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Mr * Horatio Walpole, and some other Gentlemen, back'd Gen. Stanhope's Motion; but Mr Grimstone, and some other Courtiers, spoke on this Occasion on the contrary Side. However, it was mov'd, and resolv'd, That the House would, upon the Monday Morning next, resolve it self into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of Gen. Stanhope's Motion for a Supply. After this it was also resolv'd, To address his Majesty, that the Treaty made between the late King William and the present King of Sweden, be laid before the House.

April 6. Pursuant to the above Address, Gen. Stanhope laid before the House a Copy of the said Treaty.

April 8. The Commons went into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the Motion of the 4th Instant, for a Supply to be granted to his Majesty, against the Designs of Sweden for the future; for the Necessity of which, General Stanhope alledg'd several Reasons, and was seconded by Mr Craggs, *Jun.* Mr Boscawen, Mr Aislaby, and several others. On the other Side, Mr Shippen, Mr Hungerford, Mr Hutcheson, the Lord Guernsey, Mr Herne, Member for Dartmouth, Mr Ward, and some others, urg'd, ' That it was unparliamentary to grant a Supply before the Occasion was known, and an Estimate of the Expence was laid before the House: That the King's Message about this Matter, was so unprecedented, that his Majesty's Ministers seem'd to be divided about it; and that 'twas a great Misfortune

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Mr Lawson.

Mr Boscawen.
Sir Gil. Heathcote.
Mr H. Walpole.

Mr Grimstone.

Gen. Stanhope.
Mr Craggs.
Mr Boscawen.
Mr Aislaby.

Mr Shippen.
Mr Hungerford.
Mr Hutcheson.
Lord Guernsey.
Mr Herne.
Mr Ward.

* Secretary to the Treasury.

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fortune such Divisions should happen among the Ministry, for then a Parliament cannot have a true Information of Things : That they could not easily apprehend what Occasion there was to make new Alliances, since we had a standing Army in Great Britain, and a considerable Fleet at Sea, which sufficiently secur'd his Majesty's Kingdoms against any Danger from Sweden : That if we design'd to make an offensive War against that Crown, why did we not send Part of our Forces on Board our Fleet ? Especially, since we were now secure at Home, both by the Suppression of the late Rebellion, and by the Conclusion of the Triple Alliance, which the Regent of France had begun faithfully to perform, by causing the Pretender to pass the Alps. However, if the Court insisted on the Necessity of entering into new Engagements against Sweden, they thought it proper to address his Majesty, to acquaint the House with the Nature of those Engagements, and the Sum that was requisite to make them good.' To this, General Stanhope answer'd, ' That the Discovery of the late Conspiracy, carry'd on by the Swedish Ministers, in Conjunction with the discontented Party at Home, sufficiently evinc'd the Necessity of a standing Army in Great Britain : That the Treaty of Triple Alliance seem'd, indeed, to secure us against any Danger on the Part of France ; but that it was to be observ'd, that the said Treaty had met with so great Opposition at the French Court, that had not the Regent stickled strenuously for it, it would have infallibly miscarry'd ; and tho' hitherto we had all the Reason imaginable to commend the Honesty and Candour of that Prince ; yet, in good Policy, we ought not to depend on that Treaty any longer than it shall be the Interest of France to observe it. And as to the Motion for the Address, He added, That it would be injurious to the King's Prerogative of entering into such Alliances as his Majesty thinks necessary for the Good and Security of his Dominions, without communicating the same to his Parliament : Which Prerogative was grounded on very good Reasons ; for if the Crown was oblig'd to impart the Secret of Affairs to so great a Number of Persons, the most important Negotiations must thereby miscarry.' Sir Gilbert Heathcote, an Alderman of London, mention'd the great Losses and Damages which the British Subjects had sustain'd by their Ships being made Prizes, and confiscated in Sweden ; and observ'd, ' That the King of Sweden having several Times refused to make Satisfaction ; and, on the Contrary, his Ministers having endeavour'd to raise a new Rebellion in his Majesty's Dominions, there was Ground to declare War against him.' To this, Mr Gould, Member for Shoreham, reply'd, ' That the Dutch having sustain'd as great Losses

Gen. Stanhope.

Sir Gilb. Heathcote.

Mr Gould.

Loffes by the Swedes, they had an equal Concern with Great Britain to declare War againſt them ; and therefore it would be proper, before the Houſe proceeded farther, to engage Holland, in the firſt Place, to prohibit all Commerce with Sweden, as we had done.' Hereupon General Stanhope ſaid, ' That he made no doubt, but the States-General would readily come into any Meaſures that ſhould appear neceſſary for the Good and Intereſt of both Nations in general, and to obtain Satisfaction for the late Depredations of the Swedes in particular : That their High-Mightineſſes had lately given ſignal Inſtances of their firm Adherence to the Crown of Great Britain, in cauſing the Swediſh Miniſters to be ſeiz'd in their Dominions, upon his Maſteſty's Deſire ; but that the Form and Conſtitution of their Government, and the Good of their Subjects, who moſtly ſubſiſt by Trade, did not permit them to take ſuch vigorous and ſpeedy Reſolutions as could be wiſh'd ; and therefore it would not be fair to exact the ſame from them.' Mr Craggs, preſs'd the Neceſſity of making new Alliances againſt Sweden, from the late doubtful Conduſt of a Northern Potentate, [*meaning the Czar of Muſcovy*] who, by his Inactivity againſt Sweden, and the Poſt ſome of his Troops had taken, gave great Umbrage to the Empire. Mr R. Walpole, Sir Edward Northey (a), and Lord Moleſworth, ſpoke alſo on the ſame Side ; Sir William Thompſon (b) in particular, urg'd, ' What would the World think of this Parliament, if they ſhould reſuſe to ſupply the King at this Exigency ? On the other Hand, Mr Compton (the Speaker) and Mr Smith (c), ſaid, ' That they were not againſt the Supply, but againſt the demanding and granting of it in ſuch an unparliamentary Manner ; and Mr Speaker propos'd, That Part of the Army ſhould be diſbanded, and the Money, thereby ſav'd, apply'd towards the making good ſuch new Engagements as were thought neceſſary to be enter'd into ; but Lieutenant General Mordaunt, and ſome others, urg'd how unſafe and impolitick it would be at this Juncture to diſband any of the Troops. Mr George Caſwall ſaid, ' That for his own Part, he had rather pay others for fighting than fight himſelf : That he thought it more advantageous for Great Britain to carry the War abroad, and enjoy Peace at Home, in order to improve our Trade, and reduce our publick Debts ; and that, as the employing Foreigners againſt Sweden, would be a far leſs Expence than national Troops, he therefore was for complying with his Maſteſty's Meſſage. At laſt, about five in the Afternoon, the Queſtion being put, upon the

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Gen. Stanhope.

Mr Craggs.

Mr R. Walpole.
Sir Edw. Northey.
Lord Moleſworth.
Sir W. Thompſon.

Mr Compton (the
Speaker.)
Mr J. Smith.

Gen. Mordaunt.

Mr Caſwall.

(a) Attorney General. (b) Solicitor General. (c) One of the Tellers of the Exchequer.

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the Motion for a Supply, the same was carry'd in the Affirmative, by 164 against 149.

Mr Shippen.
Mr Hungerford.
Mr Hutchefon.
Mr J. Smith.
Mr Herne.

Gen. Stanhope.
Mr R. Walpole.
Mr H. Walpole.
Mr Bailie.
Mr Hampden.

Mr Compton.

Mr Hampden.

The Motion for a
Supply against
Sweden, agreed to.

Mr R. Walpole,
presents a Bill
For redeeming the
Duties on Houses,
&c. And acquaints
the House with his
having resign'd his
Places.

April 9. Mr Farrer reported the said Resolution to the House, upon which there arose a fresh, but short Debate: Mr Shippen, Mr Hungerford, Mr Hutchefon, Mr Smith, Mr Herne, and others, insisted again on the Unparliamentariness of asking and granting Supplies without an Estimate of the Expence; and propos'd, either to present an Address to the King, to assure him, That the House would effectually make good all the Engagements his Majesty should think proper to enter into; or that his Majesty be desir'd to disband Part of the Army, and apply the Savings towards the new Alliances. Both these Expedients were oppos'd by General Stanhope, Mr R. Walpole, Mr Hor. Walpole, Mr * Bailie, and Mr Hampden; the last of whom in particular, in Answer to what was suggested, That this Manner of asking and granting Supplies, was unparliamentary and unprecedented, said, 'That he remember'd about ten or eleven Years before, a Great Man in that House [*meaning Mr. Compton the Speaker*] made a Motion for allowing and providing for about 900,000 L. which the Government had expended, without laying any Estimate before the Commons. To this, Mr. Speaker said, 'He wonder'd that Gentleman would bring in as a Precedent, a Business that was transacted so many Years ago, and which was not parallel to the present Case.' Whereupon Mr. Hampden reply'd, 'That he did not thereby intend to reflect upon Mr. Speaker, since he had the Honour to vote with him upon that Occasion.' After this the Resolution for granting a Supply to his Majesty, to concert such Measures with Foreign Princes and States, as may prevent any Charge or Apprehensions from the Designs of Sweden for the future, was agreed to, though by a Majority only of 153 against 149.

This Point being so hard run, was generally suppos'd to be owing to a Party in the House, which were said to be under the Influence of the Lord Townshend; Hereupon that very Evening his Majesty order'd his Lordship to be remov'd from the Post of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and the next Morning Mr. Robert Walpole, Mr. Methuen and Mr. Will. Pulteney resign'd their Places.

April 10. Mr. Robert Walpole presented to the House, according to Order, *A Bill for redeeming the Duties on Houses, &c.* Upon the bringing in of this Bill, Mr. Walpole gave the House a Hint of his having resign'd his Places, by saying, That he now presented that Bill as a Country Gentleman; but he hop'd it would not fare the worse for having two

* *Made One of the Commissioners of the Treasury in this Session.*

two Fathers ; and that his Successor would take care to bring it to Perfection.

April 12. The Commons went into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the Supply granted to his Majesty ; and Gen. Stanhope † having made a Motion for granting to his Majesty the Sum of 250,000 l. to enable him to concert Measures against Sweden ; there was for a Minute or two a great Silence in the House. Mr Pulteney, who broke it first, express'd his Surprize at it ; and added, ' That as for his Part, he had not yet said any Thing to this Matter, because he thought it inconsistent with Decency to oppose a Motion that came from the Court, while he had the Honour to be his Majesty's immediate Servant ; but that having resign'd his Place, that he might act with the Freedom becoming an Englishman, he could not forbear declaring against the granting a Supply, in a Manner altogether unparliamentary and unprecedented : That he could not persuade himself, that any Englishman advis'd his Majesty to send such a Message ; but he doubted not, but the Resolutions of a British Parliament would make a German Ministry tremble.' He was seconded by the Lord Finch, who even found Fault with some Steps that had been taken in Relation to the Affairs of the Northern Alliance ; and said, ' That it appear'd by the Memorial presented by the Russian Minister, and by the Answer return'd, that such Measures had been pursu'd as were like to engage us in a Quarrel with the Czar.' Upon this Gen. Stanhope spoke in Vindication of the King and his Ministers, in Relation both to the Czar and the King of Sweden. With Respect to the first, He said, ' That he had hitherto been obliged to be silent ; but that he was now at Liberty to set this Matter in a clear Light, and to acquaint the House, That the Coldness which appear'd of late between the King and the Czar, proceeded from his Majesty's refusing to become Guarantee of his Czarish Majesty's Conquests ; and from his Majesty's soliciting the Czar to withdraw his Troops from the Dutchy of Mecklemburg : That as to the first of those Matters, his Majesty's Conduct deserv'd the Applause and the Thanks of a British Parliament, since it appear'd thereby, that his Majesty was tender not to engage the Nation in Foreign Quarrels : That this, indeed, had been his Majesty's principal Care, since his happy Accession to the Throne ; and he might assure them, that Great Britain was entirely free from any Engagements, and at Liberty to follow such Measures as best suit with her Interest : That as for the Instances which his Majesty has caus'd to be made

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with

† Made first *Ld. Commissioner of the Treasury, and Chancellor of the Exchequer* in the Room of Mr R. Walpole.

Anno 3. Geo. 1.
1717.

Gen. Stanhope moves for 250,000 l. to be granted to the King against Sweden.

Debate thereon.

Mr W. Pulteney ; who acquaints the House with his having resign'd his Place.

Lord Finch

Gen. Stanhope

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with the Czar, and the Measures he may have concerted, to get the Russian Troops out of the Dutchy of Mecklemburg, his Majesty has acted in all this as Elector and Prince of the Empire: That he was perswaded, all the Gentlemen there would agree with him, that the King's Dignity, as King of Great Britain, was never understood to tie up his Hands with respect to his Interests in Germany, and a Prince of the Empire: But besides, he must desire Gentlemen to consider, That long before his Majesty's Accession to the Crown, Great Britain was in strict Union with the Emperor and Empire; so that if, by Virtue of ancient Alliances, the Emperor should require Great Britain to use those Instances with the Czar, which the King has made only as Elector of Hanover, Great Britain could not avoid complying with his Request: That in Relation to Sweden, the King's Conduct was not only blameless and unspotted, but worthy of the highest Commendations: That in the late Queen's Time, Great Britain interpos'd to procure a Neutrality in the North, whereby the King of Sweden might have preserv'd his Possessions in the Empire: That the Regency at Stockholm agreed to this Overture; but that the King of Sweden rejected it with Haughtiness and the utmost Scorn, declaring, he would use those as his Enemies, who should pretend to impose such a Neutrality upon him: That during the whole Course of that Negotiation, the King, then Elector of Hanover, used all friendly Offices in Favour of Sweden: That all this having prov'd ineffectual, through the King of Sweden's Obstinacy, and the King of Denmark having, by the Fortune of War, re-conquer'd the Dutchies of Bremen and Verden, his Majesty, as Elector of Hanover, has purchas'd the same with his own Money, for a valuable Consideration: That although it never was in his Majesty's Thoughts to engage Great Britain in a War to support that Acquisition, yet, if Gentlemen would give themselves the Trouble to cast their Eyes upon the Map, to see where Bremen and Verden lie, he hop'd they would not be indifferent as to the Possessor of those two Dutchies, but would agree with him, that their being in the King's Hands suits far better with the Interest of Great Britain, than if they were in the Hands either of the Czar, who gives already but too much Jealousy to the Empire; or of the King of Sweden, who endeavour'd to raise a new Rebellion in Great Britain, and harbours our fugitive Rebels.

Mr John Smith.

Mr John Smith answer'd Gen. Stanhope, and said, 'That he had already declar'd his Reasons for opposing the granting this Supply in such an extraordinary Manner; and that some Expressions that had escap'd a Gentleman in the Ministry, instead of making him alter his Opinion, rather confirm'd him

him in it : That as, on the one Hand, he never affected Popularity ; so, on the other Hand, when the Good of his Country came under Consideration, he always spoke his Thoughts with the Liberty that becomes an Englishman, without any Regard to the Ministers : That he did not pretend to be thoroughly acquainted with Affairs abroad ; but having had the Honour to sit so long in that House, where so great a Variety of Business, both foreign and domestick, had often been debated, he might presume to have some Knowledge of them : That, however he would not say any Thing to what had been advanced by the honourable Member who spoke last ; but if an Estimate of the Conduct of the Ministry, in relation to Affairs Abroad, was to be made by a Comparison of their Conduct at Home, he was sure they would not appear altogether so faultless as they were represented. Was it not a Mistake, added he, not to preserve the Peace at Home, after the King was come to the Throne, with the universal Applause and joyful Acclamations of all his Subjects ? Was it not a Mistake, upon the breaking out of the Rebellion, not to issue out a Proclamation, to offer Pardon to such as should return Home peaceably, as had ever been practis'd before upon such Occasions ? Was it not a Mistake, after the Suppression of the Rebellion, and the Trial and Execution of the principal Authors of it, to keep up Animosities, and drive People to Despair by not passing an Act of Indemnity and Grace, by keeping so many Persons under hard and tedious Confinement, and by granting Pardons to some, without leaving them any Means to subsist ? Is it not a Mistake, not to trust to a Vote of Parliament, for making good such Engagements as his Majesty shall think proper to enter into ; and instead of that, to insist on the granting of this Supply in such an extraordinary Manner ? Is it not a Mistake, to take this Opportunity to create Divisions, and render some of the King's best Friends suspected and obnoxious ? Is it not a Mistake, in short, to form Parties and Cabals, in order to bring in a Bill to repeal the Act against Occasional Conformity ?

To this Speech General Stanhope reply'd, ' That he had had the Honour to serve his Majesty, since his happy Accession to the Throne, but as there were other Persons, some of them in, and others out of Place, who had a greater Share than himself in the Administration of Affairs, he left it to them to justify themselves : That however, he would clear a principal Point, by assuring the Committee, that he had, some time ago, the King's Orders to draw up an Act of Indemnity.'

Mr Barrington Shute, Member for Berwick, said, ' That the King was, indeed, come to the Throne with the joyful

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Accla-

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Mr Barrington
Shute.

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Acclamations of most of his Subjects ; but that the Disaffection that appear'd soon after, did not proceed from the ill Conduct of his Ministers, but solely from the Removal of some Persons in great Employments : That nevertheless, in the Changes that were then made, his Majesty had follow'd the Rules of Prudence, Justice, and Gratitude, since he advanc'd those, who, in the worst of Times, had given undoubted Proofs of their Affection and Attachment to his Interest, in the Room of those who had been preferr'd in the last Reign, as the fittest Instruments to destroy the Protestant Succession, even before it took Place, and who had since been in open Rebellion against his Majesty : That as for the other Mistakes charg'd upon the Administration, they might be reduc'd to these two, viz. The not passing the Act of Indemnity, and the Design to repeal the Occasional Bill : That as to the first, there were various Opinions about it ; and considering the restless Spirit of the discontented Party, it was hard to determine, whether an Indemnity was a proper Way to reduce them ; since it was notorious, that the repeated Instances of Clemency which his Majesty has given since his Accession, have been abus'd and despis'd : That as to the Repeal of the Acts against the Dissenters, nothing, in his Opinion, was either more just or reasonable ; and he could not but wonder, that a Gentleman [*meaning Mr John Smith*] who had been turn'd out of his Employment in the last Reign, and restor'd since the King's coming to the Crown, should account it a Mistake, on the one Hand, not to grant an Indemnity to his Majesty's declar'd Enemies ; and a Mistake, on the other Hand, to make his Majesty's undoubted Friends easy.

Mr Smith.

Mr Smith, after an Explanation demanded and given, about his being turn'd out of Place and restor'd, reply'd to the last Part of Mr Shute's Speech, ' That he ever was for allowing Liberty of Conscience to the Dissenters, and had even voted against the Occasional Bill ; but that the same being pass'd into a Law, it was his Opinion, that it could not be repeal'd without disquieting the whole Nation.'

Mr Yonge.

Mr Yonge, * Member for Honiton, spoke next, and said ' That some Days before, he had been against the Motion, for granting a Supply upon the King's Message, because he thought it unparliamentary ; and it was then his Opinion to address the King to enter into such Engagements as his Majesty shall think proper, and that the Commons would make good the same ; but that, since the Majority of the House had determin'd to grant a Supply, they had brought themselves to this Dilemma, either to grant what was ask'd

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* One of the Commissioners for stating the Debts due to the Army.

as necessary for the Service, or to tell the King, that that Service must remain unperform'd, which they had in a Manner determin'd to be necessary, by granting a Supply.' This Speech was back'd by Mr Gould, who own'd, 'That we could not carry on our Trade to the Baltick, without bringing the King of Sweden to Reason, and therefore he was for granting this Supply.' Mr Robert Walpole, who brought up the Rear, said, 'That having already spoken for the Supply, he would not refuse the Court his Vote, and the Sum being nam'd, he was for granting it. Hereupon, it was carry'd without dividing, that a Sum not exceeding 250,000 l. be granted, to enable his Majesty to concert such Measures with Foreign Princes and States, as may prevent any Charge or Apprehensions from the Designs of Sweden for the future.

Anno 3. Geo. I.
1717.

Mr Gould.

Mr R. Walpole.

April 13. Mr Farrer having reported this Resolution to the House, some of the Members endeavour'd to render it ineffectual, by moving that it should be re-committed. To debate this Motion with more Freedom, Mr Bromley, taking Notice that several Peers, and others, were got into the House, mov'd, that the House be clear'd of all Strangers; which being done accordingly, Mr Shippen insisted on the recommitting of the Resolution in Question. He was seconded by Mr Hungerford, Sir Thomas Hanmer, Mr Herne, and Mr Lawson: But the other Party call'd for the Question; and the said Resolution being read a second Time, was agreed to by a Majority of 153 against 132.

Mr W. Bromley.

Mr Shippen.
Mr Hungerford.
Sir Tho. Hanmer.
Mr Herne.
Mr Lawson.

The House vote
250,000 l. to the
King, against
Sweden.

April 16. Mr Boscawen * having acquainted the House with his Majesty's Desire, that they would adjourn 'till the 6th of May, the House accordingly adjourn'd to that Day.

May 6. The King went to the House of Lords, and the Commons attending, his Majesty commanded the Lord Chancellor to read the following Speech to both Houses:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" IT is with great Satisfaction that, after this short Re-
" cefs, I can acquaint you with the certain Advice I have
" receiv'd, that my Fleet is safely arriv'd in the Sound,
" which, by the Blessing of Almighty God, will secure
" these Kingdoms against any immediate Danger of an
" Invasion.

King's Speech,

" I have, by these Means, an Opportunity, which is
" very acceptable to me, of making a considerable Reduc-
" tion in our Land-Forces, having establish'd it as a Rule
" with my self, to consult the Ease of my People in every
" Thing, so far as is consistent with their Safety. And,
" for my own Part, as I shall always place my Greatness
" in

* Comptroller of the Household.

Anno 2. Geo. 1.
1717.

“ in the Prosperity of my Subjects, so I shall always desire
“ that my Power may be founded in their Affections.

“ It is upon these Considerations, that I have given Or-
“ ders for the immediate reducing of ten thousand Men.

“ That nothing may be wanting in me to quiet the
“ Minds of all my Subjects, I have likewise given Direc-
“ tions to prepare an Act of Grace ; and however it may be
“ receiv'd by those who are obstinately bent on the Ruin of
“ their Country, I promise my self, that it will raise a due
“ Sense of Gratitude in all such as have been artfully misled
“ into treasonable Practices, against my Person and Go-
“ vernment, and preserve them from standing in need of
“ the like Mercy for the future, when such an Instance of
“ Clemency may not be so expedient for the publick Wel-
“ fare, as it would be agreeable to my own Inclinations.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I thank you for your Readiness to support me in the
“ present Juncture of Affairs, and for the Supplies which
“ you have given ; and do promise you, that they shall be
“ employ'd for the Uses to which you design'd them.

“ I shall order such faithful Accounts to be laid before
“ you the next Session, as will make it appear, there was
“ no other View in asking any particular Supply, than to
“ prevent a much greater Expence, which the Nation must
“ have unavoidably incur'd without it.

“ I must recommend to you, as I did at the Beginning
“ of the Session, to take all proper Methods for reducing
“ the publick Debts, with a just Regard to Parliamentary
“ Credit.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ The Year being so far advanc'd, I hope you will go
“ through the publick Business with all possible Dispatch
“ and Unanimity, it being my Intention to meet you early
“ the next Winter, that the Sitting of Parliament may be
“ brought into the more usual and convenient Season.”

Mr Lechmere
moves for an Ad-
dress, and reflects
on Mr R. Walpole
and others for re-
signing their Places.

The Commons being return'd to their House, Mr Lech-
mere mov'd for an Address to his Majesty, which not be-
ing oppos'd, a Committee was appointed to draw one up.

Mr Lechmere, in his Speech for this Address, animadverted
upon such of the Members as had lately resign'd their
Places, as if they intended to distress the King's Affairs ;
upon which Mr Walpole thought fit, in his own Vindi-
cation, to say, ‘ That Persons who had accepted Places
in the Government, had often been reflected on for carry-
ing on Designs, and acting contrary to the Interest of their
Country ; but that he had never heard a Man found fault
with, for laying down one of the most profitable Places in
the

Mr Walpole vin-
dicates himself
there on.

the Kingdom : That, for his own part, if he would have comply'd with some Measures, it had not been in the Power of any of the present Ministers to remove him ; but that he had Reasons for resigning his Employments, with which he had acquainted his Majesty, and might perhaps, in a proper Time, declare them to the House. In the mean while the Tenour of his Conduct should shew, that he never intended to make the King uneasy, or to embarrass his Affairs : And concluded with moving, That the Bill, *For redeeming the Duty on Houses, &c.* might be read a second Time.' Upon this General Stanhope represented, ' That several Things in that Bill wanted to be amended and rectify'd, and therefore he mov'd, that the second Reading of it might be put off to the next Day Se'nnight ; ' which was order'd accordingly. General Stanhope likewise made use of that Opportunity to take Notice to the House, ' That he understood it had been the common Practice of those concern'd in the Administration of the Treasury, to make Bargains for the Publick with the Governors and Directors of Companies, by which some private Advantages were generally made : But that, in his Opinion, such Bargains ought to be made at the Bar of the House, by the Representatives of all the Commons of Great Britain ; and if any Advantages could be made, the Publick ought to have the Benefit of them.'

Anno 3. Geo. I.
1717.

Gen. Stanhope.

May 7. Mr Lechmere reported the Address to his Majesty, which is as follows :

Most Gracious Sovereign,

' **W**E your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, crave Leave to approach your sacred Person, with Hearts full of Gratitude to your Majesty for the many gracious Declarations you have been pleas'd to make to us from the Throne.

The Commons
Address.

' Our Duty to your Majesty, and our Concern for the Security of your Kingdoms, at a Time when the Nation was threaten'd with a desperate Invasion, oblig'd us to make Provision for keeping up such a Body of Land-Forces, as might shew that we were in a Posture of Defence : But your Majesty having Grounds to hope, on the Arrival of your Fleet in the Sound, that, by the Blessing of God, a Check will be put to that Design, we must forever acknowledge, that the early Directions you have been pleas'd to give for reducing such a Body of those Land-Forces, is the most acceptable Pledge you could give your People of your Tendernefs for them ; and that your Majesty has nothing so much at Heart as their present and future

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‘ future Welfare, and is such an Instance of your great
 ‘ Wisdom and Goodness, as must for ever endear your
 ‘ Majesty to all your Subjects.

‘ We are bound to express our just Satisfaction in your
 ‘ gracious Intentions of Mercy, as being highly conducive
 ‘ to the Tranquility of the Kingdom, and a convincing
 ‘ Proof of your Majesty’s Desire to reign in the Affections
 ‘ of all your Subjects.

‘ We have so often experienc’d the happy Effects of the
 ‘ Confidence we have repos’d in your Majesty, that we can
 ‘ never entertain any Doubt of the due Application of any
 ‘ Supplies granted by us ; and do receive, in the most du-
 ‘ tiful and affectionate Manner, your Majesty’s Promise to
 ‘ lay the Accounts of such Application before us, as a great
 ‘ Instance of your Justice to the Nation.

‘ We are truly sensible how much the Ease and Prospe-
 ‘ rity of your Subjects depends on the accomplishing that
 ‘ great and necessary Work, of reducing the publick Debts,
 ‘ and are resolv’d to carry it on in the most effectual Man-
 ‘ ner, with just Regard to Parliamentary Credit.

‘ We are likewise resolv’d, by the Dispatch and Unani-
 ‘ mity of our Proceedings, to convince the World, that we
 ‘ are inviolably engag’d in Duty and Affection to your
 ‘ most sacred Person and Government, on the Support of
 ‘ which the Welfare and Happiness of these Kingdoms,
 ‘ under God, entirely depend.’

Mr Shippen moves
 for recommitting
 the Address.

Debate thereon.

Mr W. Bromley.
 Mr Herne.
 Gen. Ross.

Gen. Stanhope.
 Mr R. Walpole.
 Mr W. Pulteney.

After the reading the above Address, Mr Shippen mov’d to have it recommitted ; and that an Amendment might be made to that Part of it which relates to the Army, which he propos’d to be as follows, viz. ‘ That nothing could more endear his Majesty to all his Subjects, than the reducing the Land-Forces to the old Establishment of Guards and Garrisons, such as his Majesty found it at his Accession to the Crown.’ To support his Motion, he represented the Danger of a standing Army ; urging, ‘ That in Cromwel’s Time, a Force much less than what will remain in Great Britain after the Reduction propos’d, had overturn’d the Monarchy, abolish’d Episcopacy, put down the House of Peers, and driven the Commons from their Seats. He was seconded by Mr Bromley, and back’d by Mr Herne and General Ross ; but they were oppos’d by General Stanhope, Mr Robert Walpole, and also by Mr Pulteney ; who declar’d, ‘ That before the Discovery of the late Swedish Conspiracy, while he had the Honour to serve his Majesty as Secretary at War, he had receiv’d such Directions as shew’d his Majesty’s Intentions, at that Time, to reduce still a greater Number of Forces, than was now propos’d ; and therefore

therefore he did not doubt but his Majesty would do it as soon as the Safety of his Kingdoms would admit of it.' He added, 'That, in his Opinion, the Nation had no Reason to fear any Thing from an Army, who, for near thirty Years past, had given signal Proofs of their firm Adherence to the Protestant Interest, and of their Zeal to maintain the Liberties of their Country; and that if there was any Danger at present, it was only from Foreign Counsels.' At length the Question being put upon Mr Shippen's Motion, it was carry'd in the Negative by a Majority of 188 against 83.

May 8. Mr Pulteney acquainted the House, 'That he was apprehensive of some Mismanagements, and Imbezements of the publick Money, in relation to the 6000 Dutch Troops, and the Service in North Britain:' Upon this it was resolv'd to present two Addresses to his Majesty; One for an Account of the Money given for the Payment of the 6000 Dutch Troops taken into his Majesty's Service during the late Rebellion, with the Charge of the Transportation of the said Troops forwards and backwards, distinguishing each Particular under its respective Head; the Other for an Account of the Distribution of the Extraordinaries and Contingencies issued out for the Service perform'd in North Britain during the late Rebellion.

May 9. The House presented their Address of Thanks to the King for his Speech, who returned the following Answer:

Gentlemen,

IT is with great Pleasure that I find the Directions I have given to make a Reduction in the Army, and my Intentions to grant an Act of Grace, are so much to the Satisfaction of my faithful Commons.

"I thank you for the hearty Assurances you give me of your Affections to my Person and Government; and shall always make such an Use of the Confidence you repose in me, as may be most for the Advantage of my People.

May 12. A warm Debate arose on a very odd Occasion: Sir William Wyndham having mov'd, 'That Dr Snape be desir'd to preach before the House at St Margaret's, Westminster, upon the 29th of May;' he was seconded by Mr Shippen, and back'd by all the Members who had lately resign'd their Employments. Mr Horatio Walpole, who spoke first after Mr Shippen, said, 'That it was unusual, on such Occasions, to put the Negative on any Man, whom a Member of that House had thought fit to name; and that Dr Snape was not only a Person of Merit and great Learning, but had likewise the Honour to be one of his Majesty's Chaplains.' Mr Robert Walpole said, 'That he knew Dr Snape to be a very learned, and a very honest Man: That

Anno 3. Geo. I.
1717.

Mr W. Pulteney complains of the Imbezement of the Publick Money in relation to 6000 Dutch Troops; &c.

The King's Answer to the Address of Thanks.

Sir W. Wyndham moves for Dr Snape to preach before the House on the 29th of May.

Debate thereon.
Mr Shippen:
Mr H. Walpole:

Mr R. Walpole:

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Mr Lechmere.

Mr Aislaby.

Lord Guernsey.

Mr Hungerford.

Sir Joseph Jekyll.
Mr Boscawen.
Mr Treby.

An Address resolv'd
on relating to the
Transportation of
the 6000 Dutch
Troops.

Mr Hungerford's
Motion for a Bill
for Stating the
publick Accounts.

Gen. Stanhope
lays before the
House the Propo-
sals of the S. S.
Company and the
Bank.

he had not only entrusted him with the Education of his own Children, but also recommended the Sons of the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Townshend to his Care ; and therefore he could not but think, that he might be trusted with preaching a Sermon before that Assembly.' Mr Lechmere oppos'd them, and said, ' That he could not but wonder, that a Member who had been one of the Managers against Dr Sacheverel, should now speak in Behalf of a Divine who had asserted the same Notions of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance, for which the other had been prosecuted ; and who had lately attack'd a strenuous and worthy Champion of the Revolution and Protestant Succession.' Mr Aislaby answer'd, ' That he gave his Vote to Dr Snape, because he look'd upon him as a learned and honest Man : And as for having written against the Bishop of Bangor's [*Dr Hoadley*] Sermon, he did not think it a sufficient Reason to put upon him a Negative, which would be prejudging of a Controversy that did not properly belong to their Cognizance.' The Lord Guernsey also spoke in Behalf of Dr Snape ; and Mr Hungerford said, ' That if the Court had not interpos'd the Doctor might have shewn the Bishop fine Sport ; but that the King having order'd his Ministers to disband Part of the Army, they had, by Mistake, disbanded the Convocation.' Sir William Wyndham's Motion being thus strongly supported, and Mr Lechmere being back'd only by Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr Boscawen, Mr Treby, and a few more, the Question was put, and carry'd in the Affirmative, by 141 Voices against 131 ; and Sir William Wyndham and Mr Shippen were ordered to acquaint Dr Snape with the Desire of the House.

May 15. It was resolv'd to address his Majesty to give Directions to the Commissioner of Transports to lay before this House all such Directions as he has receiv'd or given, and such Letters and Papers as are in his Hands relating to the Transportation of the Dutch Troops, and all Accounts and Demands relating thereto.

May 18. After the dispatching of private Business, Mr. Hungerford mov'd, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill for examining, taking, and stating the publick Accounts of the Kingdom. He was seconded by Mr. Horatio Walpole ; but the Question being put, it pass'd in the Negative.

May 20. The Commons having resolv'd themselves into a Committee of the whole House, to consider farther of Ways and Means for raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, Gen. Stanhope laid before them the respective Proposals of the South-Sea Company, and of the Bank of England, which were read, and which the Reader will find in the *VOTES* of this Session.

After

After the Reading of these Proposals, Mr. Robert Walpole rais'd Objections against them, particularly against that of the South-Sea Company. He was seconded by Mr. Hutcheson, who endeavour'd to shew, 'That the Nation would scarce gain this Year 100,000 l. by that Bargain ; and therefore he was for putting off this Affair 'till the next Session, to give the Communities Time to make more reasonable Proposals.' He was answer'd by Mr. * Lowndes, Member for St. Maw's, who said, 'He had much ado to find out the Meaning of the Member who spoke last ; that in the same Speech he had advanc'd, That the Nation would gain nothing this Year, and then own'd that the Nation would gain 100,000 l. That supposing the Gain to be no more than the last mention'd Sum, yet the Proposal of the South-Sea Company was not to be rejected, since it would enable the Nation to begin to reduce the publick Debts. That in case the Proposals of the Communities were not thought reasonable, nothing, in his Opinion, could be more effectual to bring the Communities to Reason, than a Vote of that House ; and therefore the Commons needed but declare their Intentions, and he did not doubt but the Communities would comply therewith.' After Mr. Hutcheson had reply'd something by Way of Explanation, Mr. Hungerford said, 'That for his own Part, he ever was of Opinion, that the Parliamentary Faith ought to be preserv'd untouch'd and inviolable ; that by keeping up the National Credit, England was glutted with Money, and was become the general Bank of Europe, while most of the neighbouring States were reduc'd to Straights, and wanted Specie. That France had lost her Credit, or rather never had any ; and if there was any Money in that Kingdom, 'twas in the Hands of the Regent ; for what Purpose he could not tell. That though the Parliamentary Faith ought to remain inviolate, yet he did not doubt, but the Wisdom of the Representatives of the Nation could find legal Ways to reduce the Interest of publick Securities, since the Parliamentary Faith consisted only in the securing the Payment of the Capital Sums advanc'd by private Persons for the Use of the Publick. That he did not understand why the Publick should pay a higher Interest than a private Man. That he knew by Experience, and in the Course of his Business, that Money may be had at 4 l. *per Cent.* on good Securities ; that there was on the Floor a Member of the House who had lent him 20,000 l. at that Rate ; and therefore it was to be hop'd, that the Communities duly weighing all this, would offer to the House more reasonable Proposals.' Mr. John Smith back'd Mr. Hungerford

Ann. 3. Dec. 1.
1717.

Debate thereon.
Mr R. Walpole,
Mr Hutcheson.

Mr Lowndes.

Mr Hungerford.

Mr J. Smith.

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* Secretary to the Treasury.

Anno 3. Geo. L.
1717.

ford, and said, 'That one would have expected, that the Communities and money'd Men, who, to make themselves popular, boast of their Zeal for the present Government, should, on this Occasion, have given convincing Proofs of it, by contributing more than they offer'd to do, towards reducing the publick Debts, and easing the landed Men, who for so many Years have born the greatest Part of the National Burdens. That, in his Opinion, it was of dangerous Consequence to borrow Money of the Communities upon the Foot of their Proposals, since by the granting them a Term of Years, the Parliament debarr'd themselves of the Liberty of taxing publick Funds, which they had a Right to do, in case of extreme Necessity, without violating the Parliamentary Faith. That, for his own Part, he thought the Communities ought to be satisfy'd with one Year's Notice; but the Season being so far advanc'd, that there could not be above five Months before the next Session, he was for putting off this Business 'till then; and, in the mean Time, the Communities might maturely consider of it.' Upon this, Mr. * Hopkins, Member for Ilchester, replied, 'That he had as great a Regard to the landed, as to the money'd Interest; not only because he had, God be thank'd, some Land of his own, but also because he was satisfy'd that the landed and money'd Interests are entirely the same, since the Value of Land rises or falls in Proportion to the Plenty or Scarcity of Money. That in the Course of Business, it is usual for those who borrow, to propose some Advantage to the Lenders; but that on this Occasion, the Communities were so far from getting any Thing by advancing Money to the Government, that, on the contrary, they sacrific'd their own Interest to that of the Publick. That if the Thing was rightly consider'd, it would be found, that the Persons concern'd in the South-Sea Stock, by contenting themselves with an Interest of 5 l. *per Cent.* instead of six, to which they are intitled by an Act of Parliament, did, in Reality, lose 20 l. in every 120 l. so that the Company, by accepting the same Annuity for twelve Millions which they had before for ten, did in Effect present the Government with two Millions, which being apply'd to the paying off the Lotteries and other redeemable Funds, great Advantages might thereby accrue to the Publick. That he could not forbear taking Notice of what had been suggested by some People without, That the Interest of the publick Funds might be reduc'd at once by an Act of Parliament; but that he hop'd no such Thing was ever intend-
ed

* This Gentleman held no Place or Employment; but an Account of his very remarkable Character may be seen in Mr Pope's *Ethic Epistles*, Epist. III. Line 87.

ed by any that sat in that House; for, in his Opinion, it could not be done without violating the Parliamentary Faith, and giving a dangerous Wound to publick Credit.' This Speech was answer'd by Mr. Aislabe, who took Notice, 'That of late Years the Companies of money'd Men were grown so proud as not only to treat familiarly with the Parliament, but even to pretend to dictate to them; that therefore it was high Time to give them a Check, and let them know, that the landed Men, and their Representatives, were Masters of the main Spring and Stock of the Wealth and Strength of the Kingdom: And, concluded, for putting off this Business 'till the next Session.' Hereupon Colonel * Bladen, Member for Stockbridge, shew'd, how dangerous it was to delay an Affair of so great Importance; and he was back'd by Sir Fisher Tench, Member for Southwark. On the other Hand, Mr Pulteney said, 'He did not know what private Advantage some Persons might have in accepting the Proposal of the South-Sea Company; but that, in his Opinion, no Term of Years ought to be granted, or, at most, not above three Years.' General Stanhope, being sensible that the Opposition made against the Proposals of the Communities, and the Reflection of private Advantage, were chiefly level'd against him, thought fit to vindicate himself: 'He ingenuously own'd his Incapacity for the Affairs of the Treasury, which were so remote from his Studies and Inclination, that therefore he would fain have kept the Employment he had before, which was both more easy, and more profitable to him; but that he thought it his Duty to obey the King's Commands. That, however, he would endeavour to make up, by Application, Honesty, and Disinterestedness, what he wanted in Abilities and Experience. That he would content himself with the Salary and lawful Perquisites of his Office; and though he had quitted a better Place, he would not quarter himself upon any Body to make it up; that he had no Brothers, nor other Relations, to provide for; and that, upon his first entring into the Treasury, he had made a standing Order against the late Practice of granting Reversions of Places.' Mr Walpole, who thought himself reflected on in what Gen. Stanhope had said, reply'd with great Warmth, complaining of Breach of Friendship, and betraying private Conversation, 'He frankly own'd, That while he was in Employment, he had endeavour'd to serve his Friends and Relations; than which, in his Opinion, nothing was more reasonable, or more just: That as to the granting Reversions, he was willing to acquaint the House with the Meaning of it: That he had no Objections against the

Anno 3. Geo. I.
1717.

Mr Aislabe.

Col. Bladen.

Sir Fisher Tench.

Mr W. Pulteney.

Gen. Stanhope.

Mr R. Walpole.

* Comptroller of the Mint.

Anno 3. Geo. I.
1717.

the German Ministers, whom his Majesty brought with him from Hanover, and who, as far as he had observ'd, had all along behav'd themselves like Men of Honour; but that there was a mean Fellow, of what Nation he could not tell, who took upon him to dispose of Employments; that this Man having obtain'd the Grant of a Reversion, design'd for his Son, Mr Walpole thought it too good for him, and therefore kept it for his own Son. That thereupon that Foreigner was so saucy as to demand of him the Sum of 2500 l. under Pretence, that he had been offer'd so much for the said Reversion; but that he was wiser than to comply with his Demand. And that one of the chief Reasons that made him resign his Places, was, because he would not connive at some Things that were carrying on.' General Stanhope answer'd; Mr Walpole reply'd; and some hard Expressions having escap'd them in the Heat of the Dispute, Mr Hungerford endeavour'd to put a Stop to it. 'I am sorry, said he, to see these two great Men fall foul on one another; however, in my Opinion, we must still look upon them as Patriots, and Fathers of their Country; and since they have, by Mischance, discover'd their Nakedness, we ought, according to the Custom of the East, as the Scripture tells us, cover it by turning our Back upon them. He added, That this unlucky Accident had, however, produc'd some Good, in that it had reveal'd a Piece of secret History, viz. the scandalous Practice of selling Places and Reversions; and therefore he mov'd, That the honourable Member who made the Discovery, might be call'd upon to name the Person.' No Body seconding this Motion, Sir Joseph Jekyll * brought back the Attention of the Assembly to the Business under Consideration, and shew'd the Danger of putting off till the next Winter, the Conclusion of an Affair of so great Consequence. He was back'd by Mr Aislaby, who said, 'That as he never design'd, so he would not be thought to oppose any Thing that carry'd the Face of publick Good; and therefore he was for granting to the South-Sea Company the Term of Years that had been mention'd, viz. six Years, and a Year's Notice.' The Question being put thereupon, it was carry'd without dividing. The Speaker having resum'd the Chair, Mr Boscawen acted the Part of a common Friend between General Stanhope and Mr Walpole, saying, 'That it was melancholy to see that any Difference should happen between those two worthy Members, unbecoming their own Characters, and the Dignity of that Assembly; but that 'twould still be a greater Misfortune, if they should go out with any

Mr Hungerford.

Sir J. Jekyll.

Mr Aislaby.

Mr Boscawen.

* Chief Justice of Chester.

any Resentment ; and therefore he mov'd, That the House would lay their Commands upon them, that no farther Notice be taken of what had pass'd. Mr Methuen seconded Mr Boscawen, whose Motion being unanimously agreed to, the Speaker put it immediately in Execution.

Anno 3. Geo. I.
1717.

Mr Methuen.

May 21. Mr Pulteney, made Observations on some Papers which, that Day, had been laid before the House by Mr Coleby, the Commissioner for Transports, relating to the Transportation of the Dutch Troops in November 1715, and suggested, That the Person who was entrusted with the Management of that Affair, [*meaning the Lord Cadogan*] had defrauded the Publick, on several Articles ; and, that the House might be thoroughly inform'd of the whole Matter, he mov'd, That his Majesty be address'd for the several Papers that might give Light into that Transportation. He was seconded and back'd by several Members ; upon which it was resolv'd and order'd, to present four Addresses to his Majesty, *viz.* I. For an Account of the Particulars of the Sum of 2106 *l.* 12 *s.* 8 *d.* with Copies of the Vouchers for paying the same, charg'd for bringing the 6000 Dutch Troops from their respective Garrisons to Offend, in order to embark for Great Britain, at the Time of the late Rebellion. II. An Account of the Particulars of the Sum of 992 *l.* 3 *s.* 6 *d.* with Copies of the Vouchers, &c. for Tents, Sacks, and other Necessaries said to be deliver'd to the said 6000 Dutch Forces. III. Copies of all the Contracts made for transporting the said Troops to Great Britain, and Copies of all Vouchers for paying any Sums of Money relating to the same. And, IV. An Account of all the Bills of Exchange drawn from Abroad upon the respective Offices of Great Britain, in the Years 1715 and 1716, for, or on Account of, the late Rebellion.

Mr Pulteney moves for several Papers to be laid before the House relating to the 6000 Dutch Troops,

which is agreed to.

May 22. The Commons, in a Committee of the whole House on Ways and Means, took into Consideration the Proposal of the Bank of England, for advancing Money to the Government ; upon which there arose a Debate, that lasted three or four Hours, and then the farther Consideration of that Matter was put off till the 24th, when the Committee came to several Resolutions ; and Mr Speaker having resum'd the Chair, the Report of the Resolutions relating to the South-Sea Company, and the Bank of England, was order'd to be receiv'd upon that Day Se'nnight ; but the Governor and Directors of the Bank of England having made a Demur upon accepting the Conditions offer'd them by the Commons, before they had held a General Court, the said Report was, on the 31st of May, farther adjourn'd to the 6th of June.

The Consideration of the Proposals from the Bank and South-Sea Company put off.

May

Anno 3. Geo. I.
1717.

The House resolve upon another Address relating to the 6000 Dutch Troops.

The Lords acquaint the House that they had fix'd the 13. of June for the Earl of Oxford's Trial.

Hereupon the Commons add Six new Members to the Secret Committee.

Dr Snape has the Thanks of the House for his Sermon.

Several Papers relating to the Dutch Troops laid before House.

Four more new Members added to the Committee of Secrecy.

May 24. The House resolv'd to address his Majesty, That such Directions as were sent to his Ministers in Holland, and their Answers, as far as they relate to the Expence of the Dutch Troops, be laid before the House.

May 27. The Lords sent a Message to the Commons to acquaint them that their Lordships had appointed the 13th of June, for the Trial of the Earl of Oxford.

May 30. The Commons having taken the said Message into Consideration, appointed a Committee to consider of the State of the Impeachment against the said Earl. Several Members of the Secret Committee, who first push'd on that Prosecution, being call'd up to the House of Peers, as Sir Richard Onslow, the Lord Coningsby, and Sir Robert Marsham; some absent, and others grown remiss and indifferent in the Matter, it was thought proper to supply those Defects, by adding to the remaining Members of the said Secret Committee, Mr. Carter, Sir William Thompson, Serj. Birch, Serj. Pengelly, Serj. Reynolds, and Mr. Guidott. And it was order'd, That the said Committee have Power to send for Persons, Papers, and Records, and to adjourn to such Times and Places as they should think fit.

The same Day, Sir William Wyndham mov'd, That the Thanks of the House be given to Dr. Snape, for the Sermon by him preach'd before this House the Day before, at St. Margaret's Westminster, and that he be desir'd to print the same: He was seconded by Mr. Shippen, and oppos'd by the same Party who had oppos'd the Doctor's preaching, but the Question being put, was carry'd in the Affirmative by 86 Voices against 70.

Several Papers relating to the 6000 Dutch Troops, were laid before the Commons, and upon a Motion made by Lieutenant General Erle, it was resolv'd to take that Affair into Consideration, in a Committee of the whole House, the Tuesday following.

June 3. Mr. Coleby, the Commissioner for Transports, Lieutenant General Maccartney, and others, were order'd to attend, the next Morning, the Committee of the whole House, to whom it was referr'd to consider of the Matters relating to the Transportation of the Dutch Forces.

The same Day the Secret Committee met for the first Time, and chose Mr. Carter for their Chairman, in the Room of Mr. Walpole, who absented himself; and General Stanhope happening at this Time to be indispos'd, the Committee met several Times without being able to do any Business. This was the Reason why four other Persons were added to the rest, viz. Mr. Addison, Mr. Craggs, jun. Sir Nathaniel Mead and Mr. Jeffop.

June

JUNE 4. The House, according to Order, was to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House, to take into Consideration the several Papers relating to the Charge of Transportation of the Dutch Troops, to and from Great Britain; and likewise the Papers relating to the Contingencies and Extraordinaries, for Services perform'd in North Britain during the Rebellion: But the Courtiers observing, That the Tory-Party, now strongly reforc'd by the discontented Whigs, had the Majority, a Motion was made, That the ingross'd Malt-Bill be read a third Time. This Motion being contrary to Order, was oppos'd not only by all the Tories, but also by many of the Court-Party, who were not in the Secret of it; so that after a Debate of about an Hour, the Question being put, was carry'd in the Negative by a vast Majority. This preliminary Skirmish had, however, the Effect the Court-Party expected, which was only to give Time to their absent Friends to come to the House. In the mean while, the Court-Party having propos'd Mr Farrer to be Chairman of the Grand Committee, Mr. Walpole put up Mr. Edgcombe in Opposition to him; and the former doubting their Strength, chose rather to yield, than to run the Hazard of a Disappointment; so that Mr. Edgcombe was accordingly plac'd in the Chair. This done, the Clerk proceeded to the Reading of the Papers that had been laid before the House, relating to the Transportation of the Dutch Forces, after the Reading of which, Mr. Pulteney made a Speech, wherein he shew'd 'That there had been great Sums of Money embezzel'd in this Expedition; that he could not fix the Fraud upon any Body; but that it plainly appear'd, that the Sum of upwards of 2000 l. was 'twice charg'd for the same Service, viz. for transporting the Dutch Forces into Great Britain.' This was answer'd by Mr. Craggs, * who, in particular, shew'd the Reason why the respective Sums of 2045 l. and 2061 l. were charg'd for Transports. On the other Hand, Lieutenant General Maccartney, who had assist-ed the Lord Cadogan in taking Care of the Marching and Embarkation of the Dutch Troops, being examin'd at the Bar, vouch'd several Particulars relating to the Provisions and Transports. But nevertheless, Mr Robert Walpole, Mr Shippen, and Mr Smith, maintain'd Mr Pulteney's Assertion, with a great deal of Warmth, and made severe Reflections on the Persons employ'd in bringing over the Dutch Troops. On the contrary, Mr Lechmere †, Gen. Stanhope, Mr Hampden, Sir William Thompson, and Mr Aislaby, spoke

Anno 3. Geo. 3.
1777.

Debate on the
Affair of the 6000
Dutch Troops.

Mr Pulteney.

Mr Craggs.

Mr R. Walpole.

Mr Shippen.
Mr J. Smith.

Mr Lechmere.
Gen. Stanhope.
Mr Hampden.
Sir W. Thompson.
Mr Aislaby.

VOL. I.

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* Made Secretary at War in the Room of Mr Pulteney.

† Made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in this Session.

Anno 3. Geo. I.
1717.

Sir Jos. Jekyll.

Mr Lechmere.

Mr Hungerford.

in Vindication of the Lord Cadogan. Mr Robert Walpole supported Mr Pulteney's Charge with much Vehemence, and at two different Times, spoke near the Space of two Hours, and strain'd his Voice to that Degree, that he was taken with a violent Bleeding at the Nose, which oblig'd him to go out of the House ; but came back before the Question was put. The main Stress of his Reasoning was, ' That by the Papers that had been read, there was an apparent Fraud ; tho' he could not say, but that it might afterwards appear otherwise ; and he could not tell, but that the Lord Cadogan might produce other Evidence to prove his Innocence.' Sir Joseph Jekyll took Notice of the Inconsistency of Mr Walpole's Argument ; for if the Fraud was apparent, it was consequently real ; and if such, it was impossible to appear otherwise, and consequently for the Person on whom the Fraud was laid, to prove himself innocent ; but that, in his Opinion, neither was there any apparent Fraud, nor, if there were, could it, with any Justice or Equity, be charg'd on the Lord Cadogan, who, in all this Affair, acted only as a publick Minister, and not either as a Commander, or an Agent ; concluding with some Praises on his Lordship, who, in Military Affairs, held the second Rank, next to that Great Man to whom every Body allow'd the first.' Mr Lechmere likewise distinguish'd himself on this Occasion ; and urg'd, ' That this Enquiry was altogether frivolous and groundless : That as it was the Result of Party Pique and Malice, so it had no other View than to blacken and asperse a Person whose greatest Crime was, that he had real bright Qualities, that drown'd the Tinsel Merit of others. That this Enquiry was of the same Nature with those that had formerly been set on Foot against the Duke of Marlborough, the Lord Townshend, and an honourable Member of that House ; and, he hop'd, would have the same End. That it look'd very strange, that the Persons who now appear'd the hottest in this Enquiry, should have been silent about these pretended Frauds while they were in Place : But that it was still more surprizing to hear them exclaim, with so much Rancour and Bitterness, against a noble Lord, of whom they had been heard to say, That the speedy suppressing of the Rebellion in Scotland, was, under God, owing to his Activity and Indefatigableness ; and that if another General had had the Management of that Affair, he would have made it a ten Years War.' Mr Hungerford spoke in Favour of the Lord Cadogan, and said, ' He wonder'd there was so much Noise made about a Dutch Reckoning ; that by all that had been laid before them, the Lord Cadogan appear'd very innocent ; and therefore he thought he deserv'd rather the Praise, than the Censure of the House.' After both Parties had

had maintain'd the Conflict 'till near Eight in the Evening, General Stanhope, in order to let the Business drop, mov'd, That the Chairman leave the Chair: Which, upon the Question being put, was carry'd in the Affirmative by 204 against 194. This was look'd upon as a great Victory on the Court Side; for had the other Party gain'd their Point, it was apprehended, that they design'd not only to have pass'd a Censure upon the Lord Cadogan, but also to have carry'd the Enquiry farther.

June 12. Mr Carter reported from the Committee appointed to consider the State of the Impeachment against Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, 'That the Committee had met several Times, and made some Progress in the Matters to them referr'd; but that the Prosecution of the said Impeachment having been interrupted for so many Months, by the Intervention of many weighty and urgent Affairs, which more nearly and immediately concern'd the Welfare, Defence, and Security of the Kingdom; it was become absolutely necessary for those who should be appointed to manage the said Impeachment, to review, and carefully peruse all the Treaties, Records, Letters, and other Papers proper and necessary for supporting this Prosecution, which being very voluminous, it would be impossible within the Time appointed for the Tryal, to adjust and apply the proper Evidence to the several Articles.' Hereupon it was moved, That a Message be sent to the Lords, acquainting them with the Reasons why this House could not proceed on the Tryal of Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, at the Time appointed; and to desire that the same might be put off to a farther Day. Upon this there was, for two or three Minutes, a Silence in the House, the Members looking upon one another, waiting who should speak first. At last, Mr Hungerford rose up, and took Notice of the great Hardships which the Earl of Oxford had undergone. Then Mr Boscawen express'd his Concern, 'That a Prosecution which the Commons had begun in so solemn a Manner, and which was thought so necessary to vindicate the Honour and Justice of the Nation, should, at last, be dropp'd; which, he was sure, would be a Reflection on that House.' Here again was a deep Silence; and Mr Speaker rising, in order to put the Question, Mr Tuffnell took that Opportunity to speak as follows.

Mr Speaker,

'I have not yet troubled the House upon any of the Impeachments: However, since I have given my Assent to every Article exhibited against this Noble Lord, I think it, in some Measure, incumbent upon me, to declare the Reasons why I did so. I am sure there is no Gentleman in this

Anno 3. Geo. I.
1717.

Motion for desiring the Lords to delay the Earl of Oxford's Trial, the Commons not being prepar'd to proceed against him.

Debate thereon.

Mr Hungerford.

Mr Boscawen.

Mr Tuffnell's Speech.

House, that at any Time more unwillingly comes into any Thing that has the least Appearance of Severity towards his Fellow-Subjects, than my self. And I can, with a great deal of Sincerity affirm, that no personal Pique, Prejudice, or Resentment ever did, and I hope never will, influence my Vote; especially when either the Life, the Fortune, or the Reputation of any Man is concern'd. What I did, I did out of a disinterested Zeal; out of an indispensable Love and Duty to my Country: And whatever may be the Fate of this Prosecution, I then thought, and still am of Opinion, that the Measures which this Noble Lord enter'd into, as Prime Minister, have, if I may be excus'd the Impropriety of the Expression, laid a Foundation for the Ruin of his Country. I have already declar'd, that I have, in every Part of the Accusation, voted against this Noble Lord. As to the Articles of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, I believe there is no Body but thinks there was sufficient Ground for them: As to the High Treason, where lay the only Difficulty, I must freely own, had I consult'd only my private Opinion, I could scarce have thought it included in the twenty-fifth of Edward III. But when an honourable Gentleman, who was then Chairman of the Secret Committee, undertook, in a Fact which the House had already adjudg'd to be High Treason, to bring that Matter as home to the Earl of Oxford, as the Report had done to the then Lord Bolingbroke; when he gave us all the Assurances imaginable, that they had living and legal Evidence to support the Charge; such as it was almost the unanimous Opinion of the Committee, might be given in Westminster-Hall; and he hop'd, that since the House had thought fit to repose a Confidence in them, it would not be expected the Evidence should be discover'd, lest it might give them an Opportunity of being seduc'd: This, I say, and this alone, sway'd my Opinion. I then consider'd my self acting, not as a Judge, but as a Prosecutor. And when that very ingenious Gentleman, whom I always hear with the greatest Pleasure, and to whose Judgment I always pay the greatest Deference, I say, when his Honour, his Understanding, his Veracity, his every Thing was so far engag'd, the only Question with me was, whether it was reasonable to undertake the Prosecution, or not? And upon these Considerations I can't but think I should have been extremely wanting in that Duty which I owe to my Country, if I should have declin'd giving my Vote to bring an Offender to publick Justice; when, at the same Time, I was fully convinc'd that he had betray'd the Honour and Interest of this Nation.'

Mr

Mr Bromley taking Notice, that the Dint of this Speech was principally levell'd at Mr Robert Walpole, endeavour'd to vindicate him, by saying, ' That tho' he was Chairman of the secret Committee, yet, if any Thing was done amiss among them, it were hard to lay all the Blame at his Door, since the whole Committee were equally concern'd in the Impeachments.' As to the Matter now under Consideration, Mr Bromley added, ' That they had been told above a Year and a half ago, that the Evidence was ready; but that they ought not to give the Lords the Trouble of going thro' the whole Impeachment, since, in his Opinion, twenty of the Articles were altogether vain and needless.' Some Members refuting this Assertion, Mr Bromley immediately explain'd himself, saying, ' That if the two Articles that were for High Treason, could be made good, the other twenty would be needless and insignificant.' Mr Shippen, who spoke on the same Side, said, among other Things, ' That this Impeachment had been depending so long, that every Body expected it would be dropt; and, indeed, unless the two Articles of High Treason could be made good, he thought it unreasonable to give the two Houses an unnecessary Trouble about the other Articles, by keeping them sitting in the hottest Part of the Summer: That, after all, those who had first begun the Impeachments, ought to be satisfy'd with having got the Places of those that were impeach'd; which, indeed, seem'd to be what they had principally in View: That the Truth of this appear'd evidently from the Behaviour of the Gentleman who was the most forward and active in the Impeachments, [Mr Robert Walpole] whose Warmth was very much abated since he was out of Place: That he did not mention this as a Reflection on that Gentleman, for whom he ever had a great Respect; but that he was afraid this would lessen him in the Esteem of others: That, for his own Part, he was not in the least surpriz'd at this Conduct; of which he had, of late, observ'd many Instances; but that he ever disapprov'd it: That if he would have been a Time-server, he might, as well as other People, have got some good Employment; but that he rather chose to be contented with a small private Fortune, than betray his Sentiments: And as an Instance, he added, he could never be guilty of so much Adulation, as to compliment a certain Person with the Rank of second General, [meaning the Lord Cadogan] to the Prejudice of an honourable and worthy Member of that House, [meaning General Webb] whose glorious Actions had gain'd him an immortal Name.' Mr Hungerford then said, ' That for his own Part, he ever was against Impeachments, because he had observ'd that they generally come to nothing;

Anno 3. Geo. 2.
1717.

Mr Bromley.

Mr Shippen.

Mr Hungerford.

Anno 3. Geo. I.
1717.

Sir Jo. Jekyll.

Mr Walpole.

Mr Tuffnell.

Mr Lechmere.

nothing; and as for the Reflection made by the worthy Gentleman who spoke last, he suppos'd it was meant for some Body else: [*Looking, as he spoke this, towards Sir Joseph Jekyll, who sat near him, and who, (Page 138) had spoken in behalf of the Lord Cadogan.*] Sir Joseph Jekyll justify'd himself, both as to this, and as to the Share he had in the Impeachment of the Earl of Oxford; having, from the Beginning, been against the Articles for High Treason. After this, Mr Walpole made a feint Apology for himself, saying, among other Things, 'That he had of late look'd over some of the most material Papers relating to this Impeachment, and he was still convinc'd in his Conscience, that the late Ministry had given themselves up entirely, and were ready to deliver up the Nation to France.' But having let drop an Insinuation, as if many who follow'd his Opinion in the Business of the Impeachments, did it rather out of Compliment to his Power, than to his Person, Mr Tuffnell resenting this Innuendo, immediately repell'd the Dint of it, by appealing to that honourable Member, 'Whether he ever made his Court to him? And whether he had not paid him more Respect since he was out, then when he was in Place?' On the other Hand, Mr Lechmere strongly supported the Motion for the Message, and, among other Things, said, 'It was no Wonder that a certain Set of Men, who had, at first, oppos'd the Impeachments, should now be for letting them drop; and that this was yet the less surprizing, in that the same Gentlemen had constantly oppos'd all that had been propos'd for the Support of the present happy Settlement: But that for his own Part, he was of the same Opinion he ever had been of, viz. that the Nation could not prosper, till they had brought those to Justice, who betray'd its Allies in so scandalous a Manner, and brought it to the very Brink of Ruin; and that he would venture his Life in this Prosecution.' After this, it was carry'd, without dividing, That a Message be sent to the Lords; which being done the same Day, their Lordships took it immediately into Consideration.

June 13. The Lords sent a Message to the Commons to acquaint them with their Resolution, of putting off the Earl of Oxford's Trial to the 24th of June.

Mr H. Walpole moves for a Bill to disable any Member, who takes a Place, from being re-elected.

June 18. Writs having been issued to supply Vacancies, occasion'd by several Members having accepted Places, Mr Horatio Walpole mov'd, that Leave be given to bring in *A Bill to repeal so much of an Act pass'd in the sixth Year of Queen Anne's Reign, intituled, An Act for the Security of her Majesty's Person and Government, &c* as relates to the making any Person capable of being again elected after the Acceptance

ceptance of any Office of Profit from the Crown. He was seconded by Mr Daniel Campbell, and no Member opposing that Motion, the said Bill was order'd to be brought in.

Ann 3. Geo. I.
1717.

June 24. Being the Day appointed by the Lords for the Trial of the Earl of Oxford the Commons resolv'd to be present, as a Committee of the whole House; and the Managers and other Members having taken their respective Places in Westminster-Hall, the Lords came thither likewise, and the Earl of Oxford was brought to the Bar. Then, by the Lord High Steward's Commands, were read, I. The Articles of Impeachment exhibited by the Commons. II. The Earl's Answer to them; and, III. The Replication of the Commons. After the Reading of which, the Lord High Steward address'd himself to the Prisoner at the Bar in a Speech suitable to the Occasion. This done, his Lordship told the Gentlemen of the House of Commons, that they might proceed: And then Mr Hampden, one of the Managers for the House of Commons, open'd his Charge, which being ended, Sir Joseph Jekyll stood up, in order to proceed on the first Article of the Impeachment; but as he was beginning to speak, he was interrupted by the Lord Harcourt, who signify'd to their Lordships, that before the Managers for the Commons proceeded farther, he had something to offer to their Lordships, who thereupon adjourn'd to their own House, and the Commons return'd to theirs. The Lords being about to go down again to Westminster-Hall, sent a Message to the Commons to acquaint them therewith; upon which the Commons in a Committee of the whole House, return'd also to Westminster-Hall, where the Lord High Steward acquainted the Managers with their Lordships Resolution, viz. ' That the Commons be ' not admitted to proceed in order to make good the Articles ' against Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, for High ' Crimes and Misdemeanours, till Judgment be first given ' upon the Articles for High Treason.'

The Commons resolve to be present, as a Committee, at the Earl of Oxford's Trial.

The Lords resolve to proceed first, with the Articles for High Treason.

This Resolution of the Lords was highly disagreeable to the Commons; as it seem'd to prescribe to them the particular Articles on which they were first to proceed - Accordingly several Conferences were held between both Houses about the Method of Proceeding at the Earl of Oxford's Trial.

June 27. The Commons having desir'd a free Conference with the Lords on the subject Matter of the late Conferences,

July 1. Mr Carter * reported, That the Lords insisted upon denying a free Conference; This put the House into a Flame;

Upon which a free Conference is desir'd, which the Lords refuse.

* Made Attorney General to the Prince of Wales in this Session.

Annals, Geo. I.
1717.

Debate thereon.
Gen. Stanhope.
Mr Craggs.

Flame; and it being thereupon order'd, That the said Report be Now taken into Consideration, several warm Speeches were made on that Occasion, by General Stanhope and Mr Craggs, immediately after whom Mr Tuffnell rose up, and spoke as follows;

Mr Speaker,

Mr Tuffnell's
Speech.

' I can't but think the Proceeding of the Lords very extraordinary upon this Occasion, That, after having received the Articles as deliver'd in by this House, they should now come to a Resolution, ' That the Commons be not admitted to proceed upon the High Crimes and Misdemeanours, till Judgment be first given upon the Articles for ' High Treason.' And here, though unwillingly, I must observe, That the Expression made use of in their Lordships Message to the Commons, to me seems very unsuitable to that Candor which they have so remarkably shewn upon all Occasions, and from whence this House might reasonably expect a more becoming Treatment. There's another Thing which I can't but take Notice of, which is, That after having had Conferences with the Commons on this Subject, they should now refuse a free Conference, which I should have thought, must have been the natural Result of the former, as being the most probable Way to accommodate Matters in Cases of Difficulty. The Reason they give for this their adhering to their Resolution is, That this is a Point of Judicature which solely belongs to their Lordships; whereas the Commons say, 'Tis only a Matter of Prosecution. And yet, if this Objection were good, why was it not equally so against their agreeing to the first Conference?

' Notwithstanding these Considerations, if I could be of Opinion with those Gentlemen who think, either that the Honour of this House is so much concern'd, or that it is so essential to the Rights of the Commons of Great Britain, I should be as unwilling as any one here, to contribute the least towards the betraying of them. But since I don't hear 'tis pretended that there are any Precedents on either Side; and I can, by no Means, think it of that Consequence which some Gentlemen seem to imagine, especially if there be a ' Saving to the Rights and Privileges of this ' House;' I should be inclin'd to be of Opinion, That it would be better to acquiesce in the Method proposed by the Lords, than to let a Prosecution entirely drop, which has so universally rais'd the Expectations of Mankind. Then we should see, what that living and legal Evidence is, which we have been so often promis'd from those, in whom the House repos'd the greatest Confidence; and if there should be any Failure in the Proof of the High Treason, the Blame might lie in its proper Place.'

' Sir

' Sir, I am sorry to find there should be such Remissness in a Prosecution, which was formerly carry'd on with so much Warmth and Vigour. And I could wish to see that Spirit of Patriotism, which has hitherto animated this House; that just Resentment for our injured Country, once more revived. Where's now that publick spirited, disinterested Zeal, which then warm'd the Patriot's Breast? Are all those glorious Thoughts and Heroick Sentiments quite evaporated? How comes it that those who then felt, and made others to feel, such an Intenseness of Heat, such a lively Emotion of Spirit, are now so calm and undisturb'd? That those who were then so full of Heat and Flame, are now so cold and lifeless? Is the Nature of Things so far altered, that what was then the most flagrant High Treason, is now Nothing at all?

' Mr. Speaker, My Concern is for the Honour of this House, which has been so far engag'd by Assurances of Evidences to support the Charge. I must therefore take the Liberty to call upon those Gentlemen who gave them, to extricate us from our present Difficulties: And, I am sure, we shall not want their Assistance in an Affair where their Honour is so nearly concern'd. I call upon them the rather, because 'tis a Justice which they owe to themselves, 'tis a Justice which they owe to this House of Commons, 'tis a Justice which they owe their Country, their poor, unhappy Country, which they have so often describ'd, as involv'd in the greatest Difficulties, as labouring under the most ruinous Circumstances, occasion'd by the ill Conduct, the pernicious Counsels, and traitorous Practises of the Noble Person now under your Prosecution.'

In the Middle of this Debate, another Message was brought from the Lords, to desire that the Commons would continue sitting sometime, which the House agreed to. After this, Mr. Lechmere made a Speech, wherein having lamented the unhappy Dilemma, as he call'd it, to which they were brought, either to see so great an Offender as the Earl of Oxford escape unpunish'd, or to acquiesce in proceeding on his Tryal in the Manner prescrib'd by the Lords, he said, 'That he thought the later the more eligible of the two, with a Saving to the Rights and Privileges of the Commons; and therefore made a Motion for it.' He was seconded and back'd by Mr. Hampden: But the Question being put thereupon, it was carry'd in the Negative. Then a Message was brought from the Lords, to acquaint the Commons, That their Lordships intended presently to proceed farther on the Tryal of the Earl of Oxford in Westminster-Hall, of which the Commons took no Notice; but being sensible that the Lords would discharge the Prisoner, Sir

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T

William

Anno 3. Geo. 1.
1717.

Mr Lechmere moves to agree with the Method propos'd by the Lords.

A Message from the Lords that they intend to proceed immediately on the Earl of Oxford's Trial, of which the Commons take no Notice.

Anno 3. Geo. 1.
1717.

Sir W. Strickland
moves for a Bill of
Attainder against
him.

Mr Tuffnell's
Speech thereon.

William Strickland, Member for Carlisle mov'd, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill to inflict such Pains and Penalties upon Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, as his traitorous Practices and other High Crimes and Misdemeanours do deserve, and as shall be thought reasonable. Hereupon Mr. Tuffnell rose up again, and said, 'That he could by no Means come into that Motion ; For that how necessary and reasonable soever such a Bill might be at another Juncture, he could not but think it unreasonable now ; when, as yet, it was uncertain what the Lords would do. But that, however, he would freely declare his Mind on this Occasion, viz. That notwithstanding he was convinc'd, the Earl of Oxford was guilty of the Crimes wherewith he was charg'd, and that no Man had ever contributed more to the Ruin of his Country than he had done : Yet, since there was a legal Prosecution begun ; since that Noble Lord had submitted himself to Publick Justice ; and considering that 'tis the peculiar Glory and happiness of a Free-born People to be govern'd by known Laws ; he would never give his Consent to a Bill, which, in his Opinion, must make the Lives, the Fortunes, and Liberties of the Subjects of Great Britain, stand upon so unsettled and precarious a Foundation.' Upon which it was adjourn'd to the third of July.

The Lords proceed to the Trial of the Earl of Oxford, but the Commons not appearing, his Lordship is acquitted.

The Lords went from their own-House, into Westminster-Hall, about Seven in the Evening, where three several Proclamations were made for the Accusers of the Earl of Oxford to appear, and make good the Articles of Impeachment against him : But the Commons not appearing, their Lordships went back to their House, where the Lord High Steward put the Question, whether the Earl of Oxford should be discharg'd of the High Crimes and Misdemeanours as well as of the High Treason of which he was impeach'd ? This, after some Debate, being carry'd in the Affirmative, the Lords went again into Westminster-Hall, where the Lord High Steward put the Question to every Lord in the usual Method, viz. Content or not Content ; All the Lords present being Content ; his Lordship declared the Earl of Oxford acquitted by his Peers, of the Articles of Impeachment exhibited against him by the Commons ; commanded the Lieutenant of the Tower of London to discharge his Prisoner ; and, declaring his Majesty's Commission to be dissolv'd, broke his Staff.

Sir W. Strickland
renews his Motion
for the Bill of
Attainder.

Debate thereon.

Mr. Hungerford.

July 3. The Commons resum'd the adjourn'd Debate upon the Motion made two Days before, by Sir William Strickland, who again insisting on that Motion, had the Mortification of seeing, that not one Member would second him : On the contrary Mr. Hungerford said upon that Matter, ' That for his own Part, he had ever been against violent Proceedings

Proceedings; That, in his Opinion, where the Life, Fortune, or Reputation of any Man is concern'd, the Parliament ought to go upon Evidence as strong and as full as is requir'd in Westminster-Hall; and that he had observ'd, that all Bills of Attainder proceeded from Party-Piques.' Sir William Strickland being offended at this Speech, made some severe Reflections upon it; and added, 'That for his own Part he had no personal Pique against the Earl of Oxford; but look'd upon him as an Enemy to his Country; and since the Commons could not bring him to Justice in the ordinary Way, they ought, in his Opinion, to have Recourse to an extraordinary Method; for which, however, they did not want Precedents.' Mr. Hungerford turn'd the Reflections made upon him into Raillery; and after some other Speeches, the Lord Castlemonger, Member for Ripon, mov'd, 'That an Address be presented to his Majesty, setting forth the many great Crimes of which Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer has been impeach'd by this House, as likewise the Endeavours that have been us'd by the Commons to bring the said Earl to Justice; in which Proceedings the unhappy Differences that have arisen between the two Houses have disappointed their just Expectations; and likewise humbly to pray his Majesty, that he will except the said Earl out of the Act of Grace. The Lord Castlemonger being seconded by Mr. Yonge, and the Question put upon his Motion, it was carry'd in the Affirmative, and a Committee appointed to draw up the said Address. Another Committee was the same Day appointed to inspect the Lords Journals, in Relation to their Proceedings on the Tryal of the Earl of Oxford, and to report what they find therein, to the House.

Anno 3. Geo. I.
1717.

Sir W. Strickland.

Lord Castlemonger moves for an Address to the King to except the Earl of Oxford out of the Act of Grace.

Which a Committee is appointed to draw up.

July 4. The Lord Castlemonger, Chairman of the Committee appointed to draw up the Address against the Earl of Oxford, reported the same, which being agreed to, it was resolv'd that the said Address be presented by the whole House.

July 5. The Commons, with their Speaker, presented the said Address to his Majesty, which is as follows.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most faithful Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, do most humbly represent to your Majesty, That in our Impeachment exhibited against Robert Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer, we did set forth, That he the said Earl did traiterously adhere to, aid, and abet the late French King, then an Enemy to her late Majesty, and did begin and carry on a clandestine and separate Correspondence and Negotiation with the Ministers of the said French King; in consequence of which it is evident, that great Part of

The Address thereon.

Anno 3. Geo. I.
1712

the Forces maintain'd at the Expence of so much British Treasure, in order to reduce the Power of France ; as likewise great Part of the Subsidies granted by Parliament to Foreign Princes for the same End, were, in Reality, made subservient and instrumental to awe the good Allies of her Majesty into a Compliance with the hard Terms dictated by France.

The unhappy Catalans were abandon'd ; the Emperor, Empire, and King of Portugal, were left to treat for themselves ; the Kingdom of Sicily was given to the Duke of Savoy, as an Inducement and Reward to him for quitting the common Cause, in direct Defiance and Violation of the grand Alliance, and of the declar'd Sense of most of her good Allies, and especially of the Dutch, who, to this Day, have never assented to that Condition of the Treaty of Utrecht. A shameful and dishonourable Treaty of Peace was at last concluded, by which impracticable Terms of Trade were impos'd on Great Britain ; the Demolition of Dunkirk, which had been address'd for by Parliament, was eluded by a treacherous Connivance, at the making of a new Canal at Mardyke ; and the Security which was propos'd by removing the Pretender out of France, was, in the like Manner, evaded by a treacherous Connivance at his residing in Lorrain.

It is owing to your Majesty's unwearied Endeavours for the Good of your Subjects, and that just Regard which is paid to your Majesty by Foreign Princes and States, that we see our selves deliver'd, in a great Degree, from the Effects of those pernicious Measures, which might otherwise have prov'd fatal to your Kingdoms : But as we reflect with equal Gratitude and Admiration on your Majesty's being able to retrieve such Miscarriages, especially in a Time which has been disturb'd by publick Tumults and Rebellions : We think it is a great Aggravation of Guilt in those who gave up so many National Advantages, at a Time when they labour'd under no such Difficulties at Home, and when the continued Successes of a long and glorious War had put them into a Condition of gaining the most beneficial Terms from the Enemy.

Your faithful Commons did likewise exhibit several other Charges against the said Earl, representing him in many notorious Instances, as a Person who had abus'd the Trust and Confidence which her late Majesty had repos'd in him, and sacrific'd the Honour of his Sovereign and the Good of her People, to private Views of Interest and Ambition.

Your faithful Commons have not been wanting in their Endeavours to bring the said Earl to Justice ; but by Reason

‘ **For** of the unhappy Differences that have, in this Proceed-
 ‘ **ing**, arisen between the two Houses, we have found our
 ‘ **selves** disappointed of our just Expectation, and reduc’d to
 ‘ **the** Necessity, either of giving up Rights and Privileges of
 ‘ **the** highest Importance to all the Commons of Great Brit-
 ‘ **tain**, or seeing this great Offender escape with Impunity
 ‘ **for** the present.

Anno 3. Geo. 1.
1717.

‘ **For** these Reasons, we do most humbly beseech your
 ‘ **Majesty**, that your Majesty will be pleas’d to except Robert
 ‘ **Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer** out of the Act of Grace,
 ‘ **which** your Majesty has been graciously pleas’d to promise
 ‘ **from** the Throne; to the End the Commons may be at
 ‘ **Liberty** to proceed against the said Earl in a Parliamentary
 ‘ **Way**.

To this Address, his Majesty was pleas’d to return the
 following Answer.

Gentlemen,

“ **I** Will give Directions in Relation to the Earl of Oxford,
 “ **as** you desire; and it is with Pleasure I observe the
 “ **Sense**, express’d in your Address, of my Endeavours for the
 “ **Security**, Honour, and Advantage of these Kingdoms.

The King’s Answer
thereto.

July 15. The King came to the House of Peers, and a
 Message was brought to the Commons by the Usher of the
 black Rod, commanding them to attend his Majesty imme-
 diately, which they did accordingly, and Mr. Speaker pre-
 sented the Money-Bills to his Majesty; which done, the
 Lord Chancellor read a Speech deliver’d into his Hands by
 the King, from the Throne, as follows.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ **I** Cannot put an End to this Session, without expressing
 “ **my** Thanks to you, for the Dispatch you have given
 “ **to** the publick Business, and declaring the Satisfaction I
 “ **promise** my self in meeting you again early the next
 “ **Winter**, with the same good Dispositions for the Service
 “ **of** your Country. The Measures we have taken in this
 “ **Parliament**, have, by the Blessing of Almighty God, ef-
 “ **fectually** defeated all the Attempts of our Enemies, both
 “ **at** Home and Abroad; and, as the Principle on which
 “ **those** Measures are founded, are equally conducive to the
 “ **supporting** the just Rights of the Crown and the Liberties
 “ **of** the People, I shall allways persevere in them my self,
 “ **and** distinguish those who adhere to them with the same
 “ **Steadiness** and Resolution.

King’s Speech at
concluding the
Second Session.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ **I** thank you, in the most affectionate Manner, for the
 “ **Supplies** you have granted me, and for that Constancy
 “ **and**

Anno 3. Geo. 3.

1717.

“ and Zeal which you have shewn in reducing our National
 “ Debts, notwithstanding the many Incidents and Obstructions
 “ you have met with in the carrying on of that great
 “ Work. As you have furnish’d me with the Means of
 “ disappointing any Designs of a foreign Enemy against
 “ these my Kingdoms, so I cannot but ascribe, in a great
 “ Measure, the happy Prospect of our Affairs abroad to
 “ that publick Spirit which has appear’d in your Proceed-
 “ ings, and has convinc’d the World, that no Insinuations or
 “ Artifices can divert you from your Duty to your Sovereign,
 “ and a disinterested Regard to your Fellow-Subjects.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ It is with great Pleasure that I see the Tranquility of
 “ the Nation so well establish’d, as to admit of an Act of
 “ Grace. which I have long desir’d a fit Opportunity to
 “ grant. I hope that such as shall, by this Means, be re-
 “ stor’d to the Enjoyment of Security, and the Protection
 “ of those Laws against which they have offended, will have
 “ a due Sense of this my Indulgence, and give me the most
 “ acceptable Return they can possibly make me, that of
 “ becoming Friends, instead of Enemies, to their Country.

The Parliament
 prorogued.

Then the Lord Chancellor prorogued the Parliament to
 the 12th of August: They were afterwards farther prorogued,
 by several Prorogations, to the 21st of November.

SPEECHES and DEBATES

In the THIRD SESSION of the

First Parliament of King GEORGE I.

Anno 4. Geo. 1.
 1717.

THE Parliament being met on the 21st of Novem-
 ber, the King open’d the Session by a Speech to
 both Houses as follows.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech at
 opening the Third
 Session.

“ I Am very glad I have been able to bring the Sitting of
 “ Parliament into a more proper and usual Season of
 “ the Year: I hope such an early Meeting will not only be
 “ a Benefit to the Publick, but a Convenience to your pri-
 “ vate Affairs.

“ As I have always had at Heart the Security and Ease
 “ of my People, so I never kept up any Troops but for their
 “ Protection, and have taken every Opportunity to disband

“ at

“ as many as I thought consistent with their Safety. I have
 “ reduc’d the Army to very near one Half, since the Begin-
 “ ning of the last Session of Parliament, and lessen’d them to
 “ such a Number as will neither be a Burthen to my good
 “ Subjects, nor an Encouragement to our Enemies to insult
 “ them.

Anno 4. Geo. I.
 1717.

“ You cannot but be sensible of the many Attempts which
 “ have been set on Foot to disturb the Peace of Europe, and
 “ of these Kingdoms: They only pretend not to see, who
 “ are not afraid of them. But as no Application has been
 “ wanting on my Part to preserve the publick Tranquility,
 “ I have the Pleasure to find my good Offices have not been
 “ altogether unsuccessful, and have Reason to hope they will,
 “ in the End, have their full and desir’d Effect.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I question not but you are very well pleas’d to find that
 “ your Endeavours for lessening the National Debts, have
 “ at the same Time rais’d the publick Credit; and that
 “ whatever was propos’d for that End is actually and com-
 “ pletly effected. This Success must chiefly be attributed
 “ to that just and prudent Regard you have shewn to Parlia-
 “ mentary Engagements.

“ It was with the View of procuring and settling a lasting
 “ Tranquility, that I demanded the extraordinary Supply
 “ which you granted me last Session. The Credit, which
 “ this Confidence repos’d in me, hath given us Abroad, has
 “ already been so far effectual, that I can acquaint you we
 “ have a much better Prospect than we had. I have order’d
 “ an Account to be laid before you of the very small Part
 “ of that Supply which as yet has been expended; any far-
 “ ther Issues that may be made of it, shall be also laid before
 “ you: And you may be assured, that every Part of it shall
 “ either be employ’d for your Service, or sav’d to the
 “ Publick.

“ I have order’d to be laid before you a State of the De-
 “ ficiencies of the present Year, and the several Estimates for
 “ the Service of the next; which you will find considerably
 “ diminish’d. I rely upon your making the necessary Pro-
 “ vision for them; not doubting of the Continuance of that
 “ Zeal for the Good of your Country, which hath been so
 “ eminently conspicuous in every Session of this Parliament.

“ I cannot in Justice avoid putting you in Mind, that se-
 “ veral Arrears of Pay and Subsidy, incurr’d before my Ac-
 “ cession to the Crown, are claim’d by Foreign Princes and
 “ States: I shall order them to be laid before you, to the
 “ End you may put them in a Method of being examin’d
 “ and stated; which will very much tend to the Honour and
 “ Credit of the Nation.

My

Anno 4. Geo. I.
1717.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I could heartly wish, that at a Time when the common Enemies of our Religion are, by all Manner of Artifices, endeavouring to undermine and weaken it both at Home and Abroad, all those who are Friends to our present happy Establishment, might unanimously concur in some proper Method for the greater strengthening the Protestant Interest: of which, as the Church of England is unquestionably the main Support and Bulwark, so will she reap the principal Benefit of every Advantage accruing by the Union and mutual Charity of all Protestants.

“ As none can recommend themselves more effectually to my Favour and Countenance, than by a sincere Zeal for the just Rights of the Crown and the Liberties of the People; so I am determin'd to encourage all those who act agreeably to the Constitution of these my Kingdoms, and consequently to the Principles on which my Government is founded.

“ The Eyes of all Europe are upon you at this critical Juncture. It is your Interest; for which Reason I think it mine, that my Endeavours for procuring the Peace and Quiet of Christendom, should take Effect. Nothing can so much contribute to this desirable End, as the Unanimity, Dispatch, and Vigour of your Resolutions for the Support of my Government.

The King being retir'd, and the Commons return'd to their House, the Lord Hinchinbroke reported the Address of Thanks, which was agreed to, and the next Day presented to his Majesty, by the whole House, as follows.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

The Commons
Address of Thanks.

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, crave Leave to express our Gratitude to your Majesty, for your most gracious Speech from the Throne.

Our Minds are fill'd with the most lively Sense of your Majesty's Regard to your People, in bringing the Sitting of Parliament into a more proper and usual Season of the Year. And as your Majesty has been graciously pleas'd to consider the Convenience of our private Affairs in this early Meeting, we shall endeavour to answer your Majesty's gracious Intentions, by improving it, as much as we are able, to the Benefit of the Publick.

We are highly sensible of the Concern your Majesty has shewn for the Welfare of your People, by the Reductions you have been pleas'd to make, from Time to Time, of the Land Forces, so soon as the Posture of Affairs render'd

der'd it safe to these your Kingdoms. It is our peculiar Happiness to see our selves govern'd by a Sovereign who is not influenc'd by any Notions of Greatness that are inconsistent with the Prosperity of his Subjects; and who proposes to himself the Ease of his People, as the chief Glory of his Reign.

We acknowledge, with Hearts full of Duty and Gratitude, your Majesty's unwearied Endeavours to prevent the many Attempts which have been set on Foot to disturb the Peace of Europe, and the Quiet of these Kingdoms; and have the more Reason to apprehend the ill Consequences of such Attempts, since there are those who, as they would be thought to see no Danger in them, give us Reason to believe that they would not be troubled at their Success. We are therefore firmly resolv'd, in the most effectual Manner, to support your Majesty in such Measures as your Majesty, in your great Wisdom, shall judge necessary to procure the Establishment of the Tranquility of Europe.

We receive, with the greatest Satisfaction, your Majesty's gracious Expressions and Assurances touching the extraordinary Supply granted last Year; and will cheerfully grant your Majesty such Supplies as shall effectually provide for the publick Service.

It is with unspeakable Sorrow of Heart, that we observe the many Artifices which are made Use of by the common Enemies of our Religion, to undermine and weaken it both at Home and Abroad; And as we have the most grateful Sense of the tender Concern which your Majesty has been pleas'd to express for the Protestant Religion, and especially for the main Support of it, the Church of England as by Law establish'd; so we are resolv'd, on our Part, to consider of the most effectual Methods for strengthening the Protestant Interest of these Kingdoms.

It is a Pleasure to us, that the Eyes of all Europe are turn'd upon us at this critical Juncture, since we have thereby an Opportunity of shewing the World the just Confidence we repose in your Majesty, and our unshaken Resolutions to support your Government in such Manner, as shall enable your Majesty to settle the Peace of Christendom.

To which the King return'd the following Answer.

Gentlemen,

I Thank you for the repeated Assurances you have given me, in this dutiful and loyal Address, of your affectionate Support and Assistance in the present Juncture of Affairs. I expected no less from a House of Commons so affectionate to my Person, and so zealous for the publick Welfare.

The King's Answer.

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New

Ann 4. Geo. I.
1717.

Motion for a Supply for maintaining the Land Forces for the Year 1718.

Debate thereon.

Mr Shippen.
Sir W. Wyndham.
Mr R. Walpole.

Nov. 25. The House began to enter upon Business, and voted a Supply, in general, to his Majesty.

Dec. 4. A Motion was made for a Supply for maintaining the Guards and Garrisons in Great Britain for the Year 1718, according to the Estimate laid before the House. This Motion was oppos'd by Mr Shippen, Sir William Wyndham, and Mr R. Walpole, which last made a Speech, wherein, besides the common Topick of the Danger of a Standing Army in a free Nation, he insisted on four principal Points, viz: ' I. That whereas they were given to understand, that the Army was reduc'd to 16,000 and odd Men, it still consisted of above 18,000, which was one third Part more than the Number of Land Forces in Great Britain amounted to formerly in Time of Peace. II. That there was no due Proportion observ'd, either between the Number of Horse, Dragoons, and Foot, or between the Number of the Officers and Soldiers that were kept standing; insomuch, that of about 11000 l. which the Pay of a reduced Regiment of Foot amounts to, near 7000 l. goes towards the Pay of the Officers, and 4000 l. only to the private Soldiers. III. That the keeping up so great a Number of Officers, was, in effect, the maintaining of an Army almost double of what was intended, since the Soldiers that were wanting to compleat the Companies and Regiments, might be rais'd with a Drum in twice four and twenty Hours. IV. That the Pay of General Officers, which amounted to above 20,000 l. was an Expence altogether needless, and unprecedented in Time of Peace.' All these Particulars Mr Walpole enlarged upon, and made good his Assertions by proper Vouchers. Mr Craggs, Secretary at War, answer'd Mr Walpole. He said, ' That in all wise Governments, the Security of the State is the Rule chiefly to be regarded; and that his Majesty, both in the Augmentation and the Reduction of his Forces, had not only consulted the Safety, but likewise the Ease of his People. That though, as was suggested, the Nation paid at present near 18000 Men, yet there were only 16347 who could give any Jealousy, unless some People should think our Liberties in Danger, from the Chaplains, Surgeons, Widows of Officers, and such harmless, inoffensive Persons, who were included in the first Number: That therefore there are not much above 4000 Men more now in Great Britain than there were kept up after the Peace of Ryswick, which Number must be thought very moderate by all who wish well to the present happy Settlement, considering that the Embers of an unnatural Rebellion lately extinguish'd were still warm, and the Discontents industriously fomented by the

Enemies

Mr Craggs.

Enemies of the Government ; That the Parliament had ever contented themselves with fixing the Number of the Forces that were thought necessary to be maintain'd, but had left to the Crown the Manner of reducing and modelling that Number ; and therefore, if they should now do otherwise, it would be but an indifferent Return to that gracious and tender Regard, which, on all Occasions, his Majesty has shewn to the Security and Ease of his Subjects. That after all, it is no less a Piece of Justice than Matter of Prudence, to keep up as great a Number of Officers as possible ; for, besides the Occasion which the Nation may have for them for the future, it is but reasonable to acknowledge the past eminent Services of Gentlemen, who having been brought up to no other Trade but War, had no other Way to subsist and provide for themselves and Families.' Mr Craggs was back'd by Mr Aislaby (a), Mr Hampden (b), Mr John Smith (c), Mr Coventry (d), Member for Bridport, Col. Bladen (e), Mr Barrington Shute, and Sir Joseph Jekyll, who chiefly insisted on the Necessity of keeping up 16000 Men, at least, one Year longer. Sir David Dalrymple (f) was of the same Opinion, and to that Purpose urg'd, ' That the Discontents run still as high in Scotland as before the late Rebellion ; for which he alledg'd several Reasons.' Mr Walpole, Mr Bromley, Mr Freeman, General Erle, and some other Gentlemen, were of Opinion, That 12000 Men were sufficient ; and the Debate having lasted 'till a Quarter past Six, the Question was going to be put, Whether the Number should be 16 or 12000 ? When Mr Shippen standing up, made the following Speech.

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Mr Aislaby.
Mr Hampden.
Mr J. Smith.
Mr Coventry.
Col. Bladen.
Mr Barrington.
Sir Joseph Jekyll.
Sir D. Dalrymple.

Mr Walpole.
Mr Bromley.
Mr Freeman.
Gen. Erle.

Mr Speaker,

' I congratulate the honourable Person below, [General Lumley] on his being restor'd to the good Opinion of the learned Gentleman who spoke last ; [Sir J. Jekyll,] for it is not long since he [See p. 138.] complimented, I will not say flatter'd, another, at the Expence of that honourable Person, and most of the General Officers in this Kingdom.

Mr Shippen.

' But as to the Question before us, 'tis my Misfortune to differ from that learned Gentleman in all he hath advanc'd, which, when strip'd of some Excursions, may be reduc'd to these two Propositions :

" I. That the only Danger of continuing the Army is the Expence of it.

U 2

" IF.

(a) Treasurer of the Navy. (b, c.) Tellers of the Exchequer.
(d) Comptroller of the Green Cloth. (e) Commissioner of Trade and Plantations. (f) Lord Advocate for Scotland in the Reign of Queen Anne.

“ II. That we ought to comply with the Number of Forces propos’d, because it is demanded by the King, who is the best Judge of our Necessities.”

“ I do not object to the first Reason, that the Phrase is ambiguous, and that it is difficult to know what he means by the Danger of the Expence; but, if I understand him, the Answer is obvious. For though the Expence is doubtless a Matter highly deserving the Consideration of this House, whose Business and Duty it is to dispose of the publick Money with the utmost Frugality; yet it is by no Means the chief, or only Argument against keeping up an Army in Time of Peace. The chief Argument, with great Submission, is, That the civil and military Power cannot long subsist together; that a standing Army in Time of Peace will necessarily impede the free Execution of the Laws of the Land. And ’tis therefore very extraordinary that the Expence should be thought the only Danger, to use his own Terms, of a standing Army, by a Person whose Profession and present Station oblige him to make those Laws his first Care; and that it should be urg’d as such in this Place, where so many Millions have been cheerfully granted for the Defence of them.

“ The second Reason is no more conclusive than the first, as I hope to make appear in the Sequel of what I have to offer.

“ Gentlemen have insisted much on the great Grace and Favour shewn in reducing the Army since the Beginning of the last Session; and I presume not to say, that we were deceiv’d into the Vote then given for maintaining thirty two thousand Men, because we always proceed with the utmost Caution and Circumspection, and because the deep Designs of the Swedish Plot, which occasion’d such terrible Apprehensions amongst us, have since been fully discover’d to the World.

“ But however wisely it was, then done, I hope never again to see, either the same Number, or near the same Corps, after some artful Reductions, continu’d in this Nation in Time of Peace, on any Pretence, on any Apprehensions whatsoever.

“ I will not trouble you, Sir, with my Remarks on the Fallacy of those Reductions. They have been sufficiently expos’d by a Gentleman [*Mr. R. Walpole*], who is better inform’d of the Secret of that Affair, and who, I am glad to find, when he is contending for the Service of his Country, is no more afraid than my self, of being call’d a Jacobite, by those, who want other Arguments to support their Debates.

Our

Our present Consideration is, whether there are any Reasons to induce us, as our Circumstances now stand, to keep up above sixteen thousand Men, with Officers for almost double that Number; and whether, if we should consent to keep them up, we should act, as his Majesty desires we should, agreeably to the Constitution of these Kingdoms, and consequently to the Principles on which his Government is founded.

Now in Virtue of that Freedom of Speech we are all intitled to, I beg Leave to declare my Opinion, That the keeping up the Number propos'd, is so far from being necessary to our Protection, that it will be inconsistent with our Safety, and an excessive Burthen to his Majesty's good Subjects. Nor do I think it possible any Arguments can be invented, none I am sure have been yet offer'd, to incline a House of Commons at this Time, when we are in a profound Tranquility, some domestick Feuds excepted, to submit to that, which every Member, every Lover of Liberty must own, abstractedly consider'd, to be a Grievance, and such a one as ought never to be submitted to, but in that most desperate and deplorable Circumstance, where it is to be chosen as the less Evil.

I know these Assertions interfere with what is laid down in the second Paragraph of his Majesty's Speech. But we are to consider that Speech as the Composition and Advice of his Ministry, and are therefore at Liberty to debate every Proposition in it; especially those which seem rather calculated for the Meridian of Germany, than of Great Britain.

'Tis the only Infelicity of his Majesty's Reign, That he is unacquainted with our Language and Constitution; and 'tis therefore the more incumbent on his British Ministers to inform him, That our Government does not stand on the same Foundation with his German Dominions, which, by Reason of their Situation, and the Nature of their Constitution, are oblig'd to keep up Armies in Time of Peace. Nor is it in the least to be wonder'd at, that his Majesty, who hath spent the earlier Part of his Life in those Dominions, should think sixteen, or even thirty two thousand Men, might be continu'd in so rich and powerful a Nation as this is, without being a Burthen to it. But when he shall come to understand, that the smaller Number in Time of Peace would be destructive to that Security and Ease of his People, for which he expresses so tender a Regard, he will doubtless be convinc'd, that those act most conformably to their Duty and his Interest, who, as true Subjects of Great Britain, are against continuing more Troops, than have been usually thought and found sufficient, in the same Situation of

of Affairs, for the Support of the Crown and the Safety of the Kingdom.

‘ I am therefore at a Loss to conceive how Gentlemen can persuade themselves, that the complying with this extraordinary Demand would promote his Majesty’s Service. For it supposes not only a Distrust, but a Weakness in the Government ; as if neither the Affections of the People at home, nor the Treaties of our Allies abroad, were to be depended on : Which is a Thought so injurious, so contradictory to some solemn Assurances from the Throne, that no one will presume to advance it openly in this House, or elsewhere ; and yet it is all, in my humble Apprehension, included in this Motion. Nothing indeed can alienate the Hearts of the People from his Majesty ; but such Attempts have formerly prov’d fatal to Princes of less consummate Wisdom and Virtue. Nor are we to imagine, that the same Grievance is not equally mischievous in the Reign of a good Prince as of a bad one. ’Tis sometimes more so, because less expected, and less guarded against.

‘ Surely his Majesty will have no just Cause to doubt the Continuance of that Zeal for the Good of our Country, which, he is pleas’d to say, hath been so eminently conspicuous in every Session of this Parliament, if we make the Fate of other Nations a Document to ourselves on this Occasion ; if we think, that the keeping up a larger Number of Forces, than is absolutely necessary, too dangerous an Experiment to be often repeated.

‘ Let Gentlemen look round Europe, and they will find, That some of the freest and bravest People in it have, by this very Method, lost their Liberties. They will find, that the civil Power was from Time to Time drawn in, by pretended Exigencies, to allow and maintain an armed Force in Peace ; which, as they at first thought, and were instructed to believe, was intended to add Strength to their Authority ; to secure them in the Possession of their religious and political Rights ; to watch the ambitious Designs of their Neighbour Nations ; and to preserve the Ballance of Power. Glorious Intentions, if they had prov’d real ! But though they us’d all possible Precautions ; though they made it the Condition of their Establishment, that the Forces should be disbanded, when the extraordinary Occasion for which they were rais’d ceas’d, yet they perceived too late that their Condition was not binding ; That they had erected a Power superiour to themselves ; That the Soldiery, when they had tasted the Sweetness of Authority would not part with it, and, that even their Princes, after these temporary Concessions made to them, began to think, that ruling by an Army was a more easy, a more compendious Way of Government, than acting under

under the Restraints and Limitations of the Laws of their Country. And now they wear the Chains, which they put round their own Necks, and lament the Loss of that Freedom, which they unhappily consented to destroy, and which could never have been destroy'd without their Consent.

‘ But there is no Need of fetching Arguments on this Subject from Foreign Nations. Our own is too well acquainted with the Effects of continuing an armed Force in Peace, not to apprehend every Thing from it, be the Pretence never so specious.

‘ ’Twould be mispending your Time, to recount the Mischiefs which have from hence happened to this Nation ; and I will not run back to former Reigns. But I cannot forbear observing what [*Mr Snell*] my very good Friend near me hath already hinted, that it was the great Grievance complain'd of in the Bill of Rights, and was that from which the Revolution was to deliver us. King William himself, after the Peace of Ryswick, could not obtain above ten thousand Men, though he had then a more enterprizing and a more powerful Prince to deal with, than any now in this Part of the World. And the Proceeding of that House of Commons must be ever justified by those, who have the least Concern for our Constitution, notwithstanding some ungrounded Insinuations, that it involv'd us in a long and expensive War. Besides, it is every Year declar'd in the Act of Mutiny and Desertion, That the keeping up a standing Army in Time of Peace is against Law ; and as the Freeing us from it was one of the Ends of the Revolution, so no doubt the Preserving us for ever from an Attempt of the like Nature, was one of those innumerable glorious Advantages proposed by the Act of Succession.

‘ But it hath been urg'd, That the Consent of Parliament reconciles all ; and that Forces so continu'd are not to be accounted a standing Army, because they are intended to keep out a standing Army ; which with the noble Lord's Leave, [*Lord Moleworth*] who makes the Distinction, is a Notion too fine, too chimerical to be maintain'd.

‘ I know indeed it is explained both in the Bill of Rights, and in the Act of Mutiny and Desertion, that the keeping up a standing Army in Time of Peace is illegal, only, if done without Consent of Parliament : Now this in no Sort weakens the Argument, as to the Inconvenience and Oppression of which I am speaking. For tho' the Parliament, in these declaratory Laws, seems to put in its Claim only against the Incroachments of the Crown, from whence it suppos'd such Oppressions were more likely to come, than from the Representatives of the People ; yet the Consent of Parliament

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ment cannot alter the Nature of Things, cannot hinder the same Causes from producing the same Effects. An Army, tho' kept up by the Consent of Parliament, will, like other Armies, soon know its own Strength, will in Probability pursue the Dictates of Self-Preservation, and rather choose to dissolve that Authority with which it is incompatible, than tamely submit to its own Dissolution. An Army, tho' kept up by Consent of Parliament, if it hath no Enemies Abroad, will be apt to make Depredations at Home; and I wish there hath not been something of that Kind done this last Year: I wish we have no Complaints from some of our own most considerable Parliamentary Corporations, of Soldiers demanding free Quarter, and insulting the chief Magistrates for exerting the Power we have lodg'd with them, and endeavouring to redress the Grievances of the poor Inn-keepers and Inhabitants. Nay, the Consent of Parliament is so far from altering the Nature and Genius of Armies, that a Parliament Army, consisting of about the Number now demanded, once committed greater Outrages, and gave a deeper Wound to the Constitution, than all the Armies of the Crown have ever done; and that Army was the Creature of a Parliament which had establish'd itself. But, if we were to admit for Argument's Sake, that the Consent of Parliament could make Armies more tame and ductile than they would otherwise be, I think, however, it would not be adviseable for a Parliament, that intends to act rationally and agreeably either to the Principles on which his Majesty's Government, or its own Power is founded, to familiarize a military Force to this free Nation. For the very Name and Terror of it would, without Oppression, awe and subdue the Spirits of the People, extinguish their Love of Liberty, and beget a mean and abject Acquiescence in Slavery.

'Sir, We have already suspended some Laws, and repealed others, to comply with the Necessities of the Administration: But pray let us not go farther, let us not go on to continue the Army, or the greatest Part of it: For so long as it is continued, so long is the whole Constitution suspended, or, at least, in the Mercy of those whom we arm against it.'

The Expressions in the above Speech, which are distinguish'd with a ✠ gave Offence to several Members, and in particular to Mr Lechmere, who having taken them down in Writing, urg'd, 'That those Words were a scandalous Invektive against the King's Person and Government, of which the House ought to shew the highest Resentment, and therefore mov'd, That the Member who spoke those offensive Words should be sent to the Tower.' Mr Lechmere was seconded

Mr Lechmere moves for committing Mr Shippen to the Tower, on Account of some Expressions reflecting on the King's Speech.

Debate thereon.

seconded by Mr Spencer Cowper *, and back'd by Sir Joseph Jekyll †, and some others: Upon which Mr Robert Walpole said, ' That if the Words in Question were spoken by the Member on whom they were charged, the Tower was too light a Punishment for his Rashness; but as what he had said in the Heat of this Debate might have been misunderstood, he was for allowing him the Liberty of explaining himself.' Mr Snell, Mr Hutcheson, and some others, spoke also in Behalf of Mr Shippen, intending chiefly to give him an Opportunity of retracting or excusing what he had said, which Mr Shippen not thinking proper to do, a great Dispute arose, upon the Question, Whether the Words taken down in Writing were the same as had been spoken? A Member having suggested, That there was no Precedent of a Censure passed on a Member of the House for Words spoken in a Committee, Sir Charles Hotham **, Member for Beverley, produc'd Instances of the contrary; and, on the other Hand, Mr Shippen having maintain'd what he had advanc'd, it was, at last, resolv'd, by 196 Voices against 100 That the Words taken down in Writing were spoken by Mr Shippen. It was then about Nine in the Evening, and it being moved and carried, That the Chairman leave the Chair; Mr Speaker resum'd his Place, and Mr Farrer reported from the said Committee, ' That Exceptions having been taken to some Words spoken in the Committee, by William Shippen, Esq; a Member of the House, the Committee had directed him to report the Words to the House.' Which being done accordingly, Mr Shippen was heard in his Place, and then he withdrew. After this it was mov'd, that the Question might be put, ' That the Words spoken by William Shippen, Esq; a Member of this House, are highly dishonourable to, and unjustly reflecting on, his Majesty's Person and Government.' This occasion'd a Debate that lasted 'till past Eleven; when the Question being put, was carry'd in the Affirmative by 175 Voices against 81; and thereupon it was order'd, ' That William Shippen, Esq; be, for the said Offence, committed Prisoner to his Majesty's Tower of London, and that Mr Speaker do issue his Warrant accordingly.'

Dec. 5. The Commons went again into a Grand Committee, to consider farther of the Supply, and a Debate arising concerning the Number of Men for Guards and Garrisons in Great Britain, and Jersey and Guernsey only, without including the Forces Abroad, viz. the Plantations in America,

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Mr Spen. Cowper.
Sir Jos. Jekyll.
Mr R. Walpole.

Mr Snell.
Mr Hutcheson.

Sir Ch. Hotham

Mr Shippen committed Prisoner to the Tower for reflecting on the King's Speech.

A second Debate concerning the Land Forces.

* He was made Chief-Justice of Chester, May 30. 1717.

† Appointed Master of the Rolls, May 27. 1717.

** Made Colonel of the Prince of Wales's Royal Regiment of Dragoons, July 18. 1717.

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America, the Garrisons in Minorca, Gibraltar, Placentia and Annapolis, and of the Islands Bahama and Providence, Mr Jefferies, Member for Droitwich, made the following Speech :

Mr Speaker,

Mr Jefferies's
Speech thereon.

‘ I Shall not waste the Time of the Committee in making an Apology for meddling in this Question ; since I apprehend whatever I can yet call my own to be at Stake in the Event of it. Whether the Army shall be disbanded or continued in Time of Peace ? Whether we shall be govern'd by the Magistrate, or the Soldier ? Or, whether we shall be bond or free ? are, in my Opinion, Questions of the same Import.

‘ I think myself justify'd in saying this, from the Examples of most Countries in Europe. They were once free ; but if it be inquir'd, how, from the State of Freedom, they sunk into Slavery, it will appear, that their common Ruin has proceeded from the Continuance of regular Troops in Pay, after the Occasion for which they were rais'd was over.

‘ That this Island has retain'd its Freedom longer than the Countries on the Continent, has been imputed to its Situation, which not being so much expos'd to the Incurfions of its Neighbours, there was not the like Pretence for keeping up regular Troops. But the Preservation of our Liberties to this Time, is, in my Opinion, rather to be ascrib'd to the due Sense our Forefathers had of the Danger the Publick underwent from intrusting Princes with a standing Force in Time of Peace ; and also to the Measure observ'd by the House of Commons, in giving such Supplies only, as enabled the Prince to live in the full Enjoyment of his Prerogative, without putting it into his Power to affect the Liberties of the Subject.

‘ From the first credible Account of Things in this Kingdom down to King Charles II's Time, I can find no Instance, where the Crown kept up regular Troops in Time of Peace, that of Richard II. excepted.

‘ He liv'd in a tempestuous Age ; he had Wars Abroad, and Commotions at Home. The first Rebellion, headed by Wat Tyler, was compos'd without shedding the Blood of any one of the Rebels, save Tyler himself : The King gave them good Words ; they laid down their Arms, went Home, and were all pardon'd. Another Rebellion of the Men of Kent and Essex broke out, which occasion'd the King's raising an Army of forty thousand Men. The Rebels apply'd by Petition to have their Liberties and Franchises allow'd them. But the King spoke to these in a different Style ; and told them, Slaves they were, and Slaves they should be. Five hundred

hundred of them were cut to Pieces in the Field, and fifteen Hundred of them were afterwards executed in cold Blood.

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This Severity aw'd the Nation for a while. But, the Discontent of the People afterwards increasing, about the thirtieth Year of his Reign a Parliament was call'd, and to use the Historian's Words, lest I should offend any tender Ear, 'all Endeavours were us'd to procure such a Parliament, 'as would concur with the King's Designs.' Before they met, Forces were rais'd 'to attend and guard the Parliament; which might at the same Time be an Awe upon 'any refractory Members.' Touching the Numbers of which this Army consisted History is silent: This only we are given to know, that four thousand of them were Archers, and that many of them were Cheshire-Men. It is not to the present Purpose to go over the Extrayagancies of that Parliament.

'Into what a State Things were brought by that King's Conduct, appears from an Observation made by the same Historian, who says, 'That the King having thus establish'd 'his Power, and put himself beyond all Opposition, thought 'himself secure, and an absolute Prince. But it being laid 'upon such a Foundation, as begat many Discontents among 'the People, all the Fabrick prov'd weak, and was soon 'follow'd with lamentable Ruin.' When that King's Affairs grew desperate, an Oath was requir'd from the Duke of Lancaster, afterwards Henry IV. that he should cause the King to send Home the Cheshire Guard, which was accordingly done.

'I observe in the Debate it has been taken for granted, That the Crown of England has a Right to a Number of regular Troops, under the Denomination of Guards. This is a Notion I can by no Means give into. It was not so *ab Antiquo*.

'The first Guards we hear of, the Yeomen of the Guard, which were constituted by Henry VII. being of another Kind, were in Charles II's Time. That Prince immediately after his Restoration, got together a small Number of Guards, which at first seem'd to be meant only to add to the Equipage and Splendor of the Court. But it soon appear'd, that he had other Views: The Guards, by adding Men to Troops and Companies, and Troops and Companies to Regiments, were insensibly increas'd; so that in the Year 1677, they were got up to five thousand eight hundred ninety Men. Few Sessions pass'd, but they were taken Notice of in the House of Commons, and though Money was not ask'd of Parliament for their Support, yet they occasioned a general Uneasiness.'

' About that Time there was a Prospect of War with France, on which Pretence an Army was rais'd. But the War not proceeding, an Act pass'd, which gave the King six hundred and nineteen thousand three hundred and eighty eight Pounds for disbanding the Army. When the Parliament met again, they were told from the Throne, ' That the ' Forces were still kept on Foot for the Preservation of our ' Neighbours, who otherwise had absolutely despair'd, and ' for preserving what was left in Flanders; and that the King ' was confident no Body would repine at the Employing that ' Money, which was rais'd for the disbanding of the Army, ' for the Continuance of it.

' This did not satisfy the House, and they came to a Resolution, ' That it was necessary, for the Safety of his Majesty's Person, and preserving the Peace of the Government, That all Forces, rais'd since the twenty-ninth of September 1677, should be disbanded.' Whereupon that Parliament, which went under the Name of the Pensioner-Parliament, was dissolv'd.

' The new Parliament which met on the first of March following, had the same Apprehensions of regular Troops. Money was given to disband them, and the Act directed, that it should be paid into the Chamber of London; and Commissioners of their own were appointed to see it apply'd to that Use. Whatever Diffidence of the King this might imply, I do not find that any Member lost his Liberty for Freedom of Speech on that Occasion. The Opinion that Parliament had of a standing Army, appears in the Resolution they came to, ' That the Continuance of standing ' Forces in this Nation, other than the Militia, was illegal, ' and a great Grievance and Vexation to the People.

' I shall now take Leave to consider the Arguments advanc'd for continuing sixteen thousand three hundred forty seven Men for the ensuing Year.

It is said, ' That there is a disaffected Party in the Kingdom, which makes an Army necessary.

' If this Argument will prevail, 'tis strange it has not prevail'd for six hundred Years past, since no Period within that Time can be assign'd, wherein this Argument was not as strong as in the present.

' During the long Controversy between the Houses of York and Lancaster touching the Right of Succession, in which each Side had its Turn of being uppermost, one would think it should have been natural for the prevailing Party, in order to their Security, to have insisted on the Continuance of their regular Troops, at least for a Time. There was a Pretender to the Crown, who had a strong Party in the Nation, and the Government was insecure 'till the



the Spirit of Rebellion was suppress'd. It might then with an Appearance of Reason have been insisted on, That the Taxes on the Disaffected should be increas'd, that those, who occasion'd the Expence, should bear the Burthen 'till the Danger was over.

' Why this Sort of Reasoning did not then prevail is obvious. They saw it was unsafe to trust any Prince, even one of their own setting up, with such a Power, which, if ill apply'd, might enslave them.

' Another Period of Time I shall take Notice of is, that of Queen Elizabeth's Reign. The Disaffection to her in the Beginning of it was great, occasion'd by the Reformation in Religion, and the Application of Ecclesiastical Revenues to secular Uses. Many Plots there were against her Life. Spain, one of the greatest Powers in Europe at that Time, attempted an Invasion, and a more proper Juncture could not have happen'd, wherein to have ask'd for an Army. But instead of that, the greatest Part of the Forces then got together to oppose the Invasion consisted of Militia, and as soon as the Armado was scatter'd, the Army was disbanded. That Queen being sensible, that the true, the only Support of the Crown, was the Good-will and Affections of the People.

' Another Argument brought for the Continuance of the Army is, ' That the denying it does insinuate a Distrust of ' his Majesty.'

' How disingenuous and unparliamentary a Way of Arguing this is, let Gentlemen judge: For to draw that sacred Name into a Debate, must put every Body to Pain, who takes the other Side of the Question, in Regard it may be constru'd, that the stronger the Argument is, the greater is the Distrust.

' But this Reasoning, in my Opinion, turns quite another Way, and instead of implying a Distrust, argues the greatest Regard to the Safety of his Majesty's Person and Government. Who can answer for the Caprice of an Army, when once establish'd?

' Although no Man living has a greater Esteem than my self for these honourable Gentlemen, who have with so much Bravery serv'd their Country in a military Way, nor shall any Man go farther in rewarding their Services; yet the common Experience of Mankind demonstrates, That it is not reasonable to expect an Army should be always in the same Humour. Augustus Cæsar liv'd in great Peace and Security with the Prætorian Bands, which had put an End to the Roman Liberties; but the Case was different with his Successors; for of twenty-six Emperors, no less than sixteen were

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were pull'd to pieces by their own Soldiers. Did not the Army here in England, in the Times of Usurpation, if I may be allow'd to name them, in a short Space change the Government into ten several Forms? What Treatment did the Parliament, who had rais'd and supported them, meet with from them? They beset the House, repuls'd many Members who would have come in, others they dragg'd out even by the Legs, and at length they were all turn'd out, and the Doors shut up. I say this with the more Assurance, having had the Account from an honourable Person, lately dead, who was an Eye-witness of it. This Army, 'tis true, which consisted of about seventeen thousand Men, afterwards brought in King Charles the second. But that Prince soon disbanded them, being well aware that the same Army which brought him in, should their Minds change, might again turn him out.

This Objection, drawn from a Distrust of his Majesty, deserves another Name. 'Tis an honest, 'tis a reasonable Jealousy of the growing Power of the Crown, which those that went before us always avow'd. May it not with Parity of Reason be said, That because I will not consent, that the King shall by his Proclamation raise Money without Parliament, that this is a Distrust of his Majesty? Because I will not consent to give up *Magna Charta*, and accept of a new Patent at Pleasure, may not this likewise be call'd a Distrust of his Majesty? But suppose from an Opinion of the Virtue of the Troops; from an Opinion, that Men in Power will not make an ill Use of it; that those who may be Masters, will chuse to continue Servants; that Men under the same Circumstances will not do the same Things; and that we should consent for ourselves, to deposite our Liberties in their Hands for a while; will any one say, that we have an Authority also to consent on the Behalf of those we represent? A Sum of Money, a Jewel, or other valuable Thing is committed to my Care; I without the Owners Consent leave it in the Possession of another, although the Person with whom I left it, does not actually embezel the Money, or detain the Jewel, yet do I break my Trust by putting it into his Power so to do.

It is self-evident that, by keeping up such a Number of Forces, who may, when they are dispos'd, controul the Power of the civil Magistrate, the Strength and Security of our Constitution is at an End, and that we have no other Rule of Government left, than Will and Pleasure. The Notion I have of Slavery is the being subjected to the Will of another; and notwithstanding the Rod, be not always on my Back, or the Dragoon in my House; yet, if it is not in my Power to prevent its being so, I am no longer



longer free. After Augustus had establish'd his eight thousand regular Troops, the Roman Constitution was as much at an End, as it was in Nero's Time. Although the Tyranny was not by Augustus exercis'd with the like Severity it was by his Successors; yet, from the Time his Power became irresistible, the Romans were Slaves.

‘ Another Argument us'd for this Number of Troops is, ‘ That there are no Thoughts of establishing them; but only ‘ continuing them for a Year.

‘ If the Notion be true, which no Gentleman in the Debate has deny'd, That the Number of disciplin'd Men now contended for, are sufficient to dictate to the greatest Number of undisciplin'd; I desire to know who shall dare to bid them go Home? 'Tis said indeed the Parliament will not provide for them: Why may not they then, as others in their Circumstances have done, provide for themselves? Is it reasonable to think, that Men will starve with Swords in their Hands?

‘ I am sensible, that I have too much trespass'd on Gentlemen's Patience. I shall say no more; but that Bodies Political as well as Natural, have their Periods: Governments must die as well as Men; ours is grown old and crazy; and tho' she hath surviv'd her Neighbour, yet I fear her Day approaches.

After Mr Jefferies had ended his Speech, Sir Thomas Hanmer spoke as follows:

Mr Speaker,

‘ I cannot forbear troubling you with a few Words upon this Subject, tho' I can neither flatter myself with the Hopes of convincing any one, nor pretend to be able to offer any Thing to your Consideration, which has not in a better Manner been urg'd already. But I am truly concern'd for the Mischiefs which, I think, we are giving Way to; and if I cannot prevent them, it will be a Satisfaction to me at least to protest against them.

Sir Thomas Hanmer's Speech in the Debate concerning the Land Forces.

‘ All Gentlemen who have spoke in this Debate, have, for their different Opinions, agreed in one Thing, to press very much the Argument of Danger; and the only Question is, on which Side the Danger lies; whether to the Government, without a military Force to support it; or to the Constitution and Liberties of Great Britain, from that military Force, if it be allow'd to continue in it.

‘ As to the Dangers which threaten the Government, I think I am not willing to overlook them. But I hope we may be excus'd, if we cannot be convinc'd of Dangers, which no Man, that I hear, pretends to explain to us.

‘ Abroad

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‘ Abroad the State and Circumstances of Europe happen to be such, that I think it is hard to suppose a Time possible when there shall be less Appearance or Apprehension of any immediate Disturbance to this Kingdom. The three great Powers, those which are most considerable in themselves, and of nearest Concern to us, I mean the Empire, France and Holland, are so far from being at any Enmity with us, that they are all of them our fast Friends and Allies, at least we are told so, and hear very often a great deal of boasting upon that Subject, whenever the Administration of the Government is to be extoll’d, and the Merits of it are to be set forth to us. Upon those Occasions we hear of nothing, but the wise and useful Treaties which have been made, the great Influence which we have acquir’d in foreign Courts and Councils, and the solid Foundations which are laid for our Security. But when, in Consequence of these great Things, we come to talk of reducing Forces, then I observe the Language is quite turn’d the other Way, then we are in the weakest and most insecure Condition imaginable, there is no Dependence upon any Thing, and we must even be thought disaffected to the Government, if we will not believe that we are surrounded on all Sides with the greatest Dangers.’

‘ But in the midst of these Contrarieties and Contradictions I think we need not be at any Loss what our Conduct ought to be ; if we will but have Regard to those plain Rules and Maxims which have always been observ’d in the like Cases with that which is now before us.

‘ It would certainly be an endless Thing, for an House of Commons to enter into the Secrets of State, and to debate upon the different Views, and Interests, and Intrigues of Foreign Courts ; what Jealousies are among them, and what Treaties are on Foot to reconcile them. If we take such Things into our Considerations, to guide us in Questions concerning our own Guards and Garrisons here at Home, we shall be in a Labyrinth indeed ; and must be compell’d at last to put an absolute Trust in the Government, because they only know the Truth of such Matters, and from them we must be content to receive whatsoever Account they think fit to give us of them. But the only Thing proper for us to look to is, what is plain and obvious to the Sense of all Mankind, I mean, When are the Times of present Peace. There need no Refinements of Politicks to know that, and I will venture to say, that during such Times of Peace no remote Fears, no Arguments drawn from Contingencies of what may be hereafter, have ever yet brought this Nation into a Concession so fatal to Liberty, as the Keeping up of standing Forces, when there is no other Employment for them, but to insult and oppress their Fellow Subjects. I say there has hitherto

hitherto been no Precedent of that kind, and the Misfortune of this Case is, there will need but one Precedent in it; one wrong Step taken, in this Particular, may put an End to all your Claims of Rights and Privileges.

‘ And on the other Hand I beg it may not be taken for granted, that if we dismiss our Soldiers, we shall therefore leave ourselves naked, and void of all Protection against any sudden Danger that may arise. No, Sir, Providence has given us the best Protection, if we do not foolishly throw away the Benefit of it. Our Situation is our natural Protection; our Fleet is our Protection; and if we could ever be so happy as to see it rightly pursu’d, a good Agreement betwixt the King and People, uniting and acting together in one National Interest, would be such a Protection as none of our Enemies would ever hope to break through.

‘ It is a melancholy Thing to me to hear any other Notions of Government advanc’d here, and that his Majesty, either from his private or his general Council, should ever upon this Subject have any Thing inculcated to him, but this great Truth, ‘ That the true and only Support of an English Prince ‘ does and ought to consist in the Affections of his People.’ It is That should strengthen his Hands; it is That should give him Credit and Authority in the Eyes of other Nations; and to think of doing of it by keeping up a Number of Land Forces here at Home, such a Number as can have any Awe or Influence over the great Powers on the Continent, is, I think, one of the wildest Imaginations that ever enter’d into the Heart of Man. The only Strength of this Nation must always consist in the Riches of it; Riches must be the Fruits of publick Liberty; and the People can neither acquire Riches, nor the King have the Use of them, but by a Government founded in their Inclinations and Affections.

‘ If this be true, then of Consequence it follows, That whoever advises his Majesty to aim at any additional Security to himself from a standing Army, instead of increasing his Strength, does really diminish it, and undermine his true Support, by robbing him of the Hearts of his Subjects. For this I take for granted, that as there are but two Ways of Governing; the one by Force, and the other by the Affections of the People govern’d, it is impossible for any Prince to have them both. He must chuse which of the two he will stick to, for he can have but one. If he is Master of their Affections, he stands in no need of Force; and if he will make Use of Force, it is in vain for him to expect their Affections. For it is not in Nature, and it can never be brought to pass, that Men can love a Government, under which they are loaded with heavy Taxes; and pay a considerable Part of their Estates to maintain an Army,

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which insults them in the Possession of the rest, and can turn them out of the whole whenever they please.

‘ With Submission therefore, the Argument is taken by the wrong End, when it is said, There are great Animosities in the Kingdom, the People are disaffected, and upon that Account there is a Necessity of keeping up an Army. It concludes much righter the other Way ; that is, dismiss your Army, and give no other Cause of Suspicion that any Part of the Constitution is to be invaded, and the People will be well-affected. Upon any other Foot than this, what Minister will ever care, whether he does right or wrong ? It is not his Concern, whether the People are easy or uneasy ; his Army is his Dependence : Nay, and the more by his wicked Counsels he exasperates and enrages the People, the stronger he makes his Pretence for maintaining and increasing that Army which supports him.

‘ What I have said, I confess, goes upon a Supposition, that the Numbers contain’d in the Estimate, and in the Question before you, do make an Army formidable enough, and able to enslave this Nation ; of which indeed there remains no Doubt with me. In the Manner those Forces are constituted, I think, a Prince who would wish to be arbitrary, could desire no more ; and if he had all the Power in his Hands, I think, for his own sake he would keep no more.

‘ Of what Nature the Reductions have been other Gentlemen have so fully explain’d, and I believe it so generally understood, that it will be needless for me to dwell upon it. But the Short of the Case is this, That out of thirty two thousand Men, thirteen Regiments only have been disbanded, which do not amount to more than five or six thousand, besides a few Invalids, which were taken from the Establishment of the Army, and put upon the Establishment of the Hospital. So that there are the Corps now subsisting of more than twenty five thousand Men, which Corps may be fill’d up to their entire Complement whensoever the Government pleases, and that even without any Noise, or Notice taken. For the Case is very different in that Respect, where the Regiments are few, and those kept compleat : There, if the Numbers allow’d by Act of Parliament are exceeded, it must be by raising new Regiments, which is easily seen and known. But where the Corps are kept up with only a few Men in them, and some Recruits will always be necessary for them, there, if the Government is willing to be at the Charge, they may keep the Numbers up to what they please, and it is impossible to know when the Parliamentary Standard is exceeded, and when not. Thus therefore stands our Account : In the first Place, the
Publick

Publick is to pay eighteen thousand Men ; in the next Place, the Number of effective Men is to be sixteen thousand three hundred forty seven ; and if those are not sufficient to exercise Dominion over us, yet, in the Manner they are kept together, they are equivalent to twenty five thousand Men ; the Charge is, inconsiderably less, and the Terror, which is the main Thing, is not at all abated.

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For the taking this dangerous Step, the only Justification I hear Gentlemen offer for themselves, the only Shelter they fly to, is the great Confidence which is to be repos'd in his Majesty's just and gracious Intentions ; of those I will entertain no Doubt ; I believe his Majesty is too good to be suspected of any arbitrary Designs. But yet there is a general Suspicion, which I will never be ashamed or afraid to own ; because it is a Suspicion interwoven in our Constitution ; it is a Suspicion upon which our Laws, our Parliament, and every Part of our Government is founded ; which is, That too much Power lodg'd in the Crown, abstracting from the Person that wears it, will at some Time or other be abus'd in the Exercise of it, and can never long consist with the natural Rights and Liberties of Mankind. And therefore whatever Opinions we have of his Majesty's Goodness, and how much soever he deserves them, we should still consider, that in this Place we are under a distinct Duty to our Country, and by that Duty we should be as incapable of giving up such an unwarrantable Trust, as his Majesty, I am persuaded, would be incapable of abusing it, if he had it in his Hands. Those we represent will expect, and they ought to expect from us, that they should not only continue to enjoy what belongs to them, as Englishmen ; but that they should hold it still by the same Tenure. Their Estates, their Lives, and their Liberties they have hitherto possess'd as their Rights ; and it would be a very great and sad Change, and such as shall never have my Consent along with it, to make them only Tenants at Will for them.'

Dec. 6. In a Committee of the whole House on the Supply, the Commons came to twelve several Resolutions.

The Committee of Supply come to several Resolutions.

It not being in the Compass of our Design to recite them all, nine of them being, without any Opposition, agreed to by the House, and to be found at large in the *VOTES* of this Session, we shall only quote those three Resolutions of the Committee, as gave Rise to some *SPEECHES* and *DEBATES* ; which, for the better Understanding thereof, it will be necessary to do. They are as follows ;

I. That the Number of effective Men to be provided for Guards and Garrisons in Great Britain, and for Jersey and Guernsey,

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Guernsey, for the Year 1718, be 16347, commissioned and non-commissioned Officers included. II. That a Sum not exceeding 681,618 l. be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the Charge of the said 16347 effective Men for Guards and Garrisons, and other his Majesty's Land Forces in Great Britain, Jersey and Guernsey, for the Year 1718. III. That a Sum not exceeding 130361 l. 5 s. 5 d. be granted to his Majesty, for the Charge of Half-pay to the reduced Officers of his Majesty's Land Forces and Marines, for the Year 1718.

Motion for recommending three of them.

Debate thereon.

Mr R. Walpole.

Sir Jo. Jekyll.

Debate concerning the Charge of the Land-Forces.

Mr Craggs.

The first of these Resolutions being read the second Time, a Motion was made, that the same be recommitted; upon which there arose a warm Debate, and most of the Members who spoke in the Debate of the 4th Instant, [See p. 154.] spoke either for or against the said Motion: But the Question being put thereupon, it was carry'd in the Negative, by a Majority of 175 Voices against 125; and then the first Resolution was agreed to by the House. The second Resolution being afterwards read a second Time, a Motion was made, that the same be recommitted, which occasion'd a fresh Debate. Mr Robert Walpole, who made the most remarkable Speech, urg'd, 'That by the Method that had been follow'd in the Reduction of the Army, the Nation was put to an extraordinary and needless Charge.' Which he endeavour'd to prove, 'By entering into the Particulars of the Regiments that were kept standing; shewing the Disproportion between the Foot, and the Horse and Dragoons, which last were most grievous and oppressive to the Country; and suggested, 'That by reducing the Army in another Manner, the full Number of Land Forces already voted, might be kept up, and yet near a hundred thousand Pounds saved to the Nation, besides the Pay of General Officers, which, he doubted not, all Gentlemen would readily acknowledge, with him, to be an unnecessary Expence.' This Overture was listen'd to with great Attention, and particularly by Sir Joseph Jekyll, who, being desirous to know what Mr Walpole had to propose, to save so considerable a Sum to the Nation, declar'd his Opinion for recommitting the second Resolution above-mention'd, which was carry'd without dividing. It was also resolv'd, That the last of the three above-recited Resolutions be recommitted.

Dec. 9. The House resolv'd itself into a Grand Committee, to take into Consideration the second Resolution, viz. for granting to his Majesty the Sum of 681,618 l. which had been recommitted. Mr Craggs, who spoke first, said, 'That having already agreed to the Number of Troops, it was but natural and reasonable to grant the Sum necessary

necessary to maintain these Troops ; that the Commons had never enter'd into the Particulars of the Regiments, whether Horse, Dragoons, or Foot ; but contenting themselves with fixing the whole Number, had wholly left the regulating of that Matter to the Crown ; and therefore he hoped, they would not shew less Regard to his Majesty, or repose less Confidence in his Wisdom, of which they had seen so many Instances, particularly both in augmenting and reducing of the Army.' Mr Craggs was seconded by Mr Aislable, Mr Lechmere, Mr Treby, Mr Yonge, Sir Richard Steele, Gen. Carpenter, Gen. Wade, Gen Stanwix, and others : But, on the other Hand, Mr R. Walpole, represented, ' That the best Way for the Commons of Great Britain to acknowledge his Majesty's most gracious Intentions for the Good of his Subjects, was to point out to him the Means of rendering those good Intentions effectual ; that this might be done by disbanding or dismounting eight or nine Regiments of Dragoons, whereby the Country would be eased of a great Burden and Oppression ; and that by this, and some other Reductions, of which he made mention, a considerable Sum of Money might be saved to the Nation ; as well as by taking off the Pay of the General Officers, and other useless Contingencies.' Mr Walpole was back'd by Sir Joseph Jekyll, Sir Thomas Hanmer, Sir William Wyndham, Mr John Smith, and Sir Thomas Crofs ; and, on the other Hand, the Courtiers endeavour'd to shew, either that the Reductions propos'd were impracticable, or would not answer the End intended thereby. But some General Officers having said, ' That for their own Parts, if their having no Pay could any way contribute to make the Nation easy, they readily acquiesced,' They were taken at their Words ; and the Question being put, That a Sum not exceeding 650,000 l. be granted to his Majesty, for defraying the Charge of 16347 effective Men for Guards and Garrisons, and other his Majesty's Land Forces in Great Britain, Jersey and Guernsey, for the Year 1718, the same was carry'd in the Affirmative, by 172 against 158. And this Resolution was the next Day reported and agreed to by the House without Opposition.

Dec. 11. In a Grand Committee on Ways and Means to raise the Supply, after some Debate upon the Question, Whether two or three Shillings in the Pound be laid upon Land, it was by 164 Votes against 97, carry'd for the latter. There were great Struggles to save the odd Shilling, but it would not do ; for the next Day Mr Farrer reported the Resolution of the Committee, which was agreed to by the House ; and a Bill was ordered to be brought in accordingly.

This

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Mr Aislable.
Mr Lechmere.
Mr Treby.
Mr Yonge.
Sir R. Steele.
Gen. Carpenter.
Gen. Wade.
Gen. Stanwix.

Mr R. Walpole,

Sir J. Jekyll.
Sir T. Hanmer.
Sir W. Wyndham.
Mr J. Smith.
Sir Tho. Crofs.

Debate concerning
the Land-Tax.

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Debate concerning
the Half-Pay Officers.
Mr Freeman.
Mr Hutcheson.

Mr Craggs.
Col. Bladen.
Mr Aislable.
Mr Lechmere.

Debate concerning
the Scarcity of Silver,
and lowering
the Gold Species.
Mr Aislable.

Mr R. Walpole.

Mr Caswall.

This Bill, with an unusual Dispatch passed through both Houses in ten Days.

Dec. 18. Mr Freeman and Mr Hutcheson, upon examining the Lists of Half-Pay Officers that had been laid before the House, represented, That there were three Sorts of Officers in the said Lists, who, in their Opinion, had no Title to the said Half-Pay, viz. the Warrant-Officers; those under Age, and therefore incapable to serve; and the Officers who had Civil Employments. Mr Craggs *, Col. Bladen, Mr Aislable, and Mr Lechmere †, in Answer to those Objections, said, 'That the Half-Pay had never been deny'd to Warrant-Officers; and as for Officers under Age, they were very few in Number, and their Half-Pay given as a Recompence for the Services of their Fathers or near Relations.' However, after a Debate, it was resolv'd to present four Addresses to his Majesty on that Head.

Dec. 19. Mr Aislable, took Notice of the great Scarcity of the Silver Species, which, in all Probability, was occasion'd by the Exportation of the same, and the Importation of Gold; and propos'd, That a speedy Remedy might be put to that growing Evil, by lowering the Value of the Gold Species. He was seconded by Mr Caswall, Member for Leominster, one of the Sword Blade Company: But Mr R. Walpole, who did not expect such a Motion, said, 'This was a Matter of so great Importance, that it ought to be well weigh'd and maturely consider'd, before the House came to any Resolution thereupon.' It was accordingly resolv'd to consider of it the next Morning in a Committee of the whole House.

Dec. 20. Mr Aislable renew'd the Motion he made the Day before, relating to the Coin, and was seconded by Mr Caswall **, who made a Speech, on the various and respective Values which, at different Times, Gold and Silver Coins have born, with respect one to the other, according to the Plenty or Scarcity of either; and suggested, 'That the Over-valuation of Gold in the current Coins of Great Britain, had occasion'd the Exportation of great Quantities of Silver Species; and to that Purpose, laid open a clandestine Trade, which of late Years had been carry'd on by the Dutch, Hamburgers, and other Foreigners, in Concert with the Jews and other Traders here, which consisted in exporting Silver Coins, and importing Gold in Lieu thereof, which being coin'd into Guineas at the Tower, near 15 Pence was got by every Guinea, which amounted to about 5

per

* Made Secretary of State in this Session.

† Made Attorney-General and a Privy-Counsellor in this Session, in the Room of Sir Edward Northey.

** Knighted during this Session.

per Cent. and as these Returns might be made five or six Times in a Year, considerable Sums were got by it, to the Prejudice of Great Britain, which thereby was drain'd of Silver, and over-stock'd with Gold: Concluding, that in his Opinion, the most effectual Way to put a Stop to this pernicious Trade, was to lower the Price of Guineas, and all other Gold Species.' This Speech was received with general Applause, and it was resolv'd in the Grand Committee, and unanimously agreed to by the House, That an Address be presented to his Majesty, to issue his Royal Proclamation, to forbid all Persons to utter or receive any of the Pieces of Gold call'd Guineas, at any greater or higher Rate than one and twenty Shillings for each Guinea, and so proportionably for any greater or lesser Pieces of coin'd Gold. This Address being presented to his Majesty, a Proclamation was issued accordingly.

Dec. 22. The King gave the Royal Assent to the Land-Tax Bill, and then the House adjourn'd.

Jan. 22. The Commons, in a Committee of the whole House, consider'd farther on the Supply, and Mr Hutcheson urg'd. 'That the Lists of the Half-pay Officers were charg'd with many who had no Right to it: He was strenuously supported by Mr R. Walpole, who particularly objected against allowing Half-pay here to the Officers of the 13 Regiments lately reduc'd in Ireland. Mr Craggs answer'd them; and Mr Walpole having suggested that Mr Craggs had not been long in Office; this last readily own'd, 'That tho' he could not boast of so much Experience in Affairs, as a certain Gentleman, yet this he was sure of, that, though a Novice, he would, ten Years hence, be of the same Opinion he was of at present, and not imitate them, who chang'd theirs, as they were in or out of Place.' Hereupon Mr Walpole appeal'd to the Committee, 'Whether, while he had the Honour to be in Employment, he had not declar'd his Opinion as freely as he did at present, particularly in relation to the Matter now before them?' Mr John Smith, Sir Henry Bunbury †, Member for Chester, and Sir William Wyndham, supported Mr Walpole, and all of them did Justice to the Officers who had serv'd their Country in the two last Wars; excepting only against the Abuse which had been made of the National Bounty, in granting Half-pay to those that did not deserve it. On the other Hand, Mr Aislaby, Colonel Bladen, Sir Charles Hotham, Sir Richard Steele, General Wade, Mr Lowndes, and several others, supported Mr Craggs; and Mr Boscawen, said, 'That, in his Opinion, the Officers who had

lately

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Second Debate relating to the Officers on Half-pay.

Mr Hutcheson.

Mr R. Walpole.
Mr Craggs.

Mr J. Smith.
Sir Hen. Bunbury.
Sir W. Wyndham.

Mr Aislaby.
Col. Bladen.
Sir Ch. Hotham.
Sir Rich. Steele.
Gen. Wade.
Mr Lowndes.
Mr Boscawen.

† *Commissioner of the Revenue in Ireland, in the late Queen's Reign.*

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lately serv'd against the Rebels in Scotland, and in the North and West of England, had no less merited than those who had serv'd many Years in foreign Wars, since by suppressing a most unnatural and detestable Rebellion, they had deliver'd their Country from its most dangerous Enemies. But though the Court Party, instead of about 130,361 l. to which the List of Half-pay for 1718 amounted, would have been contented with 115,000 l. yet a Motion, being made, and the Question put, That the Chairman leave the Chair, it was carry'd in the Affirmative, by 186 Voices against 148.

Farther Debate
relating to the
Half-pay Officers.

Mr Hutcheson.

Lord Broderick.

Mr R. Walpole.

Jan. 24. The House went into a grand Committee, to consider farther of the Supply; particularly in relation to Half-pay; and Mr Hutcheson and Mr Walpole chiefly insisted, 'That the Officers of the 13 Regiments reduc'd in Ireland, ought to have been plac'd on the Establishment of that Kingdom.' The Lord Viscount Broderick*, Member for Midhurst, endeavour'd to justify the Ministry there, and represented how hard the Case of those Officers would be, if they were struck off the English Establishment. To which Mr Walpole reply'd, 'That 'twas Matter of Surprise, that an End had been put to the Session, of the Parliament of Ireland, without making Provision for the said Officers.' After this it was agreed to strike off the List of Half-pay all the Minors under sixteen; several Warrant Officers, the Officers of the 13 Regiments reduc'd in Ireland, and the Chaplains not provided for; Notwithstanding which, the Courtiers still demanded 115,000 l. for the List of Half-pay; but upon the Motion for the Chairman to leave the Chair, which was carry'd without dividing, the Speaker resum'd it, and the farther Consideration of that Matter was put off to the next Day.

94,000 l. granted
for the Half-pay
List.

Jan. 25. The Commons went again into a Committee of the whole House on the Supply, and the Courtiers renew'd the Demand of 115,000 l. for the List of Half-pay. On the other Hand, the opposite Party were for reducing that Sum to 80,000 l. But Mr Walpole having propos'd 94,000 l. the same was readily accepted on both Sides.

Then Mr Freeman mov'd, 'That the Vacancies in the Guards should be supply'd by Half-pay Officers;' But the Question being put thereupon, it was carry'd in the Negative by 164 Voices against 156.

An Address for supplying all Vacancies in the Troops, (the Horse and Foot Guards, Horse and Grenadiers excepted,) with Half-pay Officers.

Mr Speaker having resum'd the Chair, Mr Farrer immediately reported to the House, 'That the Committee had directed him to move, and it was accordingly resolv'd, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, that all Vacancies

* Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

cancies which shall happen in the Troops upon the British Establishment be supply'd by Half-Pay Officers, or Officers reduc'd in Great Britain of the same Rank, except in the Horse and Foot-Guards, and Horse-Grenadiers.' The said Address was accordingly presented to the King.

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Jan. 27. Mr Boscawen acquainted the House, that his Majesty had commanded him to inform the House, "That Orders should be given, pursuant to the above Address, his Majesty being desirous, on all Occasions, to contribute, as far as in him lies, to the Ease of his People." After this, Mr Farrer reported the Resolutions on the Supply, which were agreed to, and may be seen at large in the *VOTES* of this Session.

The King's Answer theret

February 4. The House resolv'd itself into a Grand Committee, upon the Bill, *For regulating the Forces, and for Payment of the Army, &c.* After reading the Bill, and the Articles of War, Mr Hutcheson excepted against the Clause, enacting, 'That it shall and may be lawful to and for Court Martials to punish Mutiny and Desertion with Death, urging, 'That a Court Martial was never allowed of in England in Time of Peace, as being inconsistent with the Rights and Liberties of a free People; and mov'd, 'That the Offences committed by the Soldiery be cognizable and punish'd by the Civil Magistrate.' Sir William Thompson answer'd Mr Hutcheson, and the latter was seconded by Mr Edward Harley, who, to shew the Danger of a standing Army govern'd by Martial Law, quoted a Book written by a noble Member of the House, intitled, *An Account of Denmark*. Hereupon Lord Moleworth, [*Author of that Book,*] endeavour'd to shew, 'That this was not a parallel Case; that the present Posture of Affairs in Great Britain was vastly different from the State of Things in Denmark at that Juncture; and that the Commons having already declar'd it necessary to maintain the standing Forces, it was no less necessary to keep those Forces within the Bounds of Duty and Discipline, by the ordinary Rules of Martial Law, as was ever practis'd in all civiliz'd Nations.' Sir Gilbert Heathcote having back'd the Lord Moleworth, Mr Hungerford said, 'He remember'd a remarkable Passage in *The History of the Revolutions of Sweden*, which was, 'That one Bung, a rich Burgher of Stockholm, who had much contributed to the keeping up a standing Army, was the first that was hang'd by Martial Law. General Lumley and some others were of Mr Hutcheson's Opinion; and, on the other Hand, Sir Joseph Jekyll was for keeping up the Martial Law, at least, one Year longer.' But the main Dispute fell between Mr Craggs and Mr Robert Walpole, who in the Heat of Argument could not forbear letting drop some sharp Reflections.

Debate concerning the Mutiny Bill

Mr Hutcheson

Sir W. Thompson.

Mr E. Harley.

Lord Moleworth.

Sir G. Heathcote

Mr Hungerford.

Gen. Lumley.

Sir J. Jekyll.

Mr Craggs.

Mr R. Walpole.

Anno 4. Geo. I.
1717-18.

King's Message for
an additional
Number of Sea-
men,

GEORGE R.

" HIS Majesty being at present engag'd in several Ne-
" gotiations of the utmost Concern to the Welfare of
" these Kingdoms, and the Tranquility of Europe ; and ha-
" ving lately receiv'd Information from Abroad, which
" makes him judge that it will give Weight to his Endeavours, if a Naval Force be employ'd where it shall be
" necessary, does think fit to acquaint this House therewith ;
" not doubting but that in case he should be oblig'd, at this
" critical Juncture, to exceed the Number of Men granted
" this Year for the Sea-Service, the House will, at their
" next Meeting, provide for such Exceeding.

An Address there-
on.

Upon this Sir William Strickland mov'd, 'That an Address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the Thanks of this House, for his unwearied Endeavours to promote the Welfare of his Kingdoms, and to preserve the Tranquility of Europe ; and to assure his Majesty, That this House will make good such Exceedings of Men for the Sea Service of the Year 1718, as his Majesty in his Royal Wisdom shall find necessary to obtain those desirable Ends.' This Motion being seconded, and the Question put thereupon, was carry'd without dividing.

Mr R. Walpole's
Observation on
that Address.

It is very remarkable, that the Spanish Embassador having about this Time expostulated concerning the great Preparations for sending a Fleet into the Mediterranean, Mr Walpole said, ' That such an Address had all the Air of a Declaration of War against Spain.

The King's An-
swer to the above
Address.

March 18. Mr Boscawen acquainted the House, That their Address had been presented to his Majesty ; and that he was commanded by his Majesty, to return his Majesty's hearty Thanks to this House, and to assure them, that his Majesty shall think himself oblig'd, in Return of the great Confidence they have repos'd in him, not only to use the utmost OEconomy that shall be consistent with the real Interest of his Subjects for this ensuing Year ; but likewise to apply his most earnest Endeavours to prevent future Burthens to his People, by establishing a lasting Peace and Tranquility.

March 21. The King went to the House of Peers, and the Commons attending, his Majesty gave the Royal Assent to several Bills.

After which the Lord Chancellor read his Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, as follows, viz.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King's Speech
at putting an End
to the Third Ses-
sion.

" I Cannot put an End to this Session, without returning
" my hearty Thanks to so good a Parliament, for the
" Dispatch which has been given to the publick Business.
" You

“ You will, I hope, in your private Capacities, feel the
 “ Convenience of an early Recess ; and I am persuaded the
 “ Publick will receive great Benefit, by the seasonable Zeal
 “ and Vigour of your Resolutions in Support of my Go-
 “ vernment.

“ Nothing can add so much to the Credit and Influence
 “ of this Crown, both at Home and Abroad, as the re-
 “ peated Instances of your Affection to me. This Steadi-
 “ ness and Resolution of yours, will, I hope, enable me to
 “ procure, against your next Meeting, such Treaties to be
 “ concluded, as will settle Peace and Tranquility among
 “ our Neighbours.

“ If through the Blessing of God my Endeavours to this
 “ End prove successful, I shall have the Satisfaction to
 “ silence even those who will never own themselves con-
 “ vinc'd ; and to let all the World see plainly, that what
 “ I have most at Heart, is the Good and Welfare of my
 “ People, who may then be eas'd in their Taxes, and en-
 “ rich'd by their Trade.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I must return you my particular Thanks for the Sup-
 “ plies you have so chearfully granted, and for the late In-
 “ stance of your Confidence in me. I promise you, that
 “ my Endeavours shall not be wanting to make Use of both
 “ to the best Advantage for the Good of my People.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ The Practices which are daily us'd by a most restless
 “ and unhappy Set of Men, to disturb a Government by
 “ whose Clemency they are protected, require our utmost
 “ Attention and Vigilance. I must therefore recommend
 “ it to you, that in your several Stations and Countries,
 “ you will endeavour to quell that Spirit of Disaffection,
 “ which our common Enemies are so industrious to fo-
 “ ment.

Then the Lord Chancellor prorogu'd the Parliament to
 the 20th of May ; after which they were farther prorogued
 to the 11th of November.



S P E E C H E S

SPEECHES and DEBATES

In the FOURTH SESSION of the

*First Parliament of King GEORGE I.*Anno 5. Geo. I.
1718.

ON the 11th of November the King came to the House of Peers, and the Commons attending, his Majesty deliver'd the following Speech into the Hands of the Lord Chancellor, who read the same to both Houses:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech at
opening the Fourth
Session.

“ Since your last Recess, I have, by the Blessing of Almighty God, concluded such Terms and Conditions of Peace and Alliance between the greatest Princes of Europe, as will, in all human Appearance, induce others to follow their Example, and make any Attempts to disturb the publick Tranquility not only dangerous but impracticable.

“ These Engagements, I am persuaded, will be so much the more agreeable to all my good Subjects, as they bind the contracting Powers to support the Succession to these Kingdoms in my Family, to which some were not at all, and others not so fully, bound by any former Treaties.

“ During the whole Course of these Negotiations, a most strict Regard has been had to the Interest of Spain; and better Conditions have been stipulated for that King, than were insisted upon in his Behalf even at the Treaty of Utrecht; but the War in Hungary, which by our Mediation is since happily ended, having tempted the Court of Spain unjustly to attack the Emperor, and the Hopes they have since conceiv'd of raising Disturbances in Great Britain, France, and elsewhere, having encourag'd them to believe, that we should not be able to act in Pursuance of our Treaties, for the Defence of the Dominions invaded by them, nor even to support those other essential and necessary Conditions of the Treaty of Utrecht, which provide against the great Monarchies of Europe, being at any Time hereafter united under one Sovereign, they have not only persisted in such a notorious Violation of the publick Peace and Tranquility, but have rejected all our amicable Proposals, and have broke thro' their most solemn Engagements for the Security of our Commerce.

“ To



“ To vindicate therefore the Faith of our former Trea-
 “ ties, as well as to maintain those which we lately made,
 “ and to protect and defend the Trade of my Subjects,
 “ which has in every Branch been violently and unjustly
 “ oppress’d, it became necessary for our Naval Forces to
 “ check their Progress. It was reasonable to hope, that
 “ the Success of our Arms, the repeated Offers of Friend-
 “ ship, which I have never ceas’d to make in the most
 “ pressing Manner, and the Measures taken in Concert with
 “ the Emperor and the most Christian King, to restore the
 “ publick Tranquility, would have produc’d a better Dis-
 “ position in the Court of Spain ; but I have receiv’d In-
 “ formations, that instead of listening to our reasonable
 “ Terms of Accommodation, that Court has lately given
 “ Orders at all the Ports of Spain and of the West-Indies,
 “ to fit out Privateers, and to take our Ships.

“ I am persuaded that a British Parliament will enable
 “ me to resent such Treatment, as becomes us ; and it is
 “ with Pleasure that I can assure you of the ready and
 “ friendly Resolutions of our good Brother the Regent of
 “ France, to concur and join with me in the most vigorous
 “ Measures.

“ The firm Confidence I repose in the Affection of my
 “ People, together with my earnest Desire to ease them of
 “ every Charge not absolutely necessary, determin’d me,
 “ immediately after the Exchange of the Ratifications of
 “ our great Alliance, to make a very considerable Reduc-
 “ tion of our Land-Forces ; nor could I better express,
 “ than by so doing, how little we apprehend the Attempts
 “ of our Enemies to disturb the Peace of my Kingdoms,
 “ even tho’ Spain should think fit to continue some Time
 “ in War. Our Naval Force imploy’d in Concert with our
 “ Allies, will, I trust in God, soon put a happy End to
 “ the Troubles which the ambitious Views of that Court
 “ have begun, and secure to my Subjects the Execution of
 “ the many Treaties in Force relating to our Commerce.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I must desire you to grant me such Supplies, as will
 “ enable me to carry on the Service of the Year. I have
 “ given Orders to have the proper Estimates laid before
 “ you, whereby you will perceive I have reduc’d the Ex-
 “ pence as much as our Circumstances can well admit. I
 “ have the Pleasure to observe to you, that the Funds ap-
 “ propriated for sinking the publick Debts, have answer’d
 “ above Expectation. I must however recommend to you
 “ to consider of proper Methods for improving them, by
 “ preventing the Frauds and Abuses daily committed in
 “ the publick Revenues, not doubting in all your Pro-
 “ ceedings

Anno 5. Geo. I.
1713.

“ceedings you will have that Regard to the inviolable Preservation of the publick Credit, which may quiet the Minds of all those that have trusted to Parliamentary Engagements.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“There never was a Time when your Unanimity, your Vigour, and Dispatch, were more necessary to so many good Ends, as those we have now in View. I have done my Part. It remains with you to give the last Finishing to this great Work. Our Friends and our Enemies, both at Home and Abroad, are waiting the Event of your Resolutions : And I dare promise my self that the first have nothing to apprehend, nor the others to hope, from your Conduct in this important Juncture, who have, during the whole Course of my Reign, given such lively Proofs of your Zeal and Affection to my Person, and of your Love to your Country.”

Ed Hinchinbroke.
moves for an Address of Thanks.

The Commons being return'd to their House, Mr Craggs, by his Majesty's Command, presented to the House Copies, in Latin, of several Treaties, with a List of them ; and the Title of the Copies of the said Treaties were read, and then the Lord Hinchinbroke mov'd, ' That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, returning the Thanks of the House for his most gracious Speech from the Throne, and for the many and great Instances which he has therein given to his People, of his constant Endeavours for their Security and Welfare ; That the House has intire Satisfaction in those Measures which his Majesty has already taken for strengthening the Protestant Succession, and establishing a lasting Tranquility in Europe ; and particularly in relation to the Crown of Spain ; and is resolv'd to enable his Majesty, in Concurrence with his Allies, not only to resent the Injuries that Crown has already done to the Commerce of these Kingdoms, in Breach of the Treaties subsisting between the two Nations, but will likewise support him, in the most vigorous and effectual Manner, in such farther Measures as his Majesty shall judge necessary to compleat the publick Tranquility, and to check the Growth of that Naval Power, which must otherwise prove dangerous to the Trade of these Kingdoms, and to the Repose of Europe.' The Lord Hinchinbroke was back'd by the Lord Tyrconnel, Sir David Dalrymple, Mr Lechmere, Mr Craggs, Mr John Smith, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Sir Wilfrid Lawton, Mr Hampden, Mr Aislachie, Mr Boscawen, and Col. Bladen ; but the Motion being oppos'd by Mr Freeman, Mr Heytham, Mr Walpole, Mr Snell, Mr Hungerford, Mr Hetne, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr Cowper, Sir

Debate thereon.

Lord Tyrconnel.
Sir D. Dalrymple.
Mr Lechmere.
Mr Craggs.
Mr John Smith.
Sir G. Heathcote.
Sir W. Lawton.
Mr Hampden.
Mr Aislachie.
Mr Boscawen.
Col. Bladen.

Mr Freeman.
Mr Heytham.
Mr Walpole.
Mr Snell.
Mr Hungerford.
Mr Hetne.
Sir J. Jekyll.
Mr Cowper.

Sir William Wyndham, Mr Shippen, Lord Molefworth, and General Rofs, a warm Debate ensued.

Ann. 9. Geo. 2.
1728.

The Country Party strenuously objected against the Words, *entire Satisfaction in those Measures which his Majesty had already taken*. In order therefore to have these Words left out of the Address, it was alledg'd in the first Place, That it was unparliamentary and unprecedented, on the first Day of a Session to enter upon Particulars ; That the Business in Question being of the highest Importance, viz. Peace or War, deserv'd the maturest Deliberation ; That before they approv'd of the Measures that had been taken, they ought to examine the Treaties, and the Reasons on which those Measures were founded, which must needs take up some Time ; And therefore they ought, for the present, according to the usual Custom, to content themselves with returning his Majesty their Thanks for his Speech, with general Assurances of their Zeal and Affection for his Majesty's Person and Government, and then appoint a Day to take the said Speech into Consideration.

Sir W. Wyndham.
Mr Shippen.
Lord Molefworth.
Gen. Rofs.

To this the Courtiers answer'd, That tho' all Applications from the House to the Throne differ'd according to the various Circumstances of Affairs, yet there were not wanting Precedents to support the Expressions excepted against, of which some Instances were produc'd : That the Measures that had been taken, were grounded on Treaties that had been laid before them, and which might be examin'd into as soon as the House thought fit ; but that it was necessary, at this critical Juncture, when the Eyes of all Europe were fix'd on this Parliament, early to come to a vigorous Resolution, which would not fail having its due Weight Abroad.

This was warmly oppos'd by Mr R. Walpole, who urg'd, ' That it was against the common Rules of Prudence, and the Methods of proceeding in that House, to approve a Thing before they knew what it was : That he was thoroughly convinc'd of, and as ready as any Person in that Assembly, to acknowledge his Majesty's great Care for the general Peace of Europe, and the Interest of Great Britain ; but that the giving Sanction, in the Manner propos'd, to the late Measures, could have no other View, than to screen Ministers, who were conscious of having done something amiss, and, who having begun a War against Spain, would now make it the Parliament's War : Concluding, That instead of an entire Satisfaction, they ought to shew their entire Dissatisfaction with a Conduct that was contrary to the Laws of Nations, and a Breach of solemn Treaties.' Upon this Mr Craggs gave the House an Account of the Measures which the King and his Ministers had pursued for restoring

Mr R. Walpole.

Mr Craggs.

Art. 5. Dec. 1.
1718.

and securing the Tranquility of Europe, and said, ' That upon that View a Treaty of defensive Alliance between his Majesty and the Emperor had been sign'd in May 1716, and by that very Gentleman, then in a high Station, who now excepted against these Measures: That, at the same Time, his Majesty sincerely desir'd and endeavour'd to maintain a perfect Friendship with the King of Spain, and had even propos'd a defensive Alliance to him, before he made one with any other Power: That notwithstanding the Engagements his Majesty was under to guaranty the Neutrality of Italy, and to defend the Emperor in the Possession of his Dominions, which, upon the Invasion of Sardinia, might have justify'd his Majesty's assisting his Imperial Majesty against Spain; yet the King chose rather to act as a friendly Mediator, and, in Concert with the Regent of France, endeavour'd to find out Means of reconciling the Interests of the Emperor and of the King of Spain, as the only Way to put a Stop to the War that threaten'd Italy, and in which all Europe might be involv'd: That the Catholick King was often sollicitated by the British Ministers at Madrid, to concur with his Majesty's good Intentions, and to give such Instructions to the Spanish Minister here, as would put it in his Majesty's Power to stand up for the Interest and Advantages of Spain in the ensuing Negotiations: That the Catholick King having declin'd to concert Measures with Great Britain, and demanding, in general, Satisfaction for the Breaches he pretended the Emperor had made upon the Treaty of Utrecht, the Balance of Power in Europe, and the Security and Liberty of the Princes and States of Italy, all that his Majesty, with the Regent's Assistance, could do, was to obtain of the Emperor such Conditions as were thought most agreeable to his Catholick Majesty; to wit, an absolute Renunciation of the Monarchy of Spain and the Indies, and a very considerable Settlement in Italy for a Prince of Spain, particularly the Great Duchy of Tuscany: That as the Emperor's Pretensions to Sicily were the principal Reasons of his opposing the Treaty of Utrecht, from which he could not afterwards be brought off by the Treaty of Baden, it became necessary, towards an Accommodation, to dispose of that Island in Favour of his Imperial Majesty, of whom, upon that Consideration, his Majesty and the Regent of France obtain'd the Disposition of Sardinia in Favour of the King of Sicily: That these were the principal Articles of the Treaty of Alliance, for restoring and settling the Publick Peace, commonly call'd the Quadruple Alliance, which was a long while depending, and at last sign'd here, on the 22d of July, 1718: That in Order to support the Views of this Treaty, and to add Weight to the Endeavours for

for restoring the Tranquility of Europe, his Majesty acquainted the Commons, toward the End of the last Session of Parliament, that he intended to employ a Naval Force when it should be necessary; whereupon this House unanimously resolv'd to return his Majesty their Thanks for his unwearied Endeavours to promote the Welfare of his Kingdoms, and to preserve the Tranquility of Europe; and to assure his Majesty, that they would make good such Exceedings of Men for the Sea Service for the Year 1718, as his Majesty, in his Royal Wisdom, should find necessary to obtain those desirable Ends: [See p. 180.] That this unanimous Resolution undoubtedly imply'd an entire Satisfaction in the Measures his Majesty was at that Time concerting for preserving the Tranquility of Europe; and if an Action has since happen'd in Consequence of those Measures, this cannot, with any Justice, be call'd the War of the Ministers, but rather the War of the Parliament: That, however, it was not with Design of making War, but only of restoring Peace, that his Majesty sent a strong Squadron into the Mediterranean: That, pursuant to this View, as soon as Sir George Byng reach'd the Coast of Spain, he wrote a Letter to that King, desiring him to accept his Majesty's Mediation, and to desist from the Hostilities already begun; offering him his Service, either to withdraw his Troops, or even to assist him, in case the Emperor should not consent to a Suspension of Arms; which the Admiral propos'd while an Accommodation should be negotiated: That the Spaniard, having with Haughtiness rejected his Majesty's repeated amicable Proposals, and not only persisted in the Violation of the publick Peace, by the Invasion of Sicily, but likewise broke thro' most solemn Treaties for the Security of our Trade, it became necessary for his Majesty's Naval Forces to check these insolent and violent Proceedings, as well to maintain the Faith of his Majesty's Engagements, and prevent the Consequences of this War, as to protect and defend the Trade of the British Subjects, which labours under the heaviest Hardships and Difficulties.' To confirm this last Assertion, Col. Bladen produc'd a List of many Merchant Ships, taken or detain'd by the Spaniards.

ADAM J. COOKE.
1718.

Mr R. Walpole having made solemn Professions of his Duty and Affection to the King, and of his Readiness to acknowledge his Majesty's Royal Care and constant Endeavours for the Security and Welfare of his People, and the Tranquility of Europe; but distinguishing between his Majesty and his Ministers, and shewing an Unwillingness to approve the Measures pursued by the latter, 'till the Treaties on which those Measures were founded, had been fully and maturely examin'd, Mr Craggs readily admitted of the

Col. Bladen.

Mr R. Walpole.

Mr Craggs.

Anno 5. Geo. I.
1718.

Distinction between the King and his Ministers, adding, ' That he observ'd with a great deal of Pleasure, how unanimous they were all for the King, and that he should be extremely sorry if the Ministers should be the Occasion of any Delay in the House's expressing their Duty and Affection to his Majesty : That he own'd Ministers were not infallible ; That he had the Honour to be one of his Majesty's Servants, and had gone as great Lengths as any in the Measures that had been taken : But that he was so positive, that in the Course of this whole Affair nothing had been done that was not entirely consistent with the Faith of Treaties, and the Honour and Interest of the Nation, that he durst promise, both for himself and the rest of the Ministers, that if the House came into this Vote, which he thought of the highest Importance at this critical Juncture, no manner of Advantage would be taken of it to palliate any Faults, which, through human Frailty, might have been committed ; and that for his own Part he was ready to undergo the severest Examination, whenever the House should think fit to enquire into the Conduct of the Ministry.'

Upon the whole Matter, the Question being at last put, upon the Lord Hinchinbroke's Motion, it was carry'd in the Affirmative by 216 Votes against 155.

The Address agreed to and presented.

Nov. 12. The Commons having made the usual Orders ; the Lord Hinchinbroke reported the Address from the Committee of which his Lordship was Chairman ; which on the 13th was presented to his Majesty, as follows.

May it please your Majesty,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, do return our most sincere and unfeigned Thanks to your Sacred Majesty for your most gracious Speech from the Throne, and for the many and great Instances, which you have been graciously pleas'd therein to give your People, of your constant Endeavours for their Security and Welfare.

' It is with the greatest Pleasure that we have this Opportunity to assure your Majesty, that we have entire Satisfaction in those Measures which you have already taken, for strengthening the Protestant Succession to the Crown of these Realms in your own Family, and for establishing a lasting Tranquility in Europe, and particularly in relation to the Crown of Spain ; and we are resolv'd on our Parts, to the utmost of our Power, to enable your Majesty, in Concurrence with your Allies, not only to resent the Injuries which that Crown has already done to the Commerce of these Kingdoms, in Breach of
' the

the Treaties subsisting between the two Nations, but will likewise support your Majesty, in the most vigorous and effectual Manner, in such farther Measures as in your great Wisdom you shall judge necessary to compleat the publick Tranquility, and to check the Growth of that naval Power, which must otherwise prove dangerous to the Trade of these Kingdoms, and the Repose of Europe.

We should be wanting in our Duty to your Majesty, if we did not express, in the most affectionate Manner, the great Sense we have of that Instance of your tender Concern for the Ease of your People, in the farther Reduction which you have made of your Land-Forces; which must be accepted by all your good Subjects, as the strongest Proof of your Wisdom and Goodness.

We crave Leave to concur with your sacred Majesty, that Regard must always be had to the inviolable Preservation of the publick Credit, for the Quiet and just Security of all those who have trusted to Parliamentary Engagements.

And do farther assure your Majesty, That we will, by our Conduct in this important Juncture, give your Majesty and the whole World, all imaginable Proofs of our Zeal and inviolable Duty and Affection to your Person and Government, and of our Love to our Country.

To which His Majesty's Answer was as follows.

Gentlemen,

I Am extremely sensible of the Duty and Affection you express to my Person: Your Vigour and Resolution to support me will encourage our Friends, and, by the Blessing of God, enable me to defeat the ill-grounded Hopes of our Enemies: As I am persuaded the Necessity and Usefulness of your Proceedings will be approved by the Event, I do return you my very hearty Thanks for this loyal Address.

The King's Answer thereto.

Nov. 13. Mr Craggs presented the Translations of several Treaties of Alliance, and Articles belonging thereunto, which were order'd to lie on the Table.

Dec. 17. Mr Boscawen, by the King's Command, acquainted the House, That all his Majesty's Endeavours and those of the most Christian King, to procure Redress of the many Injuries done to the Subjects of Great Britain by the King of Spain, to the unspeakable Detriment of the Trade of these Kingdoms; or even to obtain a Discontinuance of the unjust Hostilities, carrying on by that Crown, having prov'd ineffectual, his Majesty had found it necessary

Mr Boscawen acquaints the House with the King's having declar'd War against Spain.

to

Anno 5. Geo. I.
1718.

Mr Treby's Motion for an Address of Thanks.

Debate thereon.

Mr Western.
Mr Shippen,
Mr Freeman,
Sir T. Hanmer.

Col. Stanhope.

Mr Methuen.

Mr Shippen.

to declare War against Spain. After the reading of this Message, Mr Treby*, mov'd, ' That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the most unfeigned Thanks of the House for having communicated to them the necessary Resolution of declaring War against Spain; and to assure his Majesty, That this House will, with the greatest Chearfulness and with the utmost Vigour, assist and support his Majesty in the War with the King of Spain, 'till Spain is reduc'd to accept of reasonable Terms of Peace, and to agree to such Conditions of Trade and Commerce, as this Nation is justly intitled to by their several Treaties.' Mr Treby was seconded by Mr Western, Member for Sudbury, but Mr Shippen, Mr Freeman, Sir Thomas Hanmer, and some others excepted either against the Motion or against some Expressions in it, which occasion'd a warm Debate. Some Members alledging, ' That they did not see the Necessity of declaring War against Spain, and that they rather were inclin'd to believe that the Grievances complain'd of by our Merchants might have been redress'd in an amicable Manner', Colonel Stanhope, Member for Derby, told the House, that he had had the Honour to serve his Majesty as his Envoy to the King of Spain, and he could assure them, that he had presented at least five and twenty Memorials to that Court, in relation to the Complaints of our Merchants, without any Success. Hereupon Mr Methuen, Member for Brackley, interpos'd, and accounted for the Dilatoriness of the Court of Madrid in the Dispatch of Commercial Affairs, occasion'd by the different Regulations and Judicatories in the several Kingdoms, Provinces; and Ports of Spain; which might be the Reason why the Grievances complain'd of by our Traders had not been redress'd so soon as might have been expected. A Member having hinted that the Ministers had shewn no great Concern for the Trade and Interest of the Nation, since it appear'd by the Answer from a Secretary of State to the Marquess de Monteleone's Letter, that they would have pass'd by the Violations of the Treaties of Commerce, provided Spain had accepted the Terms of the Quadruple Alliance: That his Majesty did not seek to aggrandize himself by any new Acquisition, but was rather inclin'd to sacrifice something of his own, to procure the general Quiet and Tranquility: That no Body could yet tell how far that Sacrifice was to extend, but certainly it was a very uncommon Piece of Condescension; Mr Shippen went yet farther, and insinuated, That this War seem'd to be calculated for another Meridian. [See p. 157.] But wrapt up the

* Made Secretary at War in this Session.

the Innuendo so dextrously, that no Exception was taken at it. Mr Horatio Walpole also found Fault with the Treaty of Quadruple Alliance, particularly as to the Disposition of Sicily in Favour of the Emperor, which was a Breach of the Treaty of Utrecht; and his Brother Mr Robert Walpole, exclaim'd against the Injustice of attacking the Spanish Fleet before the Declaration of War. They were answer'd by Mr Craggs, Mr Lechmere, Mr Aislable, Mr T. Broderick, and Sir Joseph Jekyll; which last said, 'That some Weeks before, when this Affair was first mention'd in the House, he was shy of giving his Opinion, because he had not then examin'd the several Steps that had been taken in it; but that now he was fully convinc'd, that if there was any Injustice, it was on the Side of the King of Spain; and that the Conduct of his Majesty and his Ministers was entirely agreeable to the Law of Nations and the Rules of Justice and Equity. Was it just, added he, in the King of Spain to attack the Emperor's Dominions [*meaning Sardinia*] while he was engag'd in a War with the Turks, without any Declaration of War? Was it just in the same Prince to invade the Dominions of one of our Allies, the King of Sicily, without the least Provocation? And was it not just in his Majesty to vindicate the Faith of his Treaties, and to defend and protect the Trade of his Subjects, which had been violently oppress'd? Then the Question being put upon Mr Treby's Motion, the same was carry'd in the Affirmative by 178 against 107; and it was resolv'd, That the said Resolution be laid before his Majesty, by the whole House; which being done accordingly his Majesty gave the following Answer.

Anno 5. Geo. I.
1718.

Mr H. Walpole.

Mr R. Walpole.

Mr Craggs.
Mr Lechmere.
Mr Aislable.
Mr T. Broderick.
Sir J. Jekyll.

The above Address
agreed to.

Gentlemen,

" **T**His seasonable and loyal Address, will, I trust in
" God, contribute effectually to what you desire. I
" return you true Thanks for it."

The King's An-
swer.

Dec. 24. The engross'd Bill from the Lords, intituled, *An Act for strengthening the Protestant Interest in these Kingdoms*, was brought down to the Commons, who read it the first Time, and order'd it to be read a second Time, on the 7th of January, to which Day the House then adjourn'd.

A Bill from the
Lords, *For strength-
ening the Protestant
Interest.*

Jan. 7. The Commons read a second Time the engross'd Bill from the Lords, intituled, *An Act for Strengthening the Protestant Interest in these Kingdoms*: And then so much of the Act, *Against Occasional Conformity*, as was intended to be repeal'd by the said Bill, as also of the Act, *To prevent the Growth of Schism*, &c. both which were pass'd in the 12th Year of the late Queen Anne, were read. After which,
upon

Debate on the se-
cond Reading
thereof.

Annals of Geo. I.
1718-19.

Mr Hampden.
Mr Cartwright.
Mr J. Chetwynd.
Sir Tho. Palmer.
Mr Yonge.
Mr Carter.
Sir W. Thompson.
Mr Boscawen.
Mr Bar. Shute.
Sir W. Lowther.
Sir J. Jekyll.
Sir G. Heathcote.
Mr Craggs.
Mr Lechmere.
Lord Castlemeter.

Mr Graham.
Mr Ward.
Mr R. Hopton.
Col. Strangeways.
Mr Blundel.
Sir W. Wyndham.
Mr Jefferies.
Mr Shippen.
Mr H. Walpole.
Sir Tho. Hanmer.
Mr John Smith.
Mr Snell.
Mr R. Walpole.
Mr Lutwyche.

Sir W. Thompson.

upon a Motion made to commit the said Bill, there arose a very warm Debate, that lasted above eight Hours. Mr Hampden spoke first in Behalf of the Bill, and was seconded by Mr Cartwright*, Member for Bossiney. The other Members who spoke for the committing of the Bill, were Mr J. Chetwynd †, Member for St Maws, Sir Tho. Palmer, Member for Rochester, Mr Yonge, Mr Carter, Sir William Thompson, Mr Boscawen, Mr Barrington Shute, Sir William Lowther, Member for Pontefract, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Sir Gilbert Heathcote, Mr Craggs, Mr Lechmere, and the Lord Castlemeter. Against the committing of the Bill. Mr Graham, Member for Westmoreland, Mr Ward, Member for Thetford, Mr Richard Hopton, Member for Herefordshire, Col. Strangeways, Member for Dorsetshire, Mr Blundel, Member for Haslemere, Sir William Wyndham, Mr Jefferies, Mr Shippen, Mr Horatio Walpole, Sir Tho. Hanmer, Mr John Smith, Mr Snell, Mr Robert Walpole, and Mr Lutwyche, Member for Apulby.

Sir William Thompson urg'd, ' That the Schism Bill depriv'd Parents of their natural Right of educating their Children as they think proper; to which Mr Shippen answer'd, ' That it was somewhat strange to see so able a Lawyer inconsistent with himself: For when the twelve Judges were consulted, in a Case relating to a great Family, [*The Prince of Wales's Children*] he was of the Opinion of ten of them, ' That Children may be taken from their Parents, and educated as the Good of the Nation requir'd.' To this Sir William Thompson reply'd, ' That as he never was consulted, so had he never declar'd his Thoughts in the nice Case hinted by that Gentleman, and therefore he could not, with any Colour of Justice, be said to have chang'd his Opinion: But that the Member who tax'd him with it, and who thereby declar'd against the Opinion of the ten Judges, if he would be consistent with himself, must now be for the Bill that repeals the Schism Act, which restores Parents to their natural Right.' After some personal Altercations between Mr R. Walpole and Mr Lechmere, the Question being put upon the Motion for committing the Bill, it was carry'd in the Affirmative by 243 Votes against 202, and the Bill was committed to a Committee of the whole House.

An exact List of the Names of all those who voted *Pro* and *Con*, in this important Debate, will be found in the APPENDIX, by which it appears that the Majority was chiefly owing to the Scots Members, 31 out of 35, then in the House, having voted for the Bill.

Jan.

* Commissioner of the Victualing Office.

† Commissioner of Trade and Plantations.

Jan. 9. The Order of the Day being read for the going into a Committee of the whole House upon the Bill from the Lords, *For strengthening the Protestant Interest*, &c. the Lord Guernsey mov'd, ' That it be an Instruction to the said Committee, that they have Power to receive a Clause, That any Person when he comes to take the Oath of Abjuration and other Oaths, subsequent to the receiving the Sacrament, in order to his Qualification, shall acknowledge that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament were given by Divine Inspiration, and shall acknowledge his firm Faith and Belief in the Ever-blessed Trinity: But the previous Question being put, that the Question be now put upon the said Motion, it pass'd in the Negative, by 90 Voices; several Members who voted against the Bill, *For strengthening the Protestant Interest*, &c. having, notwithstanding their Opposition to that Bill, voted also against the Amendment proposed by Lord Guernsey; as the Reader will find particularly distinguish'd in the abovemention'd List. Then the House resolv'd itself into a grand Committee upon the said Bill, went through the same, Mr. Hampden being Chairman, and resolv'd to pass it without any Amendment, by a Majority of 221 Votes against 170.

Annals of Geo. I.
1713-19.

Jan. 10. The Bill, *For strengthening the Protestant Interest*, &c. was read the 3d Time, pass'd without any Amendment, and sent back to the Lords.

The Bill *For strengthening the Protestant Interest* passes the House.

February 11. Upon a Motion made by Mr Snell, and seconded by Mr Shippen, it was resolv'd to present an Address to his Majesty, That he would be pleas'd to give Directions to the proper Officers to lay before the House an Account of what Pensions, if any, have been granted by his Majesty to any Member of this House during Pleasure, or for any Term of Years; and also what Warrants for beneficial Grants have been directed to the Lords of the Treasury since the 10th of May, 1715.

An Address presented to the King, for an Account of Pensions granted to Members since May 10, 1715.

Feb. 12. Mr Controller acquainted the House, That his Majesty had given Directions to the proper Officers, to lay before the House the Accounts desir'd by their Address.

March 10. The King went to the House of Peers, and the Commons attending, he was pleas'd to say, That he had given Orders to the Lord Chancellor to declare to both Houses, in his Name and Words, a Matter his Majesty thought of the greatest Importance; whereupon the Lord Chancellor read the following Speech:

My Lords and Gentlemen,
" **H**AVING receiv'd from our good Brother and Ally,
" the Most Christian King, repeated Advices, that
" an Invasion will suddenly be attempted from Spain against
Vol. I. B b " my

King's Speech relating to an Invasion from Spain.

ADAMS J. GEN. L.
1758-19.

“ my Dominions, in Favour of the Pretender to my Crown,
“ I have judg’d it convenient to make you acquainted with
“ it, and shall, on my Part, take all the necessary Measures
“ to defeat the Designs of our Enemies.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ This Attempt, if it proceed, must engage me in some
“ farther Expences by Sea and Land than Provision has been
“ made for. I must therefore recommend it to you that I
“ be enabled, in such Manner as you shall judge convenient,
“ to make the necessary Dispositions for our Security ; and
“ you may depend upon it, that I shall upon this and all
“ Occasions have as much Regard to the Ease of my Peo-
“ ple, as shall be consistent with their Safety.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ The many Proofs I have had of the Affection and
“ Loyalty of this Parliament leave me no Room to doubt
“ of your steady and vigorous Perseverance, in Support of
“ my Person and Government upon this Occasion.”

Motion for an Ad-
dress of Thanks.

The Commons being return’d to their House, it was
mov’d, ‘ That an humble Address be presented to his Ma-
jesty, to return him the dutiful and unfeigned Thanks of
this House for having graciously communicated to his Par-
liament, that he has receiv’d Intelligence of an Invasion in-
tended from Spain against these Kingdoms ; and to assure
his Majesty that this House will support him with the ut-
most Vigour and Efforts to defeat so extraordinary an At-
tempt : And to desire that his Majesty would give the ne-
cessary Orders to strengthen and augment his Forces by Sea
and Land, in such Manner as he, in his great Wisdom,
shall think fit ; assuring his Majesty that this House will
effectually make good any Increase of Expence that shall
arise from such an Augmentation, and effectually enable his
Majesty not only to disappoint the Designs of his Enemies,
both at Home and Abroad, but by the Blessing of God turn
them to their own Confusion.’ None of the Members did
directly oppose this Motion, only Mr W — took this Op-
portunity to find Fault with the Administration ; particularly
with Respect to the sending a Fleet into the Mediterranean,
whilst Great Britain was left naked, and expos’d to the In-
sults of a provok’d Enemy Abroad. He also reflected on
some Steps, whereby the Discontents had been much en-
creas’d at Home ; and, among others, took notice of a
Bill lately brought into the House of Lords, [*meaning an
Act for settling the Peerage of Great Britain*] which could
not fail making most of the Scots Peers implacable En-
emies.’ He added, ‘ That tho’ he could not forbear blaming
the Conduct of the Ministers in some Particulars, yet he

Debate thereon.
Mr W ———

still

still retain'd the same Thoughts with Respect to his Majesty, and would readily concur with the House, in giving him the most hearty Proofs of their Zeal and Affection for his Majesty's Person and Government; and even go so far as to give his Vote for suspending the *Habeas Corpus Act*, in Case of Necessity; but that, in his Opinion, it became the Wisdom of that House, to know whether the Advices his Majesty had receiv'd of an intended Invasion, were well ground'd, before they either alarm'd the Publick, or engag'd the Nation in needless Expences.' This Speech was answer'd by Mr Craggs, who said, 'That as to what has been suggested about the Peerage Bill, that Affair being yet depending in the other House, it was unparliamentary to take Notice of it, before it came regularly before them: But that however, he would before-hand venture to say, That as it was a most gracious Condescension in his Majesty, to suffer a Branch of his Royal Prerogative to be restrain'd, in order to secure the Liberty of Parliaments, so he doubted not, that when that Bill came down to them, it would be unanimously approv'd. That as to the Advices the King had communicated to his Parliament of the Invasion with which his Dominions were threaten'd, tho' it was unusual for the Sovereign to declare his Intelligence, yet his Majesty had been most graciously pleas'd to tell them from whence he receiv'd his Information. That therefore it would be want of Respect, to question his Majesty's Intelligence; and he was sure no Member of that House had Authority to do it. That he hop'd there was no great Danger from the Invasion with which they were threaten'd: but that it would be the highest Piece of Imprudence not to take all the necessary Precautions to repel any Insults from the Spaniards, and to defeat all the Designs of his Majesty's and the Nation's Enemies, both at Home and Abroad. And as to the Conduct of his Majesty's Ministers, on which that Member [Mr W——] was pleas'd to reflect, if a Motion were made for appointing a Day to inquire into the same, he would readily second it.' After this, the Motion, for an Address to his Majesty pass'd into an unanimous Resolution, and without losing Time in drawing it up in Form, it was farther resolv'd, That the said Resolution be laid before his Majesty by the whole House; which being done accordingly the next Day, the King return'd this Answer.

Anno 4. Geo.
1714-15.

Mr Craggs.

The Address resolv'd on, and laid before the King.

Gentlemen,

" I Take this Address as a fresh Instance of that Duty and Affection which you have so often express'd for my Person and Government. I trust in God it will enable me to defeat the Designs of our Enemies, and to provide

His Majesty's Answer thereto.

B b 2

Ann 5. Geo. I.
1719.

“ effectually for what is dearest to me, the Security and
“ Welfare of my People.”

Mr Freeman's
Motion for ad-
journing the Call
of the House.

April 14. Upon reading the Order of the Day for the House to be call'd over, Mr Freeman made a Speech importing, ‘ That some Weeks before, he thought it necessary that the absent Members should be summon'd to attend the Service of the House, in order to oppose some dangerous Alterations [*meaning the Peerage Bill then depending in the House of Lords*] which were intended to be made ; and that he observ'd, with a great deal of Satisfaction, that the Summons had not been ineffectual, since there was so great, and so unusual an Appearance of Members ; which shew'd that all true Patriots were resolv'd to exert their Zeal and Efforts in Defence of our excellent Constitution : But that he hoped, that by this Time the Danger was pretty well over, and that the Contrivers of that Project began already to repent it ; that therefore he thought it unnecessary to give the Members the Trouble of calling over the House ; and since they had dispatch'd all the publick Business that lay before them, they had best adjourn themselves to the 17th.’ Accordingly the Call of the House was adjourn'd to that Day ; to which Time likewise the House adjourn'd themselves.

April 18. The King came to the House of Peers, and the Commons attending, his Majesty gave the Royal Assent to several Bills ; after which the Lord Chancellor read his Majesty's Speech to both Houses as follows, *viz.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech at
putting an End
to the Fourth
Session.

“ I Am now come to put an End to this Session, in which
“ you have shewn many great and seasonable Proofs of
“ your Duty and Affection to my Person and Government,
“ and of your Care for the Safety and Welfare of, your
“ Fellow-Subjects.

“ By the Blessing of God on our Endeavours, we have
“ hitherto disappointed the ill Designs of our Enemies,
“ who flatter'd themselves with Success from our unhappy
“ Divisions.

“ We perceive by the rash and wicked Counsels which
“ have lately prevail'd in the Court of Spain, that the de-
“ sperate and extravagant Projects of one ambitious Man,
“ though not capable of giving Fears to their Neighbours,
“ may occasion to them some Expence and Trouble.

“ That Court being influenc'd by Counsels odious and
“ destructive to the Spaniards, who find themselves neglect-
“ ed and oppress'd, after having endeavour'd to foment
“ Conspiracies and Seditions both here and in France, and
“ stoop'd

“ stoop'd to Practices unusual, accompanied by Manifestoes,
 “ of a Style unheard of among great Princes, has at last
 “ proceeded to acknowledge the Pretender.

“ As this News has given great Surprize to all Europe, I
 “ question not but it will be receiv'd by every good Briton
 “ with Indignation and Contempt.

“ It is our Happiness, at this Juncture, to find ourselves
 “ assisted by the greatest Powers of Europe, against an Ene-
 “ my that has no Allies, but those who would betray the
 “ Governments under which they live and are protected.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I thank you very heartily for the Supplies you have
 “ granted me this Year. The Manner in which you have
 “ rais'd them without any new Burden to my People, the
 “ great Addition you have made to the Fund for sinking
 “ the Debts of the Nation, the Discharge of the Exchequer
 “ Bills, and the Provision you have made to pay whatever
 “ remains justly due to Foreign States and Princes, are the
 “ strongest Proofs of your Wisdom, as well as of your
 “ Zeal for my Service, and the Good of your Country.
 “ You may observe I have hitherto been very cautious of
 “ making Use of the Power you have given me, to increase
 “ our Forces by Sea and Land. If our Enemies should
 “ oblige me to a greater Expence, it shall be employ'd for
 “ your Service. This is what the Trust you repose in me
 “ requires at my Hands, and what I owe to so dutiful and
 “ affectionate a House of Commons.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ There being nothing more desirable at all Times than
 “ a firm Union between Protestants, I reflect with Satisfac-
 “ tion upon the Law you have pass'd this Session, which
 “ will, I hope, prove effectual to that Purpose. As it is a
 “ signal Instance of Moderation and Indulgence in our
 “ establish'd Church, so I hope it will beget such a Return
 “ of Gratitude from all dissenting Protestants, as will great-
 “ ly tend to her Honour and Security, both which I shall
 “ ever have near at Heart.

“ I have always look'd upon the Glory of a Sovereign
 “ and the Liberty of the Subject as inseparable ; and I think
 “ it is the peculiar Happiness of a British King to reign over
 “ a free People. As the Civil Rights therefore and Privi-
 “ leges of all my Subjects, and especially of my two Houses
 “ of Parliament, do justly claim my most tender Concern,
 “ if any Provision design'd to perpetuate these Blessings to
 “ your Posterity remains imperfect, for want of Time,
 “ during this Session, maturely to discuss and settle Matters
 “ of so great Importance, I promise myself you will take
 “ the first Opportunity to render my Wishes for your Hap-
 “ piness

Anno 5. Geo. I.
1719.

“ pines compleat and effectual, and to strengthen the Union,
“ which is of so much Consequence to the Welfare of this
“ Kingdom.

“ If the Circumstances of my Affairs shall allow of my
“ going Abroad this Summer, I shall take the same Care
“ of your Interest as if I remain’d here. The many Ne-
“ gotiations which will be on Foot to restore the Peace of
“ the North, in which the Trade and Tranquility of this
“ Kingdom may be very much concern’d, will make my
“ Presence there of great Use to those my Dominions:
“ And as in that Case I design, by the Blessing of God, to
“ meet you early next Winter, I will only recommend to
“ you most earnestly, that, laying aside all Animosities,
“ you would, in your several Countries and Stations, use
“ your utmost Endeavours to preserve the publick Peace,
“ and see a due Execution of the Law.”

Then the Lord Chancellor prorogu’d the Parliament to
the 19th of May following; and they were afterwards, by
several Prorogations, farther prorogued to the 23d of No-
vember.



SPEECHES and DEBATES

In the FIFTH SESSION of the

First Parliament of King GEORGE I.

Anno 6. Geo. I.
1719.

THE King went to the House of Peers on the 23d
of November, with the usual State, when the Lord
Chancellor, by his Majesty’s Command, read the
following Speech to both Houses:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King’s Speech at
opening the Fifth
Session.

“ **T**HE Satisfaction, with which I always meet you,
“ is very much increas’d at this Time, when it has
“ pleas’d Almighty God so to strengthen the Arms of Great
“ Britain and our Confederates, and so to prosper our
“ several Negotiations, that, by his Blessing on our En-
“ deavours, we may promise our selves to reap very soon
“ the Fruits of our Successes. I am persuaded it will be
“ accounted, by all my good Subjects, a sufficient Reward
“ for some extraordinary Expence, that all Europe, as well
“ as these Kingdoms, is upon the Point of being deliver’d
“ from the Calamities of War by the Influence of British
“ Arms

“ Arms and Counfels. One Protestant Kingdom has already been reliev'd by our feasonable Interpoſition; and ſuch a Foundation is laid by our late Treaties for an Union amongſt other great Protestant Powers, as will very much tend to the Security of our Holy Religion.

“ I believe you cannot but be ſurpriz'd at the Continuation of a War, where our Enemies have nothing to hope, and ſo much to fear. It is indeed difficult to frame any Judgment of thoſe Counfels, which have broke out of late in ſo many raſh and ill-concerted Meaſures: If they depend upon our Diviſions at Home, I doubt not but in a very ſhort Time, their Hopes, founded upon this Expectation, will prove as vain and ill-grounded as any of their former Projects.

“ In congratulating with you on this happy Poſture of Affairs, I muſt tell you, that as I have been very juſt and faithful to my Engagements, ſo I have met ſuch frank and powerful Returns of Aſſiſtance from my Allies, as will, I doubt not, eſtabliſh a laſting Friendſhip among us.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

“ You will ſee, by the Accounts I have order'd to be deliver'd to you, how moderate a Uſe I have made of the Power entrusted with me to augment my Forces by Sea and Land. I depend upon the eminent Duty and Affection you have always ſhewn to my Perſon and Government, that you will be vigorous in diſpatching the neceſſary Supplies for the Year: To which Purpoſe I have order'd the Eſtimates to be laid before you. And, at the ſame Time, I muſt deſire you to turn your Thoughts to all proper Means for leſſening the Debts of the Nation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ You all muſt be ſenſible of the many undeferv'd and unnatural Troubles I have met with during the Courſe of my Reign. Our Diviſions at Home have gone magnified Abroad, and by inſpiring into ſome foreign Powers a falſe Opinion of our Force, have encourag'd them to treat us in a Manner which the Crown of Great Britain ſhall never endure while I wear it. The Trouble and Expence which this hath brought upon us have been the moſt loudly complain'd of by thoſe, who were the Occaſion of them. But with your Aſſiſtance I have hitherto got through all thoſe Difficulties, and by the Continuance of your Help, I hope very ſoon to overcome them, ſince the Hand of God hath ſo viſibly been with us in all our Undertakings.

“ If

Anno 6. Geo. I.
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“ If the Necessities of my Government have sometimes engaged your Duty and Affection to trust me with Powers, of which you have always with good Reason been jealous, the whole World must acknowledge they have been so used, as to justify the Confidence you have re-
pos’d in me. And as I can truly affirm, that no Prince was ever more zealous to increase his own Authority, than I am to perpetuate the Liberty of my People, I hope you will think of all proper Methods to establish and transmit to your Posterity the Freedom of our happy Constitution, and particularly to secure that Part which is most liable to Abuse. I value my self upon being the first who hath given you an Opportunity of doing it; and I must recommend it to you, to compleat those Measures which remain’d imperfect the last Session.

“ So far as human Prudence can foretell, the Unanimity of this Session of Parliament must establish, with the Peace of all Europe, the Glory and Trade of these Kingdoms on a lasting Foundation. I think every Man may see the End of our Labours. All I have to ask of you, is, that you would agree to be a great and flourishing People, since it is the only Means by which I desire to become a happy King.”

Earl of Hertford
moves for an Ad-
dress of Thanks.

Debate thereon.

Mr Shippen.

The Commons being return’d to their House, the Earl of Hertford mov’d for an Address of Thanks.

Tho’ this Motion was carry’d without dividing, yet it did not pass without Opposition. Mr Shippen in particular said, ‘ That no Man was more ready than himself to con-
cur in giving his Majesty unfeigned Assurances of the Zeal and Affection of that House to his Person and Government, in returning him Thanks for his Care and Endeavours to procure the Tranquility of Europe, and in congratulating his safe Return amongst us; but he could not forbear ob-
serving that his Majesty’s Speech contain’d many Heads, of different Nature, and of great Importance; and as he remembred that this House had formerly been reflectd on, for approving the Measures of the Ministry by the Lump, and without knowing what those Measures were, he there-
fore was of Opinion, they ought to proceed with Caution in this Juncture, the rather, because Mention was made in his Majesty’s Speech, of a Thing of the highest Conse-
quence, viz. the altering some Part of our Constitution; that it was plain enough that thereby was meant the Bill of Peerage; but it was surprizing, that this Affair should be brought again upon the Stage, after it had miscarry’d the last Session in the other House, and that the major Part of this House had express’d such an Aversion to it; concluding
with

with a Motion to congratulate his Majesty upon his safe Return, and to give him Thanks for Part of his Speech, and appoint a Day to take the rest into Consideration.' Mr Herne hereupon seconded Mr Shippen; but Mr Hungerford foreseeing, that if the House should divide, a Negative was like to be put upon Mr Shippen's Motion, said, 'That Addresses of this Nature were but customary Compliments; but he hoped that in the Course of this Session they should have Opportunities enough to inquire into the Grievances of the Nation, and the Conduct of the Ministry; that as to the Bill of Peerage in particular, since the Court seem'd to have it at Heart, he doubted not but it would soon pass the other House, and be sent down to them, and then, and no sooner, he hoped to see a great Division in that House.' Hereupon Mr Shippen wav'd his Motion.

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Mr Herne.
Mr Shippen.
Mr Hungerford.

Nov. 24. The House presented their Address to his Majesty, as follows.

May it please your Majesty,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, do return our most unfeigned Thanks to your Majesty for your most gracious Speech from the Throne; and assure your Majesty, that our Hearts are fill'd with unspeakable Joy upon your safe and happy Return to these your Kingdoms, and with the most just and grateful Sense of your unwearied Labours for our Welfare, and the Security of the Protestant Religion.

The Commons Address of Thanks.

We heartily congratulate with your Majesty on the Success of your British Arms, and return the Thanks of this House, in the most dutiful Manner, for such Measures taken by the Influence of British Counsels, as afford the nearest Prospect of a general Peace Abroad, and of enjoying with Glory the Benefit of Trade and Tranquility.

And we crave Leave to assure your Majesty, that we will, on our Parts, by the Vigour of our Resolutions for the Support of your Government, and by the Dispatch which we will give to the necessary Supplies, convince the World, that if our Enemies have conceiv'd any Hopes from our Divisions at Home, this hath been the vainest of all their Projects. And we will enable your Majesty, in Concert with your Allies, effectually to support and perfect those just and equitable Measures which have been taken to establish a general Peace.

And we farther assure your Majesty, That we will apply ourselves to find out the best Means for lessening the Debts of the Nation, and supporting the publick Credit; and will concur in all proper Methods to establish and

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preserve

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‘ preserve the Freedom of our happy Constitution, for
‘ which your sacred Majesty has given so many tender
‘ Proofs of your Care and Affection.’

To which Address the King return'd the following Answer.

Gentlemen,

The King's Answer
thereto.

“ **T**HIS loyal Address deserves my best Thanks. It
“ contains the most dutiful and affectionate Expressions
“ to my Person and Government; and you shall perceive
“ my Sense of them, by the Endeavours I will always use
“ to procure your Welfare and Prosperity.”

A Bill sent from the
Lords, For settling
the Peetrage of Great
Britain.

Debate thereon.

December 1. Upon a Message from the Lords, by the Lord Chief Justice King, and the Lord Chief Baron Bury, that the Lords had pass'd a Bill, intituled, *An Act for the Settling the Peetrage of Great Britain*, to which they desir'd the Concurrence of the Commons, the said Bill was read the first Time, and a Motion being made that the said Bill be read a second Time the Friday next ensuing, the same was oppos'd by a great many Members, who mov'd, That this important Affair might be put off to the 18th of this Month; which last Motion, after a long and warm Debate, was carry'd by a Majority of 203 against 158.

Debate on the second
Reading of
the Peetrage Bill.

Lord W. Paulet.
Sir Cha. Hotham.
Col. Moreton.
Mr Hampden.
Mr Craggs.
Mr Plummer.
Mr Lechmere.
Mr Aislable.
Serj. Pengelly.
Mr Hungerford.

Sir R. Steele.
Mr Pitt.
Sir Wilfr. Lawson.
Mr Hor. Walpole.
Mr Wykes.
Sir J. Packington.
Mr Methuen.
Mr Herne.
Mr Tuffnell.
Mr R. Walpole.
Mr J. Smith.

Dec. 7. The engrossed Bill from the Lords, intituled, *An Act for the Settling the Peetrage of Great Britain*, was read a second Time, and a Motion being made by the Lord William Paulet*, Member for Winchester, for committing the Bill, which was seconded by Sir Charles Hotham, the same occasion'd a warm Debate, which lasted eight Hours. The Members who spoke for committing the Bill, were Lord William Paulet, Sir Charles Hotham, Col. Moreton†, Knight of the Shire for Gloucester, Mr Hampden, Mr Craggs, Mr Plummer, Mr Lechmere, Mr Aislable, Serjeant Pengelly, and Mr Hungerford; Against committing it, Sir Richard Steele, Mr Pitt, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr Horatio Walpole, Mr Wykes, Sir John Packington, Mr Methuen, Mr Herne, Mr Tuffnell, Mr Robert Walpole, and Mr John Smith.

Sir Richard Steele spoke first against committing it, as follows,

Sir Rich. Steele's
Speech against the
Peetrage Bill.

Mr Speaker,

‘ I am against the Bill, because I fear it may change this
free State into the worst of all Tyrannies, that of an Ari-
stocracy

* Teller of the Exchequer.

† One of the Vice-Treasurers of Ireland. Afterwards created an English Baron.

tyranny, which is the most likely Consequence to attend such a Law as this would be : The whole Tenor of the Bill is very unfortunately put together, if any Thing, but an Addition of Power to the Peers, is intended by it. All Mankind must allow, that the only plausible Reason for this Law, was what happen'd in the last Reign, when twelve Peers were made in one Day ; but the Preamble assigns no such Reason, but says, ' That Sixteen Peers of Scotland, by Reason of many new Creations since the Union, are not a sufficient and proportionable Representative of that Nobility.' And therefore they shall hereafter not be represented at all : But, ' A Thing much more suitable to the Peerage of Scotland ought to be done for them', to wit, ' That twenty-five of them should, at all Times hereafter, have Hereditary Seats in Parliament.'

' I always imagin'd that no Man could judge what was suitable to him but himself ; and that it could be no Manner of Comfort to one who has any Thing taken from him, that the Possession of it is more suitably plac'd in another. How is it suitable to the Peerage of Scotland, that instead of having a Representative of sixteen sitting by their Election, they are hereafter to be favour'd with having five and twenty there instead of them, and not one there in their Behalf ? It must be confess'd, that the Peers of Scotland cannot complain of any Thing like being trick'd ; but their Potential Seats in Parliament are barr'd and taken from them, not by Collusion and Double-dealing, but by the most unreserved and candid Usurpation imaginable : But tho' this is done with so much Ease, and no Reason given but that they who do it are pleas'd to say it is most suitable ; it is to be presum'd, that those, whose Consent is necessary for the divesting innocent Men of their Liberty and Honour, will desire some better Account of the Matter, before they deprive their Fellow-Subjects of their undoubted Rights. I cannot but, from a natural Detestation of Injustice, say, that it is the highest Wrong done to the Indulgence mention'd in the Preamble, to expect it will be granted in Favour of any Men, in Wrong of any other ; and I doubt not but this House will alarm that Benignity from being employ'd to the Destruction of itself, or Oppression of others.

' I hope the best Man and best Prince in the World, will be gracious, so as to have it always in his Power to be gracious : I am sure he will never give his People any Reason to complain, but of his too great Goodness : Happy the Sovereign and happy the People, when excessive Grace is all that can be fear'd of him !

' The Peers of Scotland have an indefeasible Right by the Act of Union, to be elected and serve in Parliament as

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Peers of Great Britain, in the Manner therein stipulated, and it would be but more cruel, not more unjust, to take from them their Lives and Fortunes, than this Honour and Privilege, which their Ancestors purchas'd by the frequent Hazard of theirs: The Terms of the Union are plain and absolute; nor can any Privilege, Liberty, or Property secur'd by it to the meanest Subject of either Nation, be violated or alter'd against his Will, and no satisfactory Reparation done him, without Infringement of the whole Act, and leaving the Persons, so injur'd, at Liberty to avenge by Force what was done by it: For Protection and Obedience are reciprocal, and the withdrawing the one, discharges the other. What then is the Condition of these unhappy Men, who are to be divested of their Rights and Privileges of Subjects, and yet, no doubt, to be deem'd Traitors, should they fly to any foreign Power, or Invader of that Nation, which has in the dearest and greatest Considerations, those of Honour and Distinction, made them Foreigners? The Terms of the Union cannot be revok'd without disuniting the Kingdoms; for when that is done they are no longer held together by the Law, but by Force; and the Power which then keeps us together must be arbitrary, not legal; or if legal, not righteous: For a Law, not supported by Justice, is, in itself, null and void; nor are the Makers of it Legislators, but Oppressors. It appears, without any possible Contradiction, that the Parliament of Great Britain cannot exclude the Peers of Scotland from the Benefit of the 23d Article in the Act of Union without becoming an arbitrary Power, acting with an Indifference to Good and Evil, on the Foundation of Might only.

' We are safer under the Prerogative in the King, than we can be under an Aristocracy. The Prerogative is a Power in the Sovereign, not express'd or describ'd in the Laws, but to be exercis'd in the Preservation of them by the Rule of the general Good: And if it could be prov'd, that the Business of the twelve Gentlemen [*meaning the twelve Lords created by Queen Anne in the Time of the Earl of Oxford's Ministry*] was purely done to save the Nation, and that it was done for the Good of the Whole, the Statesman, who advis'd it, would deserve the Thanks of all Mankind, for exposing himself to the Misrepresentation and Resentment of future Parliaments, for the Good of his Fellow-Subjects.

' I will not pretend to doubt but those noble Personages have, under the Hands and Seals of all and every of their Electors, the Peers of Scotland, full Power and Authority for this Alteration, without which their Proceeding could not be reconcil'd to common Honour: And if the thirty odd,

add, who are to be enabled by this Bill, are to be made up by present Members of the House of Commons, such Members are to climb to Honour through Infamy.

' The Bill seems to me to be calculated for nothing but an Aristocracy, and, indeed, has not so much as the Appearance of any Thing else; for tho' a Man of Honour and conscious Integrity knows, that he is a Peer for the Sake of his Fellow-Subjects, and that this Right is vested in him and his Family for the Sake of Society, not for himself and Successors only, yet is there no Part of Society consider'd in this Bill, but merely the Peers and Nobles. The Lords exercise a Power in the last Resource; and an Appeal lies to them from all the Courts of Westminster-Hall, for determining all the Property of Great Britain, and yet they are willing to have a Law, which must necessarily disable them from being a capable Court of Justice for the future; for the Bill even provides for their Insufficiency as to this Purpose; and there is a Clause, which, instead of looking out for Great and Knowing Men, is very careful to leave the Power in the King to give Titles, in Case of Extinctions, to Minors: Much of the same Stamp is the Partiality of the Bill, that Females are excluded from their future Right; as if a Lady of good Sense, were not as capable of bringing into the World a Man of Sense, as a Boy, under Age, is of becoming a Man of Justice and Honour from the mere Recommendation of his Fortune; for it is not to be doubted, but that would be his best Pretensions; but Lords have thought it more eligible to have in View, the Providing rich Husbands for their Daughters from among the Commons, than the leaving it to their female Heirs, to make Lords of the Descendants of meritorious Commoners.

' Thus the Aristocracy is set out by this Bill; for all the Provisions and Limitations of it regard only the Titles and Honours of the Peers, and prodigious Care is taken, that no one should suffer from possible Contingencies and distant Incidents among themselves, but no Regard had to the known immediate present Rights of those who do not sit in their House, but have Title of Election into it: There is no Difficulty of destroying those whom they know to have Titles, but they are prodigious tender of hurting those who may have Titles, of which they do not know: The Lords will be Judges, and give and admit to whom they please incident Claims; but Extinctions are to be supply'd only by the King, and he might possibly give them to Persons they should not like. The Restraint of the Peers to a certain Number will make the most Powerful of them have the rest under their Direction; and all the Property dispos'd before them

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them will be bestow'd, not by Judgment, but by Vote and Humour, or worse. Judges so made by the blind Order of Birth will be capable of no other Way of Decision.

' It is said that Power attends Property ; but it is as true, that Power will command Property ; and, according to the Degeneracy of human Nature, the Lords may as well grow corrupt as other Men ; and if they should do so, how will this be amended, but by the Consent of those, who shall become so corrupt ? What shall we say then ? Shall we expose ourselves to probable Evils, with the Foresight of impossible Remedies against them ?

' It is hardly to be read seriously, when the Bill in a grave Style and sober Contradiction has these Words, viz. ' The twenty five Peers on the Part of the Peerage of Scotland ;' as if they who were made instead of the Peers of Scotland, could, without a Banter, be call'd Peers on the Part of the Peerage of Scotland ; the true Description of them is, Peers made when the Peers of Scotland were no more to be Peers ; for the Title resting in their Families, without Hopes of Succession in the Peerage and Legislature, is only a Bar against any Participation of Power and Interest in their Country : It is putting them into the Condition of Papists Convict, as to what ought to be most dear to them, their Honour and Reputation. It is held by true Politicians a most dangerous Thing to give the meanest of the People just Cause of Provocation ; much more to enrage Men of Spirit and Distinction, and that too with downright Injuries.

' We may flatter ourselves, that Property is always the Source of Power ; but Property, like all other Possessions, has its Effects according to the Talents and Abilities of the Owner ; and as it is allow'd, that Courage and Learning are very common Qualities in that Nation, it seems not very adviseable to provoke the greatest, and, for ought we can tell, the best Men among them. Thus we are barr'd from making this Law by prudential Reasons, as well as from the inviolable Rule of Justice and common Right, with Relation to the Scots Peers.

' If we consider the Matter with Regard to the King's Prerogative, this Law will diminish it to an irreparable Degree ; and it is a strange Time to take away Power, when it is in the Possession of a Prince, who uses it with so much Moderation, that he is willing to resign it : But we are to consider the Prerogative as Part of the Estate of the Crown, and not consent to the taking it out of the Crown, till we see just Occasion for it. His Majesty's Indulgence makes it safe in his Royal Breast ; and we know of nothing, any other of the Family has done, to alter it for fear of him.

' The

‘ The Prerogative can do no hurt, when Ministers do their Duty ; but a settled Number of Peers may abuse their Power, when no Man is answerable for them, or can call them to an Account for their Incroachments. It is said, and truly too, that the Manner of their Power will be the same as now ; but then the Application of it may be alter’d, when they are an unchangeable Body : Schemes of Grandeur and Oppression can be form’d to invade the Property, as well as Liberty, of their Fellow-Subjects ; which would, according to the present Establishment, be vain to undertake, when they are subject to an Alteration before their Project could be ripen’d into Practice and Usurpation.

‘ As for any sudden and surprizing Way of Creation, That lies before the Legislature for Censure ; and the great Diminution which all Creations bring upon the King’s Authority, is a sufficient Defence against the abusive Employment of that Authority this Way : For when the King makes Peers, he makes perpetual Opponents of his Will and Power, if they shall think fit ; which one Consideration cannot but render frequent Creations terrible to the Crown. This Constitution has subsisted in spite of Convulsions and Factions, without restraining or repressing the Extent of the Legislative Powers ; nor is it possible for any Man, or Assembly of Men, to circumscribe their distinct Authorities : No, they are to be left eternally at large ; and the Safety of each Part, and the Good of the Whole, are to be the Rules of their Conduct : And as ’tis impossible to foresee all the Circumstances which must arise before them, there is no safe Way but leaving them at large, as vigilant Checks upon each other, unconfined, but by Reason and Justice.

‘ If there was any Outrage committed in the Case of the twelve Gentlemen, the Peers should have then withstood the receiving of them, or done what they thought fit at another Season for their Satisfaction ; and not, when it is too late, instead of asserting their Liberties, mediate their future Security in unreasonable Concessions from the Crown, and Discouragements upon the Merits of the Commons : And can the Gentlemen in present Power reasonably think, that the Consummation of the English Glory and Merit, is to close and rest in their Persons ?

‘ After the Bill has sufficiently provided for the Aristocracy over these Dominions, it goes into a kind of OEconomy and Order among themselves, which relates to their Nobility and not to their Peerage. We plain Men and Commoners will not dispute about any Thing which we know to be merely trifling and ornamental ; and if they will be satisfy’d with a Power in them as Peers, they shall be Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, or whatever other Words they please,

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please, without our Envy or Opposition : But when we come seriously to consider what we are going to do, we must take the Liberty to be very jealous at the last Time that it may be in our Power to make a Stand for ourselves and Posterity ; and Noblemen cannot blame Commons, who are as shy in bestowing, as they are importunate in unging, the Grant of such a Power in themselves, which can be of no Use or Advantage but to themselves : At the same Time one cannot resist observing to them, that, with Respect to the Prerogative, the Petrage of Scotland, and the Rights of the whole Body of the People of Great Britain, they cannot be more exorbitant in the Use of this Bill, should it become a Law, than in the Circumstances under which they send it to us for our Concurrence ; and it is not Thirst of Power, but Moderation in the Demands made of it, which can recommend Men to farther Trust ; and I cannot but apprehend that what is founded on Usurpation, will be exercised in Tyranny.

‘ It is to be hoped, that this unreasonable Bill will be entirely rejected, since none can pretend to amend what is in its very Nature incorrigible ; for it would be in vain to attempt a good Superstructure, upon a Foundation which deserves nothing but Indignation and Contempt.

‘ It is a melancholy Consideration, that, under the Pressure of Debts, the Necessities of a War, the Perplexities of Trade, and the Calamities of the Poor, the Legislature should thus be taken up and employ’d in Schemes for the Advancement of the Power, Pride, and Luxury, of the Rich and Noble. ’Tis true, this Affair ought to be treated in a most solemn Manner, by Reason of the awful Authority from whence it comes ; but we must not, on such Occasions, be oppress’d by outward Things, but look to the Bottom of the Matter before us, divested of every Thing that can divert us from seeing the true Reason of what passes, and the Pretensions to what is ask’d.

‘ If this Bill is requir’d for preventing the Creation of occasional Peers, why, at the same Time, are five and twenty Scots, and eight English, to be now made ? Is not this the same Thing, as to say, If you will let us make so many this one Time, under the Sanction of a Law, we will make no more, for we shall have no Occasion for any more ? The latter End of this Bill seems to have some Compassion towards the Prerogative, and enacts something gracious towards the Descendants of the Sovereign, before the Commencement of the Aristocracy, viz. ~~It provides~~ *alibays nevertheless*.

‘ That nothing in this Act contain’d, shall be taken or constru’d to lay any Restraint upon the King’s Majesty, his Heirs or Successors, from advancing or promoting any
Peer

Peer, having Vote and Seat in Parliament, to any higher Rank or Degree of Dignity or Nobility; nor from creating or making any of the Princes of the Blood Peers of Great Britain, or Lords of Parliament; and such Princes of the Blood, so created, shall not be esteem'd to be any Part of the Number; to which the Peers of Great Britain are by this Act restrain'd.' This is the Grace and Favour, which, as soon as all their own Posterity, and Accidents that could befall them, are provided for, is most bounteously bestow'd on the Children of the Royal Family: As this Goodness is conferr'd on those of it, who are not yet intitled to that Honour, it is to be presum'd, that nothing vested in others of them will be assaulted; but that whatever becomes of this Bill, their present Estates, their then remaining Estates, will be still inviolable.

'Since there is so full a House at this Debate, I doubt not but it will infallibly end according to Justice; for I can never think the Liberty of Great Britain in Danger at such a Meeting; but for my Part, I am against committing of this Bill, because I think it would be committing of Sin.'

Mr Pitt, Member for Old Sarum, spoke next against the Projectors of this Bill, whom he tax'd with mean Obscquiousness to Foreigners, and with Designs against the Liberties of their Countrymen.' Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Member for Borough-bridge, and Mr Horatio Walpole, who spoke on the same Side, were answer'd by Colonel Moreton, Sir John Packington, Knight of the Shire for Worcester, spoke next as follows.

Mr Pitt.

Sir Wilfrid
Lawson.
Mr H. Walpole.
Col. Moreton.
Sir John Pack-
ington.

Mr Speaker,

'We have all the Reason in the World to acknowledge the good Intentions his Majesty has been pleas'd to express in his Speech for the Good of his Subjects and the Liberty of our Constitution; but, in my Opinion, his Majesty is not rightly inform'd of the Manner of making his Subjects feel the Effects of those gracious Intentions; and in particular, the Bill now before us is a very improper Return to all the Demonstrations of Duty, Zeal, and Affection, which his faithful Commons have given since his Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne. When the King and his Ministers thought fit to enter into a strict Alliance with France, and thereby give that ancient and almost irreconcilable Enemy of England, an Opportunity to retrieve the extreme low and desperate Condition of their Affairs, the Commons did not oppose those Measures. When his Majesty judg'd it necessary, either for the Good of his Subjects, or to secure some Acquisitions in Germany, to declare War against Sweden, and to send strong Squadrons into the Baltick, his faithful Commons readily provided for those great Expences. When af-

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terwards it was thought proper to deprive his Majesty's Subjects of the beneficial Trade to Spain, by declaring War against that Crown, and sending a Fleet into the Mediterranean to serve as Ferry-Boats for the Emperor's Troops, the good-natur'd Commons approv'd those wise Counsels: After all these and several other Instances of Obsequiousness and Complaisance, which this House has shewn for the Ministers, it is Matter of Wonder we should, at last, be no better rewarded, than by a Bill, visibly calculated to exclude the Commons from Titles of Honour, and to raise the Dignity and Power of the Peers. It seems to have been the principal Design of the Ministry, since the Beginning of this Reign in particular, to give one Family the absolute Disposal of all Honours and Favours. For my own Part, I never desire to be a Lord, but I have a Son, who may one Day have that Ambition; and I hope to leave him a better Claim to it, than a certain great Man [*meaning General Stanhope*] had, when he was made a Peer. It is indeed an extraordinary and unexampled Condescension in his Majesty, to part with so valuable a Branch of his Royal Prerogative, as is the bestowing Marks of Honour and Distinction on such as have deserv'd them, by their eminent Virtues and Services to their King and Country: However, considering what Equivalent is given by this Bill to his Majesty, no Body will wonder at this Concession, if it reach'd no farther than his Majesty; but I hope this House will never concur in depriving of so bright a Jewel of the Crown, the Prince, who, in his proper Turn, is to wear it; and who is so worthy of it by all the Royal Virtues that shine in his Person; and which, during his Regency, have gain'd him the Hearts and Affections of all true Englishmen. And if some Persons have, thro' their Indiscretion, occasion'd an unhappy Difference, I am apprehensive, that if this Bill, so prejudicial to the Rights of the presumptive Heir, should pass into a Law, it may render that Division irreconcilable; and therefore I am against the committing this Bill.'

Mr Hampden.

Mr Hampden answered one of the most material Objections against the Bill, viz. 'That it would give the Peerage an 'aristocratical Authority;' and endeavoured to shew on the contrary, 'That the Limiting the Number of the Peers would rather diminish than increase their Power and Interest, since these were mainly owing to the constant Addition of Riches which the Peerage receives by the ennobling of wealthy Commoners.' Mr Craggs spoke on the same Side, and urg'd, 'That his Majesty, since his Accession to the Throne, had had no other View than to procure the Good and Happiness of his Subjects, and to secure their Rights and Liberties. That having, in his Royal Wisdom, consider'd

Mr Craggs.

consider'd the Abuse that was made, in the last Reign, of that Branch of the Prerogative, relating to the Creating of Peers, which Abuse had brought the Liberties of Great Britain, and of all Europe, into imminent Danger; his Majesty, through a Condescension worthy of a Prince truly magnanimous, had graciously been pleas'd to consent, that such Bounds be set to that Part of the Prerogative, as may prevent any exorbitant and dangerous Exercise of it for the Time to come: That it was only in the Reigns of good Princes, that Legislators had Opportunities to remedy and amend the Defects to which all human Institutions are subject; and that, if the present Occasion of rectifying that apparent Flaw in our Constitution were lost, it might, perhaps, never be retriev'd.' Mr Methuen answer'd Mr Craggs, and shew'd the Danger of making Alterations in the Fundamental Laws and Ancient Constitution; ' Urging the Comparison of a Building, in which the Removing one single Stone from the Foundation, may endanger the whole Edifice.' Mr. Herne spoke on the same Side; after which Mr. Lechmere own'd, ' That he did not like this Bill, as it was sent down to them, yet he did not doubt but it might be made a good one, provided the Lords would give the Commons an Equivalent, and suffer them to share several Privileges and Advantages, which their Lordships enjoy. Therefore he insist'd on the committing of the Bill, that they might make Amendments to it; and as to the Objection, that it was dangerous to make any Innovations in the Constitution, he alledg'd several Instances, particularly, the Act for limiting the Succession, and the Act of Union, which, indeed, had alter'd, but, on the other Hand, had rather improv'd and strengthen'd, than prejudic'd the original Constitution.' Mr Robert Walpole spoke next, and endeavour'd to confute all that had been offer'd in Favour of the Bill. He took Notice, ' That among the Romans, the wisest People upon Earth, the Temple of Fame was plac'd behind the Temple of Virtue, to denote that there was no coming to the former, without going through the other: But that if this Bill pass'd into a Law, one of the most powerful Incentives to Virtue would be taken away, since there would be no coming to Honour, but through the Winding-Sheet of an old decrepit Lord, and the Grave of an extinct noble Family. That it was Matter of just Surprise, that a Bill of this Nature should either have been projected, or at least promoted, by a Gentleman who not long ago sat amongst them; [*meaning Lord Stanhope*] and who having got into the House of Peers, would now shut up the Door after him. That this Bill would not only be a Discouragement to Virtue and Merit, but also endanger

Mr Methuen.

Mr Herne,
Mr Lechmere.

Mr R. Walpole.

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our excellent Constitution: For as there was a due Ballance between the three Branches of the Legislature, if any more Weight were thrown into any one of those Branches, it would destroy that Ballance, and consequently subvert the whole Constitution. That the Peers were already possess'd of many valuable Privileges, and to give them more Power and Authority, by limiting their Number, would, in Time, bring back the Commons into the State of the servile Dependency they were in, when they wore the Badges of the Lords. That he could not but wonder, that the Lords would send such a Bill to the Commons; for how could they expect that the Commons would give their Concurrence to so injurious a Law, by which they and their Posterities are to be excluded from the Peerage? And how would the Lords receive a Bill by which it should be enacted, That a Baron should not be made a Viscount, nor a Viscount be made an Earl, and so on? That besides all this, that Part of the Bill which related to the Peerage of Scotland, would be a manifest Violation of the Act of Union, on the Part of England, and a dishonourable Breach of Trust in those who represented the Scots Nobility. That such an Infringement of the Union, would endanger the entire Dissolution of it, by disgusting so great a Number of the Scots Peers as should be excluded from Sitting in the British Parliament. For as it was well known, that the Revolution-Settlement stood upon the Principle of a mutual Compact, if we should first break the Articles of Union, it would be natural for the Scots to think themselves thereby freed from all Allegiance. And as for what had been suggested, 'That the Election of the sixteen Scots Peers was no less expensive to the Crown, than injurious to the Peerage of Scotland,' it might be answer'd, That the making twenty five Hereditary sitting Scots Peers would still encrease the Discontents of the electing Peers, who thereby would be cut off of a valuable Consideration for not being chosen.' Mr Aislachie stood up next, and answer'd a material Objection that had been rais'd against the Bill, viz. 'That it was dangerous to make any Innovations in the Constitution;' and made it appear, that several Alterations had been made in the original Constitution by *Magna Charta*, the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and several other Laws made for the Benefit of the Subject; and upon the whole was for committing the Bill. He was back'd by Serjeant Pengelly, but they were oppos'd by Mr Smith, who urg'd, 'That the Foundation of this Bill being wrong and faulty, there was no Room for Amendments, and therefore he was against committing it.' Mr Hungerford, who brought up the Rear, was for committing the Bill; but about

Mr Aislachie.

Serjeant Pengelly.
Mr J. Smith.

Mr Hungerford.

about Eight in the Evening, the Question being put upon the Lord William Paulet's Motion, the same was carry'd in the Negative, by a Majority of 269 Voices against 177. After this it was mov'd and resolv'd, by about the same Majority, that the Bill be rejected.

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The Peerage
Bill rejected.

The Reader will find a List of the Members, who voted for and against this remarkable Bill, in the *APPENDIX*.

January 22. The Commons in a grand Committee, took into Consideration that Part of his Majesty's Speech at the Opening of this Session, which relates to the publick Debts, and read the Account of those Debts, as they stood at the Exchange at Michaelmas 1719; as also a Proposal of the South-Sea Company, towards the Redemption and Sinking of the said Debts. But as this Proposal came short of what was expected, and the Friends of the Bank of England having represented, in Behalf of this last Corporation, the great and eminent Services they had done to the Government, in the most difficult Times, and which deserv'd at least, that if any Advantage was to be made by any publick Bargains, they should be preferr'd before a Company that had never done any thing for the Nation, the Consideration of that important Affair was put off till the 27th.

The Commons take into Consideration the King's Speech relating to the Publick Debts, and the Proposals of the S. Sea Comp. and the Bank.

Jan. 27. The Commons in a Grand Committee consider'd farther of the publick Debts; and the Bank of England having laid their Proposition before the Committee, whereby it appear'd, that they offer'd about two Millions Sterling more to the Government, in less Time than the South-Sea Company; it was thought fit to give the said Company some Time to consider farther on that Matter, which was thereupon put off till the first of February.

February 1. The Commons, in a Committee of the whole House, resum'd the Consideration of that Part of the King's Speech which relates to the publick Debts, as also the second Schemes, or Proposals, both of the South-Sea Company and of the Bank of England.

Debate concerning the Proposals of those two Companies.

These two different Schemes occasion'd a Debate, in which Mr Robert Walpole was the chief Person who stood up for the Bank; but Mr Aislacie made it appear that the Proposals of the South-Sea Company were more advantageous to the Publick; and it was at last resolv'd, That the Proposals made by the South-Sea Company be accepted. This Resolution being the next Day reported, was agreed to by the House, and a Bill thereupon order'd.

Mr R. Walpole.

Mr Aislacie.

The House resolve to accept the Proposals of the S. Sea Company.

March 4. An engross'd Bill from the Lords, intituled, *An Act for the better securing the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain*, was read a second Time; and a Motion being made for committing it to a Committee of the whole House, it occasion'd a Debate.

Debate on a Bill from the Lords, For securing the Dependency of Ireland.

Mr

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Mr Pitt.

Mr Walter
Plummer.

Sir J. Jekyll.

Mr Hungerford.

Lord Moleworth.

Lord Tyrconnel.
Mr Yorke.

The Bill, For
securing the De-
pendency of Ire-
land, pass'd.

The Bill, For
enabling the South
Sea Company to
increase their Ca-
pital Stock, pass'd
the House.

The King's Mes-
sage relating to
erecting Corpora-
tions for insuring
Ships and Mer-
chandize.

Mr Pitt first spoke against the Bill, saying, ' It seem'd calculated for no other Purpose than to increase the Power of the British House of Peers, which, in his Opinion, was already but too great. He was seconded by Mr Walter Plummer, who excepted against the Preamble of the Bill, as incoherent with the enacting Part, which was partly own'd by Sir Joseph Jekyll, who, in the main, spoke for the Bill. Mr Hungerford, on the contrary Side, endeavour'd to shew, That Ireland was ever independent, with Respect to Courts of Judicature: And he was supported by the Lord Moleworth, the Lord Tyrconnel, and some other Members: But Mr Philip Yorke *, having back'd Sir Joseph Jekyll; and the Question being put upon the Motion, it was carry'd in the Affirmative, by 140 against 83, and so the Bill was committed to a Committee of the whole House.

March 26. It was resolv'd, that the Bill, *For the better securing the Dependency of Ireland* do pass.

April 2. An engross'd Bill, *For enabling the South-Sea Company to increase their present Capital Stock, &c.* was read the 3d Time, and some Amendments having been made thereto by the House, the Question was put, that the said Bill do pass, which, after a Debate, was carry'd in the Affirmative, by 172 against 55, and the said Bill was sent up to the Lords for their Concurrence.

May 4. Mr Aislachie †, presented to the House the following Message from the King.

GEORGE R.

" HIS Majesty having receiv'd several Petitions from
" great Numbers of the most eminent Merchants of
" the City of London, humbly praying, that he would be gra-
" ciously pleas'd to grant them his Letters Patents for erect-
" ing Corporations to insure Ships and Merchandize; and
" the said Merchants having offer'd to advance and pay a
" considerable Sum of Money for his Majesty's Use, in
" Case they may obtain Letters Patents accordingly: His
" Majesty being of Opinion, that erecting two such Corpo-
" rations, exclusive only of all other Corporations and So-
" cieties for insuring of Ships and Merchandize, under pro-
" per Restrictions and Regulations, may be of great Ad-
" vantage and Security to the Trade and Commerce of the
" Kingdom, is willing and desirous to be strengthen'd by
" the Advice and Assistance of this House, in Matters of
" this Nature and Importance: He therefore hopes for their
" ready Concurrence to secure and confirm the Privileges
" his

* Made Solicitor General, March 23d, 1719-20.

† Chancellor of the Exchequer.

his Majesty shall grant to such Corporations, and to enable him to discharge the Debts of his Civil Government, without burdening his People with any new Aid or Supply."

Anne 5. Geo. 2.
1720.

Hereupon a Bill was order'd to be brought in, to enable his Majesty to grant Letters of Incorporation to the Uses and Purposes mention'd in his Majesty's Message.

A Bill order'd to be brought in, in Pursuance thereof.

May 6. A Motion was made by Sir William Wyndham, that an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleas'd to direct an Account to be laid before the House, of the Debts which were owing to the several Heads of Expence for his Majesty's Civil Government, at Lady-Day last, and also an Account of the Arrears of the Civil List Funds to pay the same; but the Question being put upon the said Motion, it pass'd in the Negative. On the other Hand, Mr Henry Pelham made a Motion for an Address to return his Majesty the Thanks of this House, for his gracious Condescension, in desiring the Advice of this House upon a Matter of such Importance, as the Insurance of Ships and Merchandize, and to acknowledge his Majesty's Goodness, in applying the Advantages arising to him from such Proposals, to the Use of his Civil Government, for the Support of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, without burdening his People with any new Aid or Supply; and to assure his Majesty, That this House would most readily concur to make his Majesty's most gracious Intentions effectual, for the Ease, Security, and Welfare of his trading Subjects.' Mr Pelham being seconded by Mr Robert Walpole, it was resolv'd to present the said Address, and a Committee was appointed to draw it up: It was likewise mov'd and carried to address his Majesty, I. For an Account of the Disposition of the 250,000 l. granted in the 3d Year of his Majesty's Reign, for enabling his Majesty to concert such Measures with foreign Princes and States, as might prevent any Charge or Apprehensions from the Designs of Sweden for the future. [See p. 125.] II. For an Account of what Pensions have been granted, and what Warrants for beneficial Grants have been issu'd by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, since the 10th Day of May 1719, to any Member of this House.

Motion for an Account of Debts owing for the Civil List, which is rejected.

Motion for an Address of Thanks to the King for his Message,

Which is agreed to.

An Address for an Account of the 250,000 l. granted against Sweden, Anne 1717; and for an Account of Pensions given to Members since the 10th of May 1719.

May 7. Mr Boscawen acquainted the House, that the King had given Directions, pursuant to the Desires of the House, express'd in those two Addresses; and, in the Afternoon, the Commons, in a Body, waited on his Majesty with their Address of Thanks for his Majesty's Message, as follows

Most

Ann. 6. Geo. 1.
1780.

The Commons Address of Thanks for the King's Address, relating to Insurance of Ships, &c.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, return your Majesty our humble Thanks, for communicating to this House the Application made to your Majesty for obtaining the Charters for insuring of Ships and Merchandizes. Your Majesty's being graciously pleas'd not to take any Steps, in a Matter of such Importance to the Trade and Commerce of the Kingdom, without the Advice and Concurrence of your Parliament, is an Instance of so much Condescension, as deserves the highest Returns of Duty and Thankfulness.

'We acknowledge your Majesty's Goodness, in applying to the Use of the Civil Government the Advantages arising to your Majesty from such Proposals. It is a great Satisfaction to your Commons, to see the Honour and Dignity of the Crown supported under the Difficulties, which the Necessity of your Majesty's Affairs may have occasion'd, without laying the Burden of any new Aid or Supply upon your People.

'And we beg Leave to assure your Majesty, that this House is resolv'd to render effectual your Majesty's gracious Intentions for the Ease, Security, and Welfare of your trading Subjects.'

To this Address the King return'd the following Answer.

Gentlemen,

His Majesty's Answer.

I Receive this Address as a particular Mark of your Affection to me. It is a new Proof to me and all the World, how much I can always depend upon it. I thank you for it in a particular Manner."

June 11. The King came to the House of Peers, and gave the Royal Assent to several Bills; after which his Majesty made the following Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech at concluding the Fifth Session.

I Am now come to put an End to this Session, which, tho' it hath advanc'd so far into the Summer, cannot be thought a tedious one, when we consider how much Business hath been done, and the great Advantages that may be expected from it.

"Your seasonable Vigour and Perseverance to support me in the Measures I have taken with my Allies, for restoring the Tranquility of Europe, have produc'd most of the Effects I could desire. Much the greatest Part of Christendom is already freed from the Calamities of War, and,

“ and, by what hath happen'd both Abroad and at Home,
 “ my People must be convinc'd, that their Welfare is in-
 “ separable from the Strength and Security of my Govern-
 “ ment.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I return you my Thanks for the Supplies you have
 “ rais'd for the Service of the current Year; and it is a
 “ particular Satisfaction to me, that a Method has been
 “ found out for making good the Deficiencies of my Civil
 “ List, without laying any new Burden upon my Subjects.
 “ The good Foundation you have prepar'd this Session for
 “ the Payment of the National Debts, and the Discharge
 “ of a great Part of them, without the least Violation of
 “ the publick Faith, will, I hope, strengthen more and
 “ more the Union I desire to see among all my Subjects,
 “ and make our Friendship yet more valuable to all Foreign
 “ Powers.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ You will see the good Effects which our Steadiness
 “ hath produc'd; there remains but little, on our Part, to
 “ satisfy the World, that more Credit, Security, and Great-
 “ ness, is to be acquir'd by following the Views of Peace,
 “ and adhering strictly to just Engagements, than by de-
 “ pending on the Advantages of War, or by pursuing the
 “ Measures of Ambition. To compleat what remains un-
 “ finish'd, I propose very speedily to visit my Dominions
 “ in Germany, hoping to put an End to those Troubles in
 “ the North, which are now reduc'd to a very narrow
 “ Compass. I flatter my self, that my Presence this Sum-
 “ mer in those Parts will prove useful to our poor Prote-
 “ stant Brethren, for whom you have express'd such sea-
 “ sonable and charitable Sentiments.

“ I doubt not but to meet you again next Winter, dis-
 “ pos'd to put a finishing Hand to all those good Works
 “ which, by your Assistance, I have brought so near to
 “ Perfection. I could wish that all my Subjects, con-
 “ vinc'd by Time and Experience, would lay aside those
 “ Partialities and Animosities which prevent them from
 “ living quietly, and enjoying the Happiness of a mild
 “ legal Government: It is what I chuse to recommend at
 “ this Time, when I am sensible, that all Opposition to it
 “ is become vain and useless, and can only end unfortu-
 “ nately for those who shall still persist in struggling against
 “ it. I am persuaded that, during my Absence, every one
 “ of you will take particular Care to preserve the Peace in
 “ your several Countries, and that I shall find you, at my
 “ Return, in such a State of Tranquility, as will shew
 “ Mankind how firmly my Government is establish'd;

V O L. I.

E c

“ which

Anno 6. Geo. I.
1720.

“ which I chiefly desire, because I think the Security and
“ Preservation of my People, and of this happy Constitu-
“ tion, depends entirely upon it.”

Then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's Command,
prorogu'd the Parliament to the 28th of July : After which
they were by several Prorogations farther prorogu'd to the
8th of December.

SPEECHES and DEBATES

In the SIXTH SESSION of the

First Parliament of King GEORGE I.

Anno 7. Geo. I.
1720.

P Ursuant to the last Prorogation of the Parliament,
the King came to the House of Lords, on the 8th of
December, and the Commons attending, the Lord
Chancellor, by his Majesty's Command, read the follow-
ing Speech to both Houses.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

King's Speech at
opening the Sixth
Session, wherein
his Majesty men-
tions particularly
the S. S. Calamity.

“ S Ince we last parted, the Face of our Affairs Abroad
“ is become more favourable ; The Peace in the South
“ only wants the Form of a Congress, and that of the
“ North is brought much nearer to a Conclusion. I shall,
“ at a proper Time, order the several Treaties I have made
“ to be laid before you ; by which you will perceive the
“ Success of our Endeavours to establish a Peace throughout
“ Europe, and to secure and support the Protestant Reli-
“ gion : At the same Time, I can never sufficiently express
“ my Concern for the unhappy Turn of Affairs, which
“ has so much affected the Publick Credit at Home.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I do most earnestly recommend it to you, that you
“ consider of the most effectual and speedy Methods to re-
“ store the National Credit, and fix it upon a lasting Foun-
“ dation. You will, I doubt not, be assisted in so com-
“ mendable and necessary a Work by every Man that loves
“ his Country, and especially by the several great Societies
“ of this Kingdom. I hope you will, on this Occasion,
“ remember, that all your Prudence, your Temper, and
“ Resolution, are necessary to find out and apply the pro-
“ per Remedies to our Misfortunes ; which will, if you
“ succeed, serve to increase that Reputation you have so
“ justly acquir'd, particularly, if you shall be able, notwith-
“ standing

“ standing these Difficulties, to discharge, a Part of the
 “ Publick Debt.

Anno 7. Geo. I.
 1726.

“ I have order'd the several Estimates to be laid before
 “ you of the Expence of the ensuing Year ; and must de-
 “ sire you to dispatch the Supplies necessary for them.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I am glad to observe to you, that our Trade does ap-
 “ pear to have been more extended this Year than in the
 “ preceding one ; we have the most flourishing Navy of
 “ any Nation whatsoever to protect it : And I hope you
 “ will turn your Thoughts to the best Methods for the Se-
 “ curity and Enlarging of our Commerce. You may de-
 “ pend on my hearty Concurrence to all such Provisions,
 “ as shall appear to you necessary for the Good of my
 “ People.”

The Commons being return'd to their House, Mr Pul-
 teney mov'd, ' That an humble Address be presented to his
 Majesty, to return him the Thanks of this House for his
 most gracious Speech from the Throne ; to express the Sa-
 tisfaction of his faithful Commons at the near Prospect
 there is of Peace being establish'd throughout Europe, by
 the Success of his Majesty's Endeavours ; to acknowledge
 his Majesty's great Goodness in his tender Concern for the
 Misfortunes of his People, occasion'd by the unhappy Turn
 of Affairs, that hath so much affected the Publick Credit of
 this Kingdom ; to assure his Majesty, that this House with
 at this critical Conjuncture, wherein his Majesty's Govern-
 ment and the Interest of his People are so highly con-
 cern'd, proceed with all possible Care, Prudence, and Tem-
 per, to inquire into the Causes of these Misfortunes, and
 apply the proper Remedies for restoring and fixing Publick
 Credit upon such solid and lasting Foundations, as may
 effectually give Ease and Quiet to the Minds of his Ma-
 jesty's Subjects ; and that this House will, with Readiness
 and Cheerfulness, grant the Supplies necessary for the Ser-
 vice of the ensuing Year, and consider in what Manner the
 Trade and Commerce of the Nation may be best secur'd
 and extended.'

Mr Pulteney's Mo-
 tion for an Address
 of Thanks.

Debate thereon.

Mr Henry Pelham *, Member for Seaford, seconded this
 Motion, but Mr Shippen offer'd a Clause to be added after
 the Words, *For restoring and fixing Publick Credit*, viz.
 ' As far as it is consistent with the Honour of Parliaments,
 ' the Interest of the Nation, and the Principles of Justice.'

Mr H. Pelham.
 Mr Shippen.

Mr Shippen's Reasons for this Addition, were, ' That
 in order effectually to remedy the present Misfortunes,

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[meaning

* His Majesty's Treasurer of the Chamber.

ANNO 7. GEO. 1.
1720.

Mr Bromley.

Sir W. Wyndham.

Lord Moleſworth.

[*meaning the fatal South-Sea Scheme*] it was absolutely neceſſary to maintain the Honour and Faith of Parliamentary Engagements, and to ſhew the higheſt Reſentment againſt thoſe, who, abuſing the Truſt repos'd in them, had given ſo fatal a Wound to Publick Credit, and enrich'd themſelves by the Plunder of the Nation: That, in his Opinion, the Managers of the South-Sea Project were not the moſt criminal, ſince there were thoſe above them, whoſe Duty it was to overlook and direct their Proceedings; and had thoſe at the Helm interpos'd in the Affair of the South-Sea, as they did in the Caſe of other Projects, they would have prevented that diſmal Calamity which has ſince befallen the Nation.' Mr Shippen was ſeconded by Mr Bromley, and Sir William Wyndham, who ſaid, ' That it would be a Diſgrace to a Britiſh Houſe of Commons, to ſhew, on this Occaſion, leſs Vigour and Spirit than the Parliament of Paris, then ſitting at Pontoife: That that Parliament was juſtly look'd upon as the Shadow of an Engliſh Parliament; and yet that very Parliament had, by their Firmneſs and Reſolution, carry'd their Point ſo far, as to get that Perſon remov'd from the Adminiſtration, whom they look'd upon as the Author of the preſent Miſfortunes of France.' The Lord Moleſworth, who ſpoke on the ſame Side, run over the King's Speech from the Throne, and ſaid, ' He was glad they were told, that the Peace in the South only wanted the Form of a Congreſs, which gave him Hopes, that the Difficulties ſtarted by Spain, in Relation to Gibraltar, were, at laſt, ſurmounted, and that we were like to preſerve that important Conqueſt of the preceding War, together with Port-Mahon, which would make us ſome Amends for the great Expence of Blood and Treafure we had lately been at, to conquer Sicily for the Houſe of Auſtria.' And ſpeaking of the South-Sea Calamity, he ſaid, ' That before they conſider'd of the proper Remedies, they ought to enquire into the Cauſe and Nature of the Diſtemper: That it is with the Body Politick, as with the Body Natural; and therefore they ought to imitate ſkilful Surgeons, who, in order to cure a Wound, begin with probing it, and, when they find it neceſſary, make Inciſions and Scarifications to get the venomous Core out of it, before they apply healing Plaſters; and that they who follow a contrary Method are but meer Empiricks, who, by uſing Palliatives, make the Sore rankle and feſter, and endanger the Life of the Patient. He own'd it had been by ſome ſuggeſted, that there was no Law to puniſh the Directors of the South-Sea Company, who were juſtly look'd upon as the immediate Authors of the preſent Miſfortunes: But that, in his Opinion, they ought, on this Occaſion, to follow

follow the Example of the ancient Romans, who having no Law against Parricide, because their Legislators suppos'd no Son could be so unnaturally wicked, as to embrace his Hands in his Father's Blood, made one to punish so heinous a Crime, as soon as it happen'd to be committed; and adjudg'd the guilty Wretch to be thrown alive, sew'd up in a Sack, into the Tyber.' Concluding, 'That as he look'd upon the Contrivers and Executors of the villainous South-Sea Scheme, as the Parricides of their Country, he should be satisfi'd to see them undergo the same Punishment.'

Sir Joseph Jekyll said, 'That as he doubted not but among the South-Sea Directors some might be innocent, and others criminal; so he was of Opinion, there were those, who were not Directors, no less, if not more criminal, than the Directors themselves; and who therefore deserv'd an equal, if not a severer Punishment:' Adding, 'That upon extraordinary Emergencies, where the Laws are deficient, the Legislative Authority may and ought to exert itself; and he hoped a British Parliament would never want a vindictive Power to punish National Crimes.' Mr Grey Neville, Mr Pitt, and some other Members, spoke also for the Clause offer'd by Mr Shippen: But, on the other Hand, it was represented by Mr Craggs, Mr Philip Yorke, and Mr Rob. Walpole *, 'That such a Restriction did but ill suit with an Address of Thanks; which, in their Opinion, ought to run in the usual Form, and answer, in general Terms, the several Heads of the Speech from the Throne: That as to the main Drift of that Clause, they thought it inconsistent with the Rules of Prudence, to begin this Session with irritating Inquiries: That if the City of London were on Fire, they did not doubt but all wise Men would be for extinguishing the Flames, and preventing the spreading of the Conflagration, before they inquir'd into the Incendiaries: That in like Manner, Publick Credit having receiv'd a most dangerous Wound, and being still in a bleeding Condition, they ought to apply a speedy Remedy to it; and that afterwards they might inquire into the Cause of the present Calamity.' Mr R. Walpole declar'd, 'That for his own Part, he had never approv'd the South-Sea Scheme, and was sensible it had done a great deal of Mischiefe: But since it could not be undone, he thought it the Duty of all good Men to give their helping Hand towards retrieving it: And that with this View, he had already bestow'd some Thoughts on a Proposal to restore Publick Credit, which, at a proper Time, he would submit to the Wisdom of that House.' Hereupon the Question being put for inserting the Clause

Sir J. Jekyll.

Mr Neville.
Mr Pitt.Mr Craggs.
Mr P. Yorke.

Mr R. Walpole.

* Appointed Paymaster General of his Majesty's Forces, June 4, 1720.

Anna 7. Geo. I.
1720.

Clause before-mention'd, it pass'd in the Negative, by 261 against 103.

Mr Milner.

Dec. 9. Upon the Report of the Address of Thanks, a Motion being made by Mr Milner, Member for Minehead, for inserting the Words, *And for punishing the Authors of our present Misfortunes*, and seconded by Sir Joseph Jekyll, the same was carry'd without dividing.

Dec. 10. The Commons, with their Speaker, waited on his Majesty with the abovemention'd Address, which is as follows.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

The Commons
Address of Thanks
for the King's
Speech.

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, beg Leave to return your Majesty our most dutiful and hearty Thanks for your most gracious Speech from the Throne.

We can never sufficiently express our Gratitude to your Majesty, for your constant Care of the true Interest of your Subjects, nor the Satisfaction of your faithful Commons, in seeing that the just Influence of your Majesty's Councils Abroad, has procur'd so near a Prospect of a general Peace throughout Europe; which is a fresh Instance to them, that your Majesty places your Greatness only in the Prosperity and Happiness of your People.

If any Thing could more effectually endear your Majesty to us than the Mildness of your Government, it would be that tender and affectionate Concern you express for the present Misfortunes of your People, occasion'd by the unhappy Turn of Affairs, that hath so much affected the Publick Credit of this Kingdom.

But your faithful Commons are met together with Minds fully dispos'd to take the most just and effectual Methods, and to do every Thing that becomes an affectionate Parliament, at this critical Conjuncture, wherein your Majesty's Government, and the Interest of your People, are so highly concern'd, to restore and fix the Credit of this Nation upon such solid and lasting Foundation, as may effectually give Ease and Quiet to the Minds of your Majesty's Subjects: And we flatter ourselves, that our Undertaking will be the more easy, since we are determin'd to proceed with all possible Prudence, Temper, and Resolution, to inquire into the Causes of our present Misfortunes; and, with the maturest Deliberation, apply ourselves to find out the most proper Measures for redressing them, and for punishing the Authors of them.

The Improvement of our Trade is of so publick a Concern, and so necessary for the Support and Power of this

“ this Kingdom, that we will employ our utmost Endeavours to consider in what Manner the Commerce of the Nation may be best secur’d and extended.

“ And we beg Leave to assure your Majesty, that we will, with all Cheerfulness and Unanimity, grant the Supplies which shall be necessary for the Service of the ensuing Year and the Support of your Government, upon which the Happiness of the Nation, the Liberty of your Subjects, and the Security of our Religion so entirely depend.”

To which the King return’d the following Answer.

Gentlemen,

“ I Return you my hearty Thanks for this Address; and as I depend on your applying a speedy Remedy to the present Distress, I am persuaded you will take the most prudent Measures to make it effectual.”

His Majesty's Answer thereto.

Dec. 12. The Commons, in a grand Committee, consider'd of the Motion to grant a Supply to his Majesty, which was unanimously agreed to. After this Mr Grey Neville mov'd, 'That the Directors of the South Sea Company should forthwith lay before the House an Account of their Proceedings: He was seconded by Mr Pitt, and back'd by Lord Moleworth. The Courtiers being surpriz'd at this unexpected Motion, Mr Craggs thereupon endeavour'd to shew, 'That it was preposterous; and that the House having already appointed a Day to resolve into a grand Committee, to consider of the present State of the publick Credit of this Kingdom, the same would naturally bring on the Inquiry into the Conduct of the South-Sea Directors.' Mr Craggs was seconded by Lord Hinchinbroke, and by Mr Horatio Walpole*, who own'd indeed, 'That the South-Sea Scheme was weak in its Projection, villainous in its Execution, and calamitous in its End; but that, in his Opinion, they ought to begin with applying a Remedy to the Evil.' Mr Robert Walpole added, 'That, as he had already declared, he had spent some Time upon a Proposal for that Purpose; but was apprehensive, that if they went on in a warm, passionate Way, the said Scheme might be render'd altogether impracticable; therefore he desir'd, that the House would proceed regularly and calmly, lest by running precipitately into odious Inquiries, they should exasperate the Distemper to such a Degree, as to render all Remedies ineffectual.' Sir Joseph Jekyll, on the other Hand, fet

Mr Neville moves for the Directors of the S. S. Company to lay before the House an Account of their Proceedings.

Debate thereon.

Mr Pitt.

Ld. Moleworth,

Mr Craggs.

Ld. Hinchinbroke.

Mr H. Walpole.

Mr R. Walpole.

Sir J. Jekyll.

* Appointed Secretary to the Duke of Grafton, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, June 11. 1720.

Anno 7. Geo. 1.
1720.

Mr G. Lawfon.
Mr Neville's Mo-
tion agreed to.

Mr Pitt complains
of the Dilatoriness
of the S. S. Direc-
tors in producing
their Accounts.

The said Accounts
presented to the
House.

The Consideration
of the State of the
publick Credit ad-
journ'd.

set forth the Necessity of examining, without the least Delay, into the Conduct of the South-Sea Company; to see whether they had made good their Engagements, and strictly follow'd the Rules prescribed to them by the Act pass'd last Session of Parliament in their Favour; urging, 'That this was the most natural Way of proceeding in an Affair of so great Importance: That, on the contrary, it seem'd absurd to attempt the Cure of a Distemper before they were acquainted with it: But that as soon as it was thoroughly discover'd, he hoped that wise Assembly should not want Schemes to apply proper Remedies to it.' Mr Gilfrid Lawfon having supported Mr Neville's Motion, the Courtiers thought fit no longer to oppose it; so that the same was agreed to without a Division, and an Order was made by the House accordingly.

Dec. 14. Mr Pitt complain'd of the Dilatoriness of the South-Sea Directors in complying with the Orders made on the 12th Instant by the House, and was seconded by Sir Joseph Jekyll: But Sir Theodore Janssen, Member for Yarmouth, and one of the South-Sea Directors, having assur'd them, that the next Day Part of the Papers call'd for would be laid before them, the House acquiesc'd.

Dec. 15. The Sub-Governor and Deputy-Governor of the South-Sea Company presented to the House several Papers, with a Schedule of them, which was read. Hereupon it was order'd, that the said Papers be refer'd to the Committee of the whole House, who were to take into Consideration the present State of the publick Credit of this Kingdom. Then the House resolv'd itself into the said Committee; and after the reading of those Papers, which lasted 'till about four in the Afternoon, Mr Sloper*, Member for Bedwin, Mr Plummer, Mr Milner, Sir Richard Steele, and Mr Lawfon, made several Exceptions to the Conduct of the South-Sea Directors, and, in particular, to their lending out vast Sums of Money belonging to the Company, without being duly authoriz'd for that Purpose: But as the Committee could not regularly proceed in that Matter without exact Accounts of these Loans, the farther Consideration of the present State of the publick Credit was adjourn'd to the 19th; and, in the mean Time it was order'd, that the Directors of the South-Sea Company should lay before the House several Papers relating to that Affair.

Dec. 19. Mr Farrer reported to the House eight Resolutions of the Committee on the Supply, seven of which were agreed to, but the other, viz. 'That the Number of effective Men to be provided for Guards and Garrisons in Great Britain,

* Secretary to the Pay-Master General.

‘ Britain, &c. for the Year 1721, including 1859 Invalids, be 14,294 Men, Commission and Non-Commission Officers included,’ being read a second Time, Mr Shippen represented, ‘ That a general Peace being so near a Conclusion, Part of the Land Forces, now on Foot, might well be spar’d, and the saving Sum apply’d towards repairing the publick Calamity ; and therefore he mov’d, That the said Resolution be recommitted.’ He was back’d by Mr Bromley, Sir William Wyndham, and Mr Hungerford ; but was oppos’d by Mr Robert Walpole, Mr Horatio Walpole, Mr Smith, and some others, who endeavour’d to shew, ‘ That the Number of our Forces was so moderate, that it could hardly be lessen’d, even altho’ a general Peace were concluded, without exposing the Nation either to Foreign Insults, or Domestick Factions ; and therefore it were highly imprudent to make any Reduction in the Army before the Conclusion of the Peace : That, on the other Hand, the Sum that might be sav’d by disbanding 3 or 4000 Men, was very inconsiderable, and ought not to come in competition with the Advantage of being in a Posture of Defence ; since nothing contributes more to the publick Credit of a free Nation, than the being in a Condition not to fear any Thing, either at Home or Abroad.’ The Question being put upon Mr Shippen’s Motion, it pass’d in the Negative, without dividing.

The Commons being in a grand Committee to take into farther Consideration the present State of the publick Credit of the Kingdom, Sir Joseph Jekyll mov’d, That a select Committee be appointed to inquire into all the Proceedings relating to the Execution of the South-Sea Act, and was seconded by Mr Gilfrid Lawfon. But Mr Robert Walpole having represented, ‘ That the proceeding in that Manner would take up a great deal of Time, and that the publick Credit being in a bleeding Condition, they ought to apply a speedy Remedy to it ; that Motion was not insisted on. After this Mr Sloper shew’d, ‘ That the present Calamity was mainly owing to the vile Arts of Stock-Jobbers, whereby the publick Funds were wound up far above their real Value ; which being readily assented to, the Committee came to this Resolution, viz. That nothing can tend more to the Establishment of publick Credit, than preventing the infamous Practice of Stock-Jobbing. Then, Mr Robert Walpole acquainted the Committee, ‘ That, as he had hinted some Days before, he had spent some Time upon a Scheme for restoring publick Credit ; but that the Execution of it depending upon a Position, which had been laid down as a Fundamental, he thought it proper, before he open’d the said Scheme, to be inform’d, whether he might rely on

Anno 7. Geo. I.
1720.

Mr Shippen moves for recommitting the Resolution relating to the Number of Land Forces. Debate thereon.

Mr Bromley.
Sir W. Wyndham.
Mr Hungerford.
Mr R. Walpole.
Mr H. Walpole.
Mr J. Smith.

The Commons in a grand Committee consider farther of the State of publick Credit.

Debate thereon.
Sir J. Jekyll.
Mr Lawfon.
Mr R. Walpole.

Mr Sloper.

Mr R. Walpole acquaints the House of his having a Scheme for restoring publick Credit.

Debate thereon.

Anno 7. Geo. I.
1720.

that main Foundation, viz. ' Whether the Subscriptions of ' publick Debts and Incumbrances, Money Subscriptions, ' and other Contracts made with the South-Sea Company, ' should remain in the present State ? ' This Question being stated, occasion'd a warm Debate, which lasted 'till near Eight in the Evening, when it was at last resolv'd by 259 Voices against 117, that all the Subscriptions of publick Debts and Incumbrances, and other Contracts made with the South-Sea Company, by Virtue of an Act made last Session, remain in the present State, unless alter'd for the Ease and Relief of the Proprietors by a general Court of the South-Sea Company, or set aside by due Course of Law.

A Bill ordered to prevent Stock-Jobbing.

Dec. 20. Mr Farrer reported the Resolution of the grand Committee on publick Credit; which, with some Amendments, was agreed to by the House, viz. ' That it will very ' much contribute towards the establishing publick Credit, to ' prevent the infamous Practice of Stock-Jobbing: ' and a Bill was order'd to be brought in thereupon.

Mr R. Walpole presents his Scheme to the House for restoring publick Credit, viz. by ingrafting nine Millions of S. S. Stock into the Bank, and nine Millions more into the East India Company.

Dec. 21. The House resolv'd itself into a grand Committee, and Mr Robert Walpole laid before them a new Scheme to restore publick Credit, which was, in Substance, to ingraft nine Millions of South-Sea Stock into the Bank of England, and the like Sum into the East-India Company, upon the Conditions therein mention'd. Mr Hutcheson, and other Members, made some Exceptions to that Scheme; but none offering a better Remedy for the present Misfortunes, Mr Farrer, the Chairman, was directed to move the House, and it was accordingly order'd, That the said Committee have Power to receive Proposals from the Bank of England, the South-Sea Company, and the East-India Company, towards restoring publick Credit.

Mr Treby moves for a Bill, To prevent Mutiny and Desertion.

Debate thereon.
Lord Carpenter.
Sir J. Jekyll.

January 4. Mr Treby*, Member for Plympton, mov'd for bringing in a Bill, *To prevent Mutiny and Desertion, &c.* and was seconded by the Lord Carpenter†, Member for Whitchurch. Hereupon Sir Joseph Jekyll said, ' He could not but be surpriz'd to see a Bill mov'd for so early, which seldom or never used to be brought in 'till towards the End of a Session: That such a Hurry seem'd to be intended to stop the Prosecution of the Authors of the present Misfortunes: That they all very well knew that their Days were number'd, and that as soon as they had dispatch'd the Money Bills and the Bill now mov'd for, they should immediately be dispatch'd Home: That therefore he was for staying those Bills, until they had done Justice to the Nation,

* Secretary at War.

† Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's Forces in Scotland, Governor of Minorca and Port-Mahone, and Colonel of a Regiment of Dragoons.

tion, who call'd aloud for it.' Mr Craggs said thereupon, ' He wonder'd to see any Opposition made to a Bill so necessary for the Safety of the Government, especially by a Person who had receiv'd signal Favours from the Crown.' Upon this Lord Moleworth stood up, and said, ' Mr Speaker, Is it come to this, that every Man who has a Place must do all the Drudgery that is enjoin'd him? This may be true of some Underlings; but I don't believe it, I am sure 'tis false, of King George: He commands his Servants nothing, but what is according to the Laws, and for the Good of his Subjects.' Then Sir Joseph Jekyll added, ' That he was as zealous as any Man for the Service of the King and his Government: But he was of Opinion, that the doing Justice to the Nation, and punishing those who had brought it into the present calamitous Condition, was the most effectual Way both to serve the King, and at the same Time to discharge their Duty to their injur'd Country: ' Concluding, however, that he did not oppose the bringing in of the Bill in Question, which was thereupon order'd to be brought in.

After this, according to the Order of the Day, the Commons were to go into a grand Committee to take into farther Consideration the present State of the publick Credit of this Kingdom: But Sir Joseph Jekyll resuming his Speech, represented, ' That before they proceeded any farther, they ought to secure the Persons and Estates of those they had reason to look upon as the Authors of the publick Misfortunes; and therefore he mov'd, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill to restrain the Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, Directors, Treasurer, Under-Treasurer, Cashier, Secretary, and Accomptant of the South-Sea Company, from going out of this Kingdom for the Space of one Year, and until the End of the next Session of Parliament; and for discovering their Estates and Effects, and for preventing the transporting or alienating the same.' He was seconded by Mr Horatio Walpole, who gave some Instances both of the unfair Methods by which the South-Sea Directors, and their Officers, had got immense Riches, and of their Pride and Insolence. Serjeant Pengelly, Sir Robert Raymond *, Sir Philip Yorke, Mr Spencer Cowper, and Mr Jefferies, having likewise supported Sir Joseph Jekyll's Motion, it was carry'd *Nem. Con.* and order'd, that the said Bill be brought in accordingly.

Upon this Mr Shippen express'd his great Satisfaction, to see a British House of Commons resume their pristine Vigour and Spirit, and act with so great Unanimity for the publick

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1720-21.

Mr Craggs.

Ld. Moleworth

Sir J. Jekyll moves for a Bill for restraining the Governor, Directors, &c. of the S. S. Company from going out of the Kingdom, &c. which is ordered to be brought in.

Debate thereon.

Mr H. Walpole.

Serj. Pengelly.
Sir Rob. Raymond.
Sir Philip Yorke.
Mr Spen. Cowper.
Mr Jefferies.

Mr Shippen.

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* Appointed Attorney General, May 5. 1720.

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Mr Craggs.

Ld Moleworth.

Mr Craggs.

A Committee of
13 appointed to in-
quire into all the
Proceedings of the
S. S. Directors, &c.

Ld. Hinchinbroke
moves for taking
the Sub-Governor,
Directors, &c. of
the S. S. Company
into Custody, which
is opposed by Mr
Lechmere.

The Commons take
into Consideration
the Proposals from
the S. S. Company,
for ingrafting nine
Millions of their
Stock into the East-
India Company,
and nine more into
the Bank.

Debate thereon.

publick Good, He own'd the Necessity of securing the Persons and Estates of the South-Sea Directors, and their Officers : But said, ' That, in his Opinion, there were some Men in great Stations, whom, in Time, he would not be afraid to name, who were no less guilty than the Directors.' Mr Craggs being somewhat nettled at this, said, ' That he was ready to give Satisfaction to any Man that should question him, either in that House or out of it.' This Expression gave no small Offence ; and thereupon the Lord Moleworth replied, ' That he had the Honour to be a Member of that House upwards of thirty Years, and never before now knew any Man bold enough to challenge the whole House of Commons, and all England besides : That for his Part, tho' past sixty, he would answer whatever Mr Craggs had to say within the House, and hoped there were young Members enough, that would not be afraid to look him in the Face out of the House.' Upon this Mr Craggs seeing the House in a great Ferment, got up again, and said, ' That by giving Satisfaction, he meant clearing his Conduct.' As soon as this was over, the House debated in what Manner they should proceed in the intended Inquiry, whether in a grand or a select Committee. After long Disputes on both Sides, it was resolv'd, *Nem. Con.* That a Committee of thirteen, to be chosen by Ballotting, be appointed to inquire into all the Proceedings relating to the Execution of the South-Sea Act. This done, the Lord Hinchinbroke represented, ' That it was to be fear'd, that before the Bill order'd to be brought in against the Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Directors of the South-Sea Company, was gone through both Houses, the most criminal amongst them might withdraw themselves out of the Kingdom ; and therefore his Lordship mov'd, that they might be immediately order'd into Custody : ' But Mr Lechmere, having shew'd the Inconveniences that might ensue thereupon, that Motion was dropt.

Jan. 5. In a grand Committee, the Commons took into Consideration the Proposals laid before the said Committee by the South-Sea Company, for ingrafting nine Millions of their Stock into the East-India Company, and the like Sum into the Bank of England, as also the Proposals of the East-India Company and the Bank, for taking in the said Stock, and after some Debate, it was resolv'd, by 173 Voices against 130, that an Ingraftment of Part of the Capital of the South-Sea Company into the Capitals of the Bank of England and the East-India Company, pursuant to the several Proposals of the said Companies, will contribute very much to the restoring and establishing publick Credit. Mr Speaker having resum'd the Chair, the Court Party mov'd, that

That Mr Farrer, the Chairman of the grand Committee, should the next Day report the said Resolution ; but this Motion was strenuously oppos'd, and the Question being put thereupon, it pass'd in the Negative by a Majority of 153 Votes against 140 ; after which it was order'd, that the said Report be receiv'd on the 10th.

Jan. 10. The Sub-Governor of the South Sea Company presented to the House several States and Accounts that had been call'd for, and then Sir Joseph Jekyll presented to the House a Bill, *To restrain the Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, Directors, Treasurer, &c. of the South-Sea Company, from going out of this Kingdom, &c.* which was read the first, and order'd to be read a second Time the next Morning. After this, Mr Farrer reported from the Committee of the whole House, the Resolution above-mention'd, about the Ingraftment of nine Millions of South-Sea Stock, upon the respective Stocks of the Bank and East India Company ; and a Motion being made that the said Resolution be re-committed, it occasion'd a warm Debate, that lasted five Hours. Mr Sloper, Mr Clayton *, Member for Woodstock, Sir Joseph Jekyll, and some others, represented, ' That the Project before them was more like to prove a dangerous Palliative, than an effectual Remedy to the present Distemper ; and being founded on Injustice, would rather farther hurt than restore publick Credit.' Mr Hutchefon urged, ' That this Scheme seem'd to be calculated with the same View as the former, the ill Effects of which they intended to remedy, and rais'd several other Objections to the new Scheme, and insinuated, that if the Resolution in question were re-committed, he might propose something better for the restoring of publick Credit.' Mr Robert Walpole answer'd all Objections, and being strongly supported by Mr Craggs, Sir Robert Raymond, Sir Philip Yorke, and by several other Members ; the Question was put upon the Motion for recommitting the Resolution about the Ingraftment, which was carry'd in the Negative, by 267 Voices against 134. Then the House agreed to the said Resolution, and a Bill was order'd to be brought in thereupon.

Jan. 11. Serj. Mead reported the Names of the Committee appointed to inquire into all the Proceedings relating to the Execution of the South-Sea Act, viz. Mr Broderick, Mr Hutchefon, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr Wortley, Sir Tho. Pengelly, Mr William Clayton, Mr Jefferies, Lord Moleworth, Col. Strangeways, Mr Sloper, Mr Lechmere, General Ross, and Hon. Mr Dixie Windsor.

These Persons, or any five of them, were to report their Proceedings from Time to Time to the House, and to have Power

Sir J. Jekyll presents a Bill, *For restraining the Directors of the S. S. Company from going abroad, &c.*

Farther Debate on the Ingrafting Scheme.

Mr Sloper.
Mr Clayton.
Sir J. Jekyll.

Mr Hutchefon.

Mr R. Walpole.

Mr Craggs.
Sir Rob. Raymond.
Sir Philip Yorke.

A Bill in Pursuance of the Ingrafting Scheme ordered to be brought in.

Names of the Committee appointed to inquire into the Affair of the S. S. Company,

* Deputy-Auditor of the Exchequer.

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Power to send for Persons, Papers, and Records; and the several Books and Papers which had been laid before the House by the South-Sea Company, were referr'd to the said Committee.

Who are order'd
to be a Committee
of Secrecy.

Jan. 16. The Bill against the Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, and Directors of the South-Sea Company, was order'd to be engros'd; after which it was order'd, that the Committee, appointed to inquire into all the Proceedings relating thereto, be a Committee of Secrecy.

The Bill against
the S. S. Directors,
pass'd.

Jan. 19. The engros'd Bill against the South-Sea Directors was read the third Time, pass'd, *Nem. Con.* and sent up to the Lords.

Sir Tho. Pengelly
acquaints the House
that Mr Knight,
Cashier of the S. S.
Company, was
gone off;

Jan. 23. Sir Thomas Pengelly, Member for Cocker-mbuth, acquainted the House, that the Committee of Secrecy had receiv'd Information that Mr Robert Knight, Cashier of the South-Sea Company, after having been examin'd by the said Committee two Days before, was gone off.

Whereupon the
Commons present
two Addresses to
the King, on that
Affair.

Hereupon it was resolv'd, *Nem. Con.* to present two Addresses to the King. I. To issue a Proclamation, with a Reward for discovering, apprehending, and detaining the said Robert Knight, that he may be brought to Justice. II. To give Orders forthwith to stop the Ports, and to take effectual Care of the Coasts, to prevent the said Mr Knight, or any other Officers of the South-Sea Company, from escaping out of the Kingdom. These Addresses were directly carried to the King by Mr Methuen*, and his Majesty return'd for Answer, that he would immediately give the necessary Orders according to the Desire of the House: Accordingly a Proclamation was publish'd, with 2000*l.* Reward for apprehending Mr Knight.

Notwithstanding this Precaution of the Committee, Mr Knight, who was undoubtedly intrusted with the principal Secret of this villainous Intrigue, embark'd the very same Morning, on which Serjeant Pengelly gave the above Information to the House; and landed the same Day at Calais. Whether this Escape was voluntary, or at the Suggestion of others, is not easily determin'd; though the Publick were generally inclin'd to charge it to the Direction of some Persons, whom it may be safer to guess than to name.

Sir Robert Chap-
lin, Sir Theodore
Janssen, Mr Fran.
Eyles, and Mr
Sawbridge, Direc-
tors of the S. S.
Company, ordered
to attend in their
Places.

The Commons having order'd their Doors to be lock'd, and the Keys laid on the Table, summon'd Sir Robert Chaplin, Bart. Member for Grimsby, Sir Theodore Janssen, Bart. Member for Yarmouth, Mr F. Eyles, Member for Devizes, and Mr Sawbridge, Member for Cricklade, to attend in their Places immediately; Then Gen. Rofs acquainted the House, That they had already discover'd a Train of the deepest Villainy

* Controller of the Household.

Villainy and Fraud that Hell ever contriv'd to ruin a Nation, which in due Time, they would lay before the House ; and that, in the mean while, in order to a farther Discovery, they thought it highly necessary to secure the Persons of some of the Directors, and principal South-Sea Officers, and to seize their Papers ; which was order'd accordingly. Mr Sawbridge, and Sir Theodore Janssen being come into the House, a Motion was severally made ; That they were guilty of a notorious Breach of Trust, as Directors of the South-Sea Company, and thereby occasion'd very great Loss to great Numbers of his Majesty's Subjects, and had highly prejudic'd the publick Credit : And they having severally been heard in their Places, and being withdrawn, the Question was severally put upon the said Motion, and carry'd in the Affirmative *Nem. Con.* after which it was order'd, that the said Mr Sawbridge, and Sir Theodore Janssen be, for their said Offence, expell'd the House, and taken into the Custody of the Serjeant at Arms.

Jan. 24. The Commons resolv'd *Nem. Con.* to address the King, to give Directions to his Ministers at Foreign Courts to make Application for Mr Knight, if he should shelter himself in any of their Dominions, to be surrender'd up in order to be brought to Justice ; which Directions his Majesty gave accordingly.

Jan. 25. The Royal Assent was given to the Act, *For restraining the Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, Directors, Treasurer, &c. of the South-Sea Company, from going out of this Kingdom for one Year, and until the End of the then next Session of Parliament ; and for discovering their Estates and Effects, and for preventing the transporting or alienating the same : Also to an Act, To disable the present Sub-Governor, Deputy Governor, and Directors of the South-Sea Company, to take, hold, or enjoy any Office, Place, or Employment in the said Company, or in the East-India Company, or in the Bank of England, and from voting upon Elections in the said Companies.*

Jan. 28. Sir Robert Chaplin, Bart. and Mr Francis Eyles, Directors of the South-Sea Company, attending in their Places, they were both likewise, for their Offence, expell'd the House.

February 3. Mr Robert Walpole presented to the House a Bill, *For ingrafting Part of the Capital Stock and Fund of the South-Sea Company into the Stock and Fund of the Bank of England, and another Part thereof into the Stock and Fund of the East-India Company ;* which was read the first Time, and order'd to be read a second Time, on the 7th of February, to which Day the Commons adjourn'd.

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Gen. Roß's Motion for securing the Persons of the Directors, &c. of the S. S. Company.

Sir Theod. Janssen and Mr Sawbridge expell'd the House.

Address to the King to get Mr Knight apprehended in Foreign Parts : His Majesty gives Directions accordingly.

The Royal Assent given to two Bills against the S. S. Directors, &c.

Sir R. Chaplin and Mr F. Eyles, Directors of the S. S. Company, expell'd the House.

Mr R. Walpole presents a Bill, *For ingrafting Part of the Capital Stock of the S. S. Company into the Bank, and Part into the East-India Company ;* which is read the first Time.

February

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Debate on the second reading thereof.

Mr R. Walpole.
Mr Heath.
Mr Milner.
Mr Sloper.
Mr Clayton.
Sir J. Jekyll.

The Bill to prevent Stock-Jobbing read the first Time.

An Address to the King, upon Advice that Mr. Knight was in Custody at the Castle of Antwerp.

Feb. 7. The abovemention'd Bill was read a second Time, and a Motion being made for committing it to a Committee of the whole House, it occasion'd a high Debate, in which Mr Robert Walpole, Mr Heath, Member for Harwich, and some others, insisted for the Affirmative, and Mr Milner, Mr Sloper, Mr Clayton, and Sir Joseph Jekyll, for the Negative; and it was at last carry'd for the former, by 237 Voices against 139.

Feb. 8. Mr Hungerford presented to the House a Bill, *For the better Establishment of publick Credit, by preventing, for the future, the infamous Practice of Stock-Jobbing*, which was read the first Time, and order'd to be read a second Time.

Feb. 9. The Lord Molesworth, from the Committee of Secrecy, acquainted the House, that they had received Information, that Mr Robert Knight, late Cashier of the South-Sea Company, was taken, and was in Custody in the Castle of Antwerp: *Hereupon he mov'd, and it was resolv'd, *Nem. Con.* That an Address be presented to his Majesty, to return the Thanks of the House for his Goodness in giving such effectual Directions to his Ministers Abroad, for securing Mr Robert Knight, pursuant to the Address of the House; and to desire, that his Majesty would give Orders to his Ministers residing in the Courts of Vienna and Brussels, to make the proper Applications, and use the most effectual Instances, that the Person of the said Mr Robert Knight, together with his Papers and Effects, might be secured and delivered up to such Persons as his Majesty should appoint to receive the same; and that his Majesty would give Orders, upon the said Mr Robert Knight's being brought into Great Britain, that he be forthwith delivered and put into the Custody of the Serjeant at Arms attending the House. This Address was immediately sent to the King by Mr Methuen, who being return'd, acquainted the House, that his Majesty would give the necessary Orders and Directions, according to the Desires of the House; and that in case his Majesty's Endeavours to have him secur'd and brought over into Great Britain should succeed, his Majesty would forthwith cause him to be deliver'd into the Custody of the Serjeant at Arms attending the House. Colonel Churchill *, Member for Castle-Rising, was accordingly order'd by his Majesty to go to the Court of Vienna, to make Instances for the delivering up of Mr Knight.

Petition from the S. S. Company for allowing them farther Time for Payment of the Money due from them to the Publick.

Feb. 13. Upon the reading of the Order of the House for going into a grand Committee upon the Bill, *For ingrafting Part of the Capital Stock and Fund of the South-Sea Company*,

* Groom of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales, and Governor of Chelsea-Hospital.

Company, &c. a Petition of the South-Sea Company was offer'd to be presented to the House, and the Members in Westminster-Hall, Court of Requests, and Places adjacent, having been summon'd to attend the Service of the House, the said Petition was brought up and read, praying the Consideration of the House, in relation to the Payments of the several Sums of Money, which, by the Act of Parliament of the last Session, the said Company are subject and liable to, for the Use of the Publick, at the Times, and in the Manner by the said Act directed, and praying such Relief, as to the House should seem meet. Hereupon a Motion was made, and insisted on by Mr Shippen and several others, that the said Petition be rejected; but they being oppos'd by Mr Robert Walpole, and all the Court Party, and the Question being put thereupon, it was carried in the Negative, by 253 Voices against 166; however, the said Petition was order'd to lie on the Table; and then another Motion was made by the Country Party, that it be an Instruction to the said Committee, that they have Power to receive a Clause for excluding the Directors of the South-Sea Company, the East-India Company, and the Bank of England, from being elected Members, or sitting and voting in any future Parliament: But, after some Debate, the Question being put thereupon, it was carry'd in the Negative, by a Majority of 211 Votes against 164.

Feb. 15. Mr Methuen *, Member for Brackley, delivered to the Commons the following Message from his Majesty.

G E O R G E R.

" **H** Is Majesty having receiv'd a Petition from the Court of Directors of the South-Sea Company, relating to the Payment of the Money due to the Publick from the said Company, has thought fit to transmit the said Petition to the House of Commons; and, at the same Time, to acquaint them, that his Majesty has no Objection to the Parliament's giving to the South-Sea Company such Ease and Relief, in the Time of making the Payments due to the Publick, as the House of Commons shall think fit and reasonable."

King's Message relating to the S. S. Company's Petition,

This Message was referr'd to the Consideration of a Committee of the whole House the Friday following; and then a Clause was order'd to be inserted in the Bill, *For ingrafting Part of the Stock and Fund of the South-Sea Company*, to restrain the Corporations of the Bank of England, of the South-Sea Company, and of the East-India Company, from lending

Which is referr'd to a Committee of the whole House.

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any.

* *Controller of the Household.*

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Debate thereon.

Mr Shippen.

Mr R. Walpole.

Motion for disabling the Directors of the S. S. Company, East-India Company, and the Bank, from being chosen Members of Parliament.

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The Bill to prevent
Stock-Jobbing read
a second Time.

The Commons
consider of the
King's Message re-
lating to the S. S.
Company's Peti-
tion, and resolve
to allow farther
Time to the said
Company for Pay-
ment.

The House take
into Consideration
the Report from
the Secret Commit-
tee on the S. S.
Affair,

And order a Bill
to be brought in
for the Relief of
the Sufferers.

The Report from
the Secret Commit-
tee relating to Mr
Aislable and Mr
Charles Stanhope.
presented.

any Sum of Money to their Proprietors upon their Stock, exceeding 100 l. for 100 l. Capital Stock.

Feb. 16. The Bill, *For preventing the infamous Practice of Stock-jobbing*, was read a second Time, and committed to a grand Committee.

Feb. 17. The Commons, in a Committee of the whole House, consider'd of the King's Message relating to the South-Sea Company's Petition, and came to the following Resolutions, viz. I. That the Payment of the Sum of four Millions one hundred fifty six thousand three hundred six Pounds four Shillings eleven Pence, due to the Publick by the South-Sea Company, by Virtue of the Act of the last Session of Parliament, and made payable within one Year, by four quarterly Payments, commencing the 25th March, 1721, be farther postpon'd to the Year 1722; and that farther Provision be made for the more effectual Payment thereof. II. That the Repayment of the Sum of One Million, which was lent to the South-Sea Company, on the 7th of June 1720, be postpon'd to the 7th June 1722.

Feb. 18. These Resolutions were reported by Mr Farrer, and agreed to by the House; and it was thereupon order'd, that it be an Instruction to the Committee of the whole House, to whom the Ingrafting Bill was committed, that they have Power to receive a Clause or Clauses pursuant to the said Resolutions. After this the House proceeded to take into Consideration the Report from the Committee of Secrecy, and came unanimously to ten several Resolutions; the Particulars whereof at large the Reader will find in the *NOTES* of this Session. We think it sufficient to say here, that the Substance of those Resolutions was, 'That the late Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor and Directors of the South-Sea Company and their Officers, Aiders and Abettors, were guilty of a notorious Breach of Trust, and have thereby occasion'd great Loss and Detriment to the Company, and others his Majesty's Subjects; which has been one great Cause of the sinking of the publick Credit, and bringing upon the Nation the Distress it at present labours under, for which they ought to make Satisfaction out of their own Estates. The House likewise order'd a Bill to be brought in for the Relief of the unhappy Sufferers in the South-Sea Company.

Feb. 25. Mr Broderick acquainted the Commons, that the Committee of Secrecy were ready to lay a farther Report before the House, at such Time as the House should appoint to receive the same. Hereupon it was order'd, that the Report be now receiv'd. Mr Broderick accordingly read the said Report, which was order'd to lie on the Table. This Report related chiefly to great Quantities of Stock and Subscriptions which appear'd to have been taken in for John Aislable, Esq;

Esq; * Member for Ripon, and Charles Stanhope, Esq; † Member for Milbourn-Port, who thereupon insisted on their Innocence, and press'd, 'That a short Day might be appointed to examine that Matter, that they might have an Opportunity to clear themselves. Mr Broderick represented thereupon, 'That tho' the Secret Committee had a great deal of Evidence to support the Charge against those two Gentlemen, yet they wanted a material Witness, viz. Mr Knight, late Treasurer of the South-Sea Company, who was in safe Custody, and, in all Probability, would soon be brought over; and therefore the Committee hoped that the House would not hurry an Affair of so great Importance.' Mr Stanhope urging how heavy an Imputation of so heinous a Nature lies upon a Man who knows himself to be entirely innocent, which, he said, was his Case; and renewing his Instances for examining into it; the 28th of February was appointed for that Purpose.

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Feb. 28. The Commons resum'd the farther Consideration of the Report from the Committee of Secrecy, some Parts of which relating to Mr Charles Stanhope, were read; after which, the Examination of Sir John Blunt, Mr Holditch, Mr Jacob Sawbridge, sen. Mr Henry Blunt, and others, before the Committee of Secrecy, were severally read, and they were severally call'd in and examin'd, as were also Mr Elias Turner, and others. The Charge against Mr Stanhope consisted of two Articles, I. That 10,000 l. South-Sea Stock was taken in for his Benefit, by Mr Knight, without any valuable Consideration; and that the Difference arising by the advanc'd Price thereof was paid him out of the Cash of the South-Sea Company. II. That Turner and Company had bought 50,000 l. Stock at a low Price of the South-Sea Company, in the Name and for the Benefit of Mr Stanhope, the Difference of the advanc'd Price whereof, amounting to 250,000 l. had been paid to the said Mr Stanhope, by Sir George Caswall and Company. To prove these Articles, the Secret Committee caus'd the Examinations before-mention'd, and the Persons above-nam'd, to be examin'd; but some of the latter rather weaken'd than corroborated their former Depositions; Sir John Blunt, in particular, own'd, as to the first Article, that Mr Knight had shew'd him a Letter, which he told him was sign'd by Mr Stanhope, desiring him to take 10,000 l. Stock for him; but that he did not know whether that Letter was genuine, nor what was become of it: And as for the 50,000 l. Stock transferr'd to the Sword-Blade Company in Mr Stanhope's Name, Mr Sawbridge and Mr Turner had the Modesty and Good-Nature to take the whole Charge upon themselves,

The House take into Consideration that Part which related to Mr Cha. Stanhope.

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* Late Chancellor of the Exchequer.

† Then one of the Secretaries of the Treasury, afterwards made Treasurer of the Chamber, viz. April 4. 1721.

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and own'd that they had made Use of Mr Stanhope's Name, without his Privy or Consent. These Examinations, together with the Animadversions of the Members of the Secret Committee thereupon, lasted 'till eight in the Evening, after which Mr Stanhope was heard in his Place. As to the first Article, he said, 'That for some Years past he had lodg'd all the Money he was Master of in Mr Knight's Hands, and whatever Stock Mr Knight had taken in for him, he had paid a valuable Consideration for it: And as to the second, that he could not answer for what had been done without his Consent.' When he was withdrawn, a Motion being made, and the Question being put, that it appears to this House, that during the Time that the Proposal made by the South-Sea Company, and the Bill relating thereto, were depending in this House, 10,000 l. Stock was taken in, or held by Mr Knight, late Cashier of the said Company, for the Benefit of Charles Stanhope, Esq; a Member of this House, without any valuable Consideration paid, or Security given for the Acceptance of, or Payment for the said Stock; and that the Difference arising by the advanc'd Price thereof was paid to the said Charles Stanhope, Esq; out of the Cash of the South-Sea Company, it was carry'd in the Negative by a Majority only of three Voices, viz. 180 against 177.

The House consider the Secret Committee's Report relating to Mr Aislaby.

March 8. The House resum'd the Consideration of the Report from the Secret Committee, and that Part of the said Report which related to Mr Aislaby, Member for Ripon, was read; the Reading whereof, and the Examination of proper Evidences lasted till nine in the Evening: After which Mr Aislaby made a Speech in his own Defence. But what was depos'd against him by Mr Hawes, one of the Directors, viz. 'That he had caused the Book of Accounts between them to be burnt, and given him a Discharge for the Balance amounting to about 842,000 l. appear'd so strong, and so home a Proof, that after he was withdrawn, the House came to twelve several Resolutions against him, the Particulars of which may be found in the *VOTES* as above. It may nevertheless be proper to recite two of them, viz. I. That the said John Aislaby, Esq; has encourag'd and promoted the dangerous and destructive Execution of the late South-Sea Scheme, with a View to his own exorbitant Profit; and has combin'd with the late Directors of the South-Sea Company in their pernicious Practices, to the Detriment of great Numbers of his Majesty's Subjects, and the Ruin of the publick Credit and the Trade of this Kingdom. And, II. That he be for his said Offences expell'd the House. Then it was order'd, that the said John Aislaby, Esq; be committed Prisoner to his Majesty's Tower of London; and that Mr Speaker do issue his Warrant accordingly.

Mr Aislaby expell'd the House, and committed Prisoner to the Tower.

The

The farther Proceedings against Mr Aislaby in this Affair, will appear in the Sequel.

Anno 7. Geo. I.
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March 10. The House took into Consideration the Case of Sir George Caswall, in the Affair of the South-Sea Company ; after the Examination of which they made several Resolutions against him ; the Substance of which was, ' That he had been guilty of corrupt, infamous, and dangerous Practices, highly reflecting on the Honour and Justice of Parliament, and destructive to the Interest of his Majesty's Government ; ' That he be, for his said Offence, expell'd the House ; And be committed Prisoner to his Majesty's Tower of London ; and that Mr Speaker do issue his Warrant accordingly.

Sir George Caswall expell'd the House, and committed Prisoner to the Tower, on Account of his being concern'd in the S. S. Scheme.

March 15. The Commons proceeded in the adjourn'd Consideration of that Part of the Report from the Committee of Secrecy which related to the Earl of Sunderland ; and the several Examinations of Sir John Blunt, Mr Edward Gibbon, Mr Charles Joye, James Craggs, Esq; Mr Richard Holditch, Mr John Webster, Mr Robert Surman, Sir Lambert Blackwell, Mr Francis Hawes, Mr William Astel, Sir John Fellows, and Sir Theodore Janssen, taken before the said Committee, were read ; and afterwards, Mr Joye, Mr Gibbon, Mr Chester, Mr Holditch, and Mr Surman, were severally call'd in, and examin'd.

The Commons consider that Part of the Report of the Secret Committee which related to the Earl of Sunderland.

Then a Motion was made, that it appears to the House, that, after the Proposals of the South-Sea Company were accepted by the House, and a Bill order'd to be brought in thereupon ; and before such Bill pass'd, 50,000 l. of the Capital Stock of the South-Sea Company was taken in by Robert Knight, late Cashier of the said Company, for the Use and upon the Account of Charles Earl of Sunderland, a Lord of Parliament, and first Commissioner of the Treasury, without any valuable Consideration paid, or sufficient Security given, for Payment for, or Acceptance of the same.

This Motion occasion'd a warm Debate, that lasted till near eight at Night, but the Question being put thereupon, it was carry'd in the Negative, by a Majority of 233 Votes against 172 : Which, however, occasion'd various Reflections.

Debate thereon.

March 17. The Order of the Day being read, for the House to take into farther Consideration the Report from the Committee of Secrecy, Mr Hutcheson represented, ' That it was impossible to proceed in so important an Affair, without exposing the Justice of Parliament to be baffled, as it had been in some late Instances, so long as they wanted so material a Witness as Mr Knight : ' And therefore he mov'd, and, being seconded, it was resolv'd, *Nem. Con.* that an Address be presented to his Majesty, to desire that he would be pleas'd to impart to this House, the Advices his Majesty has receiv'd, or shall receive, from Abroad, concerning his Endeavours to bring

Mr Hutcheson moves for an Address to the King to know what Informations his Majesty had receiv'd, relating to Mr Knight.

Ann 7. Cap. I.
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bring over Robert Knight, late Cashier of the South-Sea Company, to answer to the Justice of the Kingdom: Which Address was order'd to be presented by such Members of the House as were of the Privy-Council.

It was by many conjectur'd, that the Remora that hinder'd Mr Knight's coming over, was rather in London than at Vienna or Brussels.

Mr Methuen by the King's Command lays before the House several Letters relating to that Affair.

March 20. Mr Methuen acquainted the House, that their Address, relating to Mr Knight, having been presented to the King, his Majesty had commanded him to lay before the House, several Letters and Papers containing Advices from Flanders concerning him, and, at the same Time, to acquaint the House, that his Majesty had not received any Advice of Colonel Churchill's being got to Vienna, nor any Letter from thence relating to Mr Knight; that as soon as any should come to his Majesty, they should be laid before the House: Hereupon several Letters from Mr Leathes, his Majesty's Resident at Brussels, to the Secretary of State, were read, importing in Substance. 'That pursuant to his Orders he had made the most pressing Instances with the Marquess de Frie, for the delivering up of Mr Knight: But had been answer'd that the said Marquess had not receiv'd any Instructions from Vienna about that Matter; that, in the mean Time, he was apprehensive that the same would meet with great Difficulties. That the Grefier, or Secretary, of the States of Brabant, had been twice with the said Marquess, to represent to him, that according to one of the Articles of the *Joyful Entry* of Brabant, which was granted them by the Emperor Charles V. and has been sworn to by all his Successors, and which they look upon as their *Magna Charta*, no Person charg'd with, or apprehended for any Crime, can be remov'd to be try'd out of their Province; and that the Deputies of the States insisted upon that Article, of which the Resident had enclos'd a Copy in French, which was also read in the House.

Lord Molefworth's Observations on the Difficulties started against delivering up Mr Knight.

Most of the Members appear'd surpriz'd at the unexpected Difficulties about the delivering up of Mr Knight, which was started, in the Name of the Stat's of Brabant; and Lord Molefworth said thereupon: 'That 'twas to be hop'd, they should have a more satisfactory Answer from Vienna, than they had from Brussels: But if they had not, it would, in his Opinion, be proper to call for the Treaties lately enter'd into with the House of Austria, to know upon what Motives we have been at so great an Expence of Blood and Treasure, and have sent our Men of War to rot and be worm-eaten in the Mediterranean, to conquer Kingdoms for the Emperor?' Adding, 'That if that pretended Privilege of the States of Brabant, should be insist'd upon, they might remove that Obstacle, by addressing his Majesty to grant his Pardon to Mr Knight,



Knight, in Order to have him brought over : But that it was proper not to make any farther Step in that Affair, till they were acquainted with the Success of Colonel Churchill's Negotiation at Vienna.

March 22. Mr Methuen acquainted the House, That his Majesty having, the Day before, receiv'd a Letter from Colonel Churchill, directed to the Lord Viscount Townshend, dated Vienna the 4th of March, 1720-21, had commanded him, pursuant to the Address of the House, to lay a Copy thereof before the House ; which he presented to the House accordingly. The Copy of that Letter was thereupon read, importing in Substance, that he was just arriv'd at Vienna, and would not lose one Moment, in making the most pressing Instances to the Imperial Court, for the delivering up Mr Knight ; and that he did not doubt Success, unless the Privileges of the States of Brabant interfer'd : Several smart Reflections were made by Lord Moleworth, upon the frivolous Pretence that was made use of, to baffle his Majesty's Endeavours to bring over Mr Knight : But the House did not think fit to come to any Resolution thereupon. The same Evening Colonel Churchill arriv'd from Vienna, which occasion'd an universal Surprise.

The Commons having attended the King in the House of Lords, his Majesty gave the Royal Assent to an Act, *To enable the South-Sea Company to ingraft Part of their Capital Stock and Fund into the Stock and Fund of the Bank of England, and another Part thereof into the Stock and Fund of the East-India Company, and for giving farther Time for Payment to be made by the South-Sea Company to the Use of the Publick.*

The Royal Assent given to the In-grafting Bill, &c.

March 24. The Bill, *For preventing the infamous Practice of Stock-jobbing*, was order'd to be engross'd.

The Stock-jobbing Bill engross'd.

Colonel Churchill being come into the House, it was expected that an Account of his Negotiations would, this Day, have been laid before the Commons : But they were only given to understand, that as soon as the Dispatches he brought from Vienna could be translated, they should be laid before the House, who thereupon adjourn'd 'till the 27th.

March 27. Mr Methuen acquainted the House, that his Majesty had commanded him to lay before them Copies of several Letters and Papers relating to Mr Knight, which he presented to the House accordingly, with a Schedule of them. The Copies of the said Letters were read, and among them a Letter from the Emperor to the King of Great Britain, expressing his Imperial Majesty's Inclination and Readiness to comply with his Britannick Majesty's Desires, as to the delivering up Mr Knight ; but that the States of Brabant having and claiming particular Privileges, which his Imperial Majesty was engag'd to maintain, it would be necessary to make Application

Farther Debate on Mr Knight's not being delivered up.

Anno 7. Geo. 1.
1721.

Application to the said States ; and his Imperial Majesty, on his Part, would not fail to support such Instances as should be made. To which Effect Prince Eugene wrote a Letter to the Marquis de Prie, which was also read. Several smart Reflections were made, by Lord Molefworth, on the former of those two Letters : But this Affair being equally nice and important, it was resolv'd to take into Consideration the several Letters and Papers relating to Mr Knight, which his Majesty had communicated to the House, in a grand Committee on the 29th.

March 29. The Commons in a grand Committee, took into Consideration the several Letters and Papers, laid before them, relating to Mr Knight. After the reading of some of those Papers, Mr Hutcheson open'd the Debate, representing, ' How much, on the one Hand, the Publick was concern'd, in having the Authors of the present Distress fully discover'd and brought to condign Punishment ; and how impracticable it was, on the other Hand, to proceed in this important Inquiry, so long as the principal Agent of the late South-Sea Directors, and their Accomplices, was kept out of the Way ; that in the mean Time, the publick Calamity encreasing every Day, the Nation call'd aloud for Justice : And therefore, if the Means already us'd for bringing over Mr Knight, prov'd abortive, it were advisable to have Recourse to more speedy and effectual Methods.' Sir Joseph Jekyll, and the Lord Molefworth, strongly supported Mr Hutcheson, and in particular, shew'd, ' That it was incumbent on some Persons in the Administration to have Mr Knight brought over in order fully to clear their own Innocence ; otherwise, tho' acquitted, they would still be look'd upon as criminal.' Urging, ' That it was matter of Wonder, that so frivolous a Pretence, as the Privileges of the States of Brabant, should be made Use of to put a Stop to so important an Inquiry, especially considering how little those Privileges had been regarded in more material Points ; and what Obligations the House of Austria lay under to the British Nation.' Sir Richard Steele offer'd something against obliging Mr Knight to be an Evidence, whether he would or no : But no great Strefs was laid upon it. On the other Hand, Mr Lechmere represented, ' That in all Probability the Court of Vienna had not, at first, fully consider'd the Importance of the Instances that were made to them in his Majesty's Name, and at the Desire of the Commons of Great Britain : But that it was to be presum'd that when so wise a Prince, as the present Emperor, should be appriz'd, that the Welfare and Safety of England, to whom his Imperial Majesty has so great Obligations, depended, in some Measure, on the delivering up of Mr Knight, he would readily comply with their

Mr Hutcheson.

Sir J. Jekyll.
Ed. Molefworth.

Sir R. Steele.

Mr Lechmere.

their Desires :’ Hereupon Mr Lechmere mov’d, ‘ That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, returning the Thanks of this House for the Instances he has been pleas’d to make, by a Letter under his Royal Hand to his Imperial Majesty, for obtaining the delivering up of Mr Knight, pursuant to the Address of this House ; and for communicating to this House, the Steps which have been taken relating thereto : And to represent to his Majesty, the Dissatisfaction which his Commons have at the Obstacles which they find have been rais’d, under the Pretence of the Privileges of the States of Brabant, against a Compliance with his gracious Endeavours : And also to represent, that this House is every Day more and more convinc’d of the high Importance it is to the Justice due to his Majesty’s People, that effectual Measures be speedily taken for bringing over Mr Knight : And earnestly to beseech his Majesty, to employ his most pressing Endeavours, in such Manner, as in his great Wisdom shall be thought proper, for attaining the just Desire of his Commons.’

Anno 7. Geo. I.
1721.

Mr Lechmere moves for another Address relating to the Delivering up Mr Knight ;

No Body offer’d to oppose this Motion, which, after Mr Speaker had resum’d the Chair, Mr Broderick reported to the House ; and the same being agreed to *Nem. Con.* it was resolv’d, That the said Resolution be laid before his Majesty by the whole House.

March 30. The Commons, to the Number of above three hundred, with their Speaker, went to St James’s, and presented the said Resolution to the King ; to which his Majesty return’d the following Answer.

Which is agreed to, and presented.

Gentlemen,

“ I Am very well pleas’d, that the Instances which I have made for obtaining the delivering up of Mr Knight, have given you Satisfaction ; I shall continue to employ my utmost Endeavours for obtaining what you desire, and hope they will prove effectual.

The King’s Answer to that Address.

April 19. The Bill for the Relief of the unhappy Sufferers in the South-Sea Company, was read a second Time and committed to a Committee of the whole House.

The S. S. Sufferers Bill read a second Time.

April 29. Mr Shippen stood up, and took Notice, ‘ That the House had sat a long while, and nothing had yet been done towards the restoring of Publick Credit : That, indeed, a Member of great Parts and Abilities had, at first, proposed a Scheme for that Purpose ; but that, instead of proving an effectual Remedy, it appear’d at last to be a meer Palliative, which had rather inflam’d than alleviated the Distemper. That by this Time, a whole injur’d Nation call’d aloud for Vengeance ; and if they neglected to hear the Voice of the People, it would look as if they had a Mind to provoke

Mr Shippen moves for inquiring what Publick Money had been employ’d by any Receiver, &c. of publick Money, in buying Stock in the Funds.

Anno 7. Geo. I.
1721.

them to do themselves Justice. That it was ever his Opinion, that the only effectual Means to restore Credit, was to call those to a strict Account, who had ruin'd it; and, in particular, all such as had apply'd any Part of the Publick Money, intrusted in their Hands, in Stock-jobbing, and had rais'd vast Fortunes by robbing the Publick.* And so he mov'd, That it be an Instruction to the Committee of Secrecy, that they inquire what publick Money had been employ'd by any Treasurer, Cashier, Collector, Receiver, or other Officer concern'd in the Receipt or Payment of the publick Money, or of any other Part of his Majesty's Revenue, or by any in Trust for them, or by their Order, in buying Stock or Subscriptions in the South-Sea, or any other Company, or in Annuities, or other Parliamentary Securities, or otherwise making Use of or employing the same, to their private Advantage since the first Day of December, 1719.

Sir W. Wyndham moves for an Account of the Warrants, on which the Commissioners of Debts due to the Army have issued Certificates.

Sir William Wyndham seconded this Motion; adding withal, 'That there was Reason to apprehend, that the Publick Money had not been administred with due Oeconomy, particularly in Relation to some Foreign Troops, that were in the Pay of England and Holland during the last War, to whom great Sums had of late been allowed, on Account of pretended Arrears, after they had separated from the English General: And therefore he mov'd, 'That the late Commissioners appointed to examine, state, and determine the Debts due to the Army, and to examine and state the Demands of several Foreign Princes and States, for Subsidies during the late War, be order'd to lay before the House Copies of the several Warrants and Sign-Manuals, by Virtue of which they issued any Certificates.

Debate on the above Motions.
Mr R. Walpole.

Mr Lechmere.

Hereupon Mr R. Walpole * said, 'That he wonder'd to hear of such a Motion, when a little after the King's coming to the Crown, an Act of Parliament had been made for Payment of those Arrears; and that the Commissioners of Accounts had, undoubtedly, acted according to the Intent and Meaning of that Act.' To this Mr Lechmere replied, 'That he was not against the Motion that Sir William Wyndham had made, neither on the other Hand, was he about to justify it: But he would freely tell the Gentleman [*meaning Mr R. Walpole*] who oppos'd it, 'That while the Nation was under the Pressure of heavy Debts, he must expect that many such Motions would be made, in order to find out Methods to ease the Publick Burden. That as that Gentleman was now in a higher Post than formerly, so a great deal more was expected from him; the rather because the Scheme which he had propos'd at the

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* Made First Commissioner of the Treasury, Chancellor, and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, April 2. 1721.

beginning of this Session for the raising the Stocks, and restoring publick Credit, had not had the desired Effect.' Mr R. Walpole replied, 'That it was known to every Body, that he ever was against the South-Sea Scheme, and had done all that in his Power lay, to hinder its taking Place : But now the Mischief was done, and Things were brought to such Extremities, he thought it his Duty, and therefore was willing to try the best Method he could think of, to extricate the Nation out of the Difficulties into which they were plung'd : That he did not pretend to work Miracles ; but only to use his utmost Endeavours towards retrieving the late Misfortunes : That with this honest Intention he had promoted a Scheme which had been laid before him, and appear'd the most plausible of any then propos'd, for restoring publick Credit : That it could not be deny'd, that while that Scheme was pursu'd, it had done some Good, and kept up the Price of Stocks ; and that they fell since it had been laid aside : That, however, he never intended to raise Stocks above the intrinsic Value, for that would bring us again into the same unhappy Circumstances which the raising of them had before occasion'd.' He afterwards lamented the ill Disposition of some Persons, who, instead of concurring with others in remedying the present Distempers, us'd all possible Means to irritate and exasperate the Minds of the People : And concluded with a Motion, ' That a Day be appointed to consider of the State of the Publick Credit of the Kingdom.' This Motion was unanimously agreed to, and that Day Seven-Night appointed for that Purpose ; after two Orders had been made according to the two before-mentioned Motions of Mr Shippen and Sir William Wyndham.

April 30. The Commons proceeded to take into Consideration those Parts of the Reports of the Committee of Secrecy as related to James Craggs, Esq; deceas'd, late Post-Master-General, which having been read, Mr Broderick, Member for Stockbridge, mov'd, ' That the said Mr Craggs having taken 40,000 l. South-Sea Stock without paying for it, or giving sufficient Security for the Payment of the same, his Estate might be made liable to the same Forfeitures with those of the late Directors.' Hereupon Mr Grey Neville desir'd, ' That the Gentlemen concern'd in this Affair, two of whom were Members of the House, might first be heard by their Counsel, and produce what Witnesses they had, before the House came to any Resolution in this Matter.' Mr Robert Walpole seconded him, and, in particular, said, ' He hoped the House would not break their known Rules, which were, not to condemn any one without first hearing them ; and sure they would not deny this Piece of Justice to their own Members.' Mr Hora-

The Commons consider the Secret Committee's Report relating to Mr Craggs, sen.

Debate thereon.
Mr Broderick.

Mr Neville.

Mr R. Walpole.

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Mr H. Walpole.
Mr Trefusis.

tio Walpole * spoke to the same Purpose ; and then Mr Trefusis, Member for Penryn, stood up, and said, ' That neither he nor Mr Newsham were at all prepar'd, not expecting that this Affair would have come on this Day, because there was another Part in the Report before it, and therefore he desir'd the House would give them Time to get their Witnesses : ' He added, ' He had never been us'd to speak in the House, or but very rarely, and his Brother-in-Law, Mr Newsham, Member for Lestwithiel, not at all, which he hoped the House would take into Consideration, and allow them Counsel to speak for them : That by Mr Craggs's Death, his Estate was devolv'd to them and Mr Elliot, in Right of their Wives, the Deceased's three Daughters : That there was no Manner of Crime laid to their Charge ; and since Mr Craggs was dead, and could not answer for himself, he hoped the House would allow them Time and Counsel.' This was oppos'd by Sir Joseph Jekyll ; but Mr Robert Walpole said, ' That since the two Gentlemen concern'd had not been us'd to speak in the House, and therefore were not likely to make so good a Defence as otherwise they might, he thought it reasonable to allow them Counsel, and give them Time to prepare.' To this Mr Lechmere reply'd, ' That it might, indeed, seem somewhat hard to deny Counsel to Gentlemen who were not us'd to speak in the House ; but he doubted not but that good-natur'd Gentleman that spoke last, who had so good a Capacity, and was so able to advise them, would sit by them, and by his Assistance be as useful to them, as if they had Counsel, as he had been to several others in the like Case.' No Return was made to this Reply, upon which the Motion for allowing Counsel was dropt.

Sir J. Jekyll.
Mr R. Walpole.

Mr Lechmere.

The Commons resolve, that the Estate of Mr Craggs sen. be applied to the Relief of the Sufferers by the South-Sea.

May 1. The Order of the Day for taking into Consideration those Parts of the Reports from the Committee of Secrecy, which related to Mr James Craggs, deceas'd, late Postmaster-General, being read, and several Evidences being examined, the House, among other Resolutions relating thereto, came to the following, viz. I. That the said James Craggs was a notorious Accomplise and Confederate with Robert Knight and some of the late Directors of the South-Sea Company, in carrying on their corrupt and scandalous Practices ; and did, by his wicked Influence, and for his own exorbitant Gain, promote and encourage the pernicious Execution of the late South-Sea Scheme. And II. That all the Estate real and personal, of which the said James Craggs was seiz'd or possess'd from and after the 1st Day of December, 1719, (over and above what he stood seiz'd or possess'd of on the said 1st Day of December

* Made one of the Secretaries to the Treasury during this Session.

ember) be apply'd for and towards the Relief of the unhappy Sufferers in the South-Sea Company.

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Mr Methuen lays before the House several Letters, &c. relating to Mr Knight.

Debate thereon.

Motion in favour of Mr Aislaby rejected.

Mr Tho. Vernon expell'd the House for a corrupt Application to Gen. Ross, in favour of Mr Aislaby.

May 6. Mr Methuen, by the King's Command, laid before the House Copies of several Letters and Papers relating to Mr Knight, which were read; particularly, a Letter from Mr Leathes, the British Resident at Brussels, containing an Account of the Excuses and Pretences made use of to elude his Instances for the delivering up of the said Mr Knight. Those Excuses were thought so frivolous, that a Motion was made for prohibiting the Importation of all Commodities of the Growth and Manufacture of the Austrian Netherlands, particularly Lace and Lawn, till such time as Mr Knight had been deliver'd up and sent over: But it was thought more proper, that a Committee be appointed to consider of the State of the Trade between this Kingdom and the Austrian Netherlands, and to report the same, as it should appear to them, to the House; which Committee was appointed. Then a Motion was made, that it might be an Instruction to the grand Committee on the Bill, *For the Relief of the unhappy Sufferers, &c.* that they should receive a Clause, that the paternal Estate of Mr Aislaby might not be liable to the same Forfeitures with the other Part of his Estate; but tho' this Motion was strongly supported by three Members, yet it was rejected with general Indignation.

May 8. General Ross acquainted the House, That that Morning, while he was at the Secret Committee, he receiv'd a Note, that a Gentleman was at the Door to speak with him, and he went out, and found there Mr Vernon, Member for Whitchurch, who acquainted him, that he had something to say to him, which he desir'd might go no farther; whereupon General Ross told him, he hoped he had nothing to say to him which might be improper for him to hear; after which, Mr Vernon told him, there was a Disposition in the House to be favourable to Mr Aislaby, in the Bill upon which the House was to be in a Committee that Day, and that it was in his Power to do him Service, and for the same, Mr Aislaby would make him any Acknowledgment, in any Manner he should think fit; upon which General Ross, from what he first said, concluding it was upon some corrupt Matter, left him in a Passion, and thought it his Duty to acquaint the Committee of Secrecy therewith, and the said Committee thought it was proper to have the Matter laid before the House. To this Mr Vernon was heard in his Place, and own'd the said Words and Circumstances; withal declaring, that he did not mention or intend any thing of Money, or any other corrupt Matter, and begg'd the Pardon of the Gentleman, and of the House, if he had committed any Offence, he saying the Words without any corrupt Intention, and only

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on account of Friendship, being nearly related to Mr Aislabbie: And then Mr Vernon withdrew. Hereupon it was resolv'd, That it appears to this House, that Thomas Vernon, Esq; hath made a corrupt Application to General Rofs, and that he be expell'd this House. It was also order'd, That the Thanks of this House be given to General Rofs, for the Justice he had done to this House and to his Country, in laying the Application made to him by Thomas Vernon, Esq; before this House. And Mr Speaker gave him the Thanks of the House accordingly. After this, the Commons, in a grand Committee, made some Progress in the Bill, *For Relief of the unhappy Sufferers in the South-Sea Company, &c.* and added Mr Aislabbie's Name and Estate.

May 11. A Petition of the Burgesses of the Borough of Boralston, in the County of Devon, was presented to the House and read; complaining of an undue Election and Return for the said Borough, which was order'd to be heard at the Bar of the House on the 6th of June.

Motion for an Address to the King, to remove Mr Elliot from being one of the Commissioners of Excise, on account of his interfering in Elections.

The Honourable Mr St John Broderick, Son of the Lord Viscount Middleton, standing Candidate for Boralston, in the room of Mr Carteret, lately made one of the Post-Masters General, Captain Philip Cavendish * was set up against him, and tho' Mr Broderick poll'd most of the old Legal Voters, yet the Portreeve, who was Mr Elliot, one of the Commissioners of the Excise admitted to poll several Persons who had no Right at all; and by that Means got a Majority for, and return'd Captain Cavendish. The Petition above-mention'd having set forth the whole Matter, General Rofs and Mr Sloper represented, 'That if the Commissioners of the Excise were suffered to make Parliament-Men, they had as good let them sit in the House. That it was Matter of Wonder, that when by an Act of Parliament, the meanest Officer in the Excise is not suffer'd to meddle in Elections, one of the Commissioners should dare to do it in so notorious a Manner.' Hereupon it was mov'd to address his Majesty to remove Mr Elliot, but it was thought proper to defer that Motion 'till after hearing the Merits of that Election.

A Clause order'd to disable the Sub-Governor, Directors, &c. of the S. S. Company; as also Mr Aislabbie, to enjoy any Place, or sit in Parliament.

May 18. It was order'd, that the grand Committee on the Bill, *For the Relief of the unhappy Sufferers, &c.* have Power to receive a Clause for disabling the late Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, Directors, Cashier, Deputy-Cashier, and Accountant of the South-Sea Company, and also John Aislabbie, Esq; to hold or enjoy any Office, or Place of Trust or Profit under his Majesty, or to sit or vote in either House of Parliament.

May

* Appointed Treasurer of Greenwich-Hospital in March 1720-21.

May 23. In a grand Committee, a farther Progress was made in the Bill, *For the Relief of the unhappy Sufferers in the South-Sea Company*; and the chief Matter in Debate was, what Allowance should be given to the late Directors out of their Estates? Mr Loundes propos'd an eighth Part; to which it was objected, That it would be too much for some who had the most bulky Estates, and consequently had been deepest in the Guilt; and too little for others that had but small Estates, and were only passively criminal, by not entering their Dissent to the fraudulent Management of the rest.

May 25. The Commons, in a grand Committee on the South-Sea Sufferers Bill, resum'd the Consideration of the Petitions of the late Directors of the South-Sea Company. The Debate began with Sir John Fellows, the Sub-Governor, in whose Behalf Mr. Sloper mov'd, that since it did not appear that he had been so active in the late vile and pernicious Practices as some others had, he might be allow'd 20,000 l. out of his Estate. Mr Hungerford reduc'd it to 15,000 l. others to 12,000 l. and Mr Robert Walpole having at last propos'd 10,000 l. the same was agreed to without any Division. Mr Joye, the Deputy-Governor appearing to have been deeply concern'd in the Guilt, it was agreed to allow him only 5000 l.

Then the Committee proceeded alphabetically to the Directors, and it was unanimously agreed to allow Mr. Astell 5000 l.

A Debate arising, whether to allow Sir Lambert Blackwell 5000 l. or 10,000 l. and he having many Friends in the House, it was, upon a Division, carry'd for 10,000 l. by 112 Votes against 108.

After this, there was a long Debate about Sir John Blunt: Mr Laurence Carter mov'd to allow him only one Shilling; Lord James Cavendish 1000 l. and Mr Plummer 5000 l. Sir Joseph Jekyll mov'd for 10,000 l. and was seconded by General Ross, Lord Moleworth, Mr Jefferies, and Mr Windfor; who all spoke very warmly on his Behalf; alledging, that he had been more ingenuous in his Examination before the Secret Committee, than any of the late Directors; and had let them into a great many Secrets, which otherwise they could not have known. To this it was answer'd, by Mr Sloper, Mr Milner, Mr John Smith, and Mr Horatio Walpole, 'That he had been the chief Contriver and Promoter of all the Mischief, and therefore ought to be most severely punish'd.' Mr Sloper added, 'That he was grown to that Height of Pride and Insolence last Summer, that he could not give a civil Answer to Persons far above him. And thereupon instanc'd in his Behaviour one Day at the Treasury, of which he was himself Witness, when a Relation of a great Man asking Sir John

Anno 7. Geo. 1.
1721.

Debate concerning the Allowances to be given to the S. S. Directors, &c. out of their Estates.

Debate concerning Sir J. Fellows.
Mr Sloper.

Mr Hungerford.

Mr R. Walpole.

Mr Joye's Allowance.

Mr Astell's Allowance.

Debate concerning Sir Lambert Blackwell.

Debate concerning Sir John Blunt.
Mr Carter.
Ld. Jam. Cavendish
Mr Plummer.
Sir Joseph Jekyll.
Gen. Ross.
Ld. Moleworth.
Mr Jefferies.
Mr Windfor.

Mr Sloper.
Mr Milner.
Mr J. Smith.
Mr H. Walpole.

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Mr R. Walpole.

Mr H. Walpole.

Mr Jessop.

Ld. Hinchinbroke

Gen. Ross.

John for a Subscription, the Upstart Knight, with a great deal of Contempt, bid him go to his Cousin Walpole, and desire him to sell his Stock in the Bank, and by that Means he might be supply'd.' Hereupon Mr. Robert Walpole shew'd, ' That Sir John Blunt was a Projector of many Years standing; and had been the Author of several fallacious Schemes, by which unwary People had been drawn in to their utter Ruin.' And to this Purpose, instanc'd a Project for a Linen Manufactory; but Mr Horatio Walpole said thereupon, ' That was not his first: For there was a Gentleman that sat next to him, [*meaning Mr Jessop,*] whom Sir John had drawn into a Project for bringing Water to London from a great Distance, which was to out-do the New-River Water, by which the Subscribers lost all their Money, tho' Sir John himself got some Thousands by it.' This was confirm'd by Mr Jessop himself; nevertheless, the Lord Hinchinbroke mov'd for allowing Sir John Blunt 10,000 l. urging, ' That the Secret Committee had promis'd him Favour for his Openness in his Examination: ' Upon which General Ross desir'd, ' That the noble Member who spoke last might explain himself, since he seem'd to intimate, as if the Secret Committee had us'd underhand Dealings. Adding, that for his Part he knew of no Promise ever made to Sir John Blunt upon that Account; that he was sure he never made any; and he believ'd he could answer for all the Rest, that there never was any such Thing intimated to Sir John.' The Lord Hinchinbroke reply'd, that if that honourable Member would repeat his Words as he spoke them, he would explain himself: Upon which the Matter dropp'd. Then the Question being put for allowing Sir John Blunt 1000 l. it was carry'd in the Affirmative, by 138 Votes against 94.

Debate concerning Sir R. Chaplin.
Ld. Molefworth.
Sir John Eyles.

Debate concerning Sir W. Chapman, Mr Chester, Mr Child, and Mr De la Porte.
Ld Molefworth.

Mr Eyles's Allowance.

Debate concerning Mr Edmondson.

June 1. In a grand Committee of the South-Sea Sufferers Bill, the Commons resum'd the Consideration of what Allowances should be given to the late Directors out of their Estates; and, continuing in the alphabetical Order, began with Sir Robert Chaplin. Lord Molefworth, and Sir John Eyles, Member for Chippenham, having spoke in his Favour, it was agreed, without dividing, to allow him 10,000 l. and the same Allowance was given to Sir William Chapman, Mr Chester, and Mr Child. A Motion being made to give Mr De la Porte the like Sum, the Lord Molefworth was for reducing it to 7000 l. but upon the Question, whether to allow him 10,000 l. or 7000 l. it was carry'd for 10,000 l. by 150 Votes against 69. Mr Eyles's Case appearing in a favourable Light, he was allow'd 20,000 l. without dividing; and Mr Edmondson's Estate amounting to little more than 5000 l. it was mov'd to allow him the whole, and to leave him out of the Bill; but after some Debate, it was agreed to allow

low him only 3000 l. Then the Question was put, whether to allow Mr Gibbon 15,000 l. or 10,000 l. and it was resolv'd for the latter without dividing. It appearing that Mr Gore and Sir William Hammond had little or no Share in the fraudulent Contrivances of the leading Directors, the first was allow'd 20,000 l. the other 10,000 l. It was propos'd to give Mr Hawes 1000 l. But Sir Nathaniel Gould having observ'd, that he was very active in the late vile Practices, and had occasion'd the Ruin of many People, particularly of some Gentlemen he had been under in the Navy-Office, Mr Doerninque mov'd thereupon, and it was agreed, without dividing, to allow him only 31 l. being the odd Money of the Particulars of his Estate. Lord Hinchinbroke and Sir Robert Rich spoke in Favour of Mr Horley, and mov'd for allowing him 10,000 l. which was carry'd, without dividing; after which it was debated, whether to allow Mr Holditch 500 l. 1000 l. or 5000 l. the Voices were equally divided, viz. 86 and 86, upon which Mr Clayton, the Chairman, gave the casting Vote for 5000 l.

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1721.

Debate concerning Mr Gibbon, Mr Gore, and Sir W. Hammond.

Debate concerning Mr Hawes.
Sir Nath. Gould.

Mr Doerninque.

Debate concerning Mr Horley.
Ld. Hinchinbroke
Sir Rob. Rich.

Debate concerning Mr Holditch.

June 2. The Commons, in a grand Committee, proceeded off the same Affair, and began with Sir Theodore Janssen : Mr Horatio Walpole and Sir Richard Steele having spoke in his Favour, they were answer'd by General Rofs and Sir Joseph Jekyll; but Mr Trenchard moving for allowing him 50,000 l. and the Question being put thereupon, it was carry'd in the Affirmative, by a Majority of 134 Votes against 118.

Debate concerning Sir T. Janssen.
Mr H. Walpole.
Sir R. Steele.
Gen. Rofs.
Sir J. Jekyll.
Mr Trenchard.

Sir Jacob Jacobson being one of those who had the least Share in the Management of the fraudulent Scheme, Mr Hungerford mov'd to allow him 11,000 l. which was all his Estate, except 481 l. 4 s. which was agreed to without a Negative.

Debate concerning Sir J. Jacobson.

Mr Ingram's Case being much the like, Mr Pulteney mov'd for allowing him 12,000 l. near three fourths of his Estate, and being seconded by Lord Hinchinbroke, it was carry'd without dividing.

Debate concerning Mr Ingram.

The next was Sir John Lambert : Some Members were inclin'd to believe him innocent, as to the first Projection of the villainous Scheme, and thereupon a Motion was made to give him 20,000 l. some would have reduc'd it to 10,000 l. some to 5000 l. and some to 3000 l. But at last the Question being put for 5000 l. it was carry'd without dividing.

Debate concerning Sir J. Lambert.

Then it was mov'd, and carry'd without Opposition, to allow Sir Harcourt Master 5000 l. and in the same Manner Mr Morley had 1800 l. allow'd him.

Debate concerning Sir Har. Master and Mr Morley.

A Member having mov'd to allow Mr Page 10,000 l. another would have reduc'd it to 5000 l. but the Question being

Debate concerning Mr Page.

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Debate concern-
ing Col. Raymond.
Mr Heysham.
Mr Tuffnell.
Sir R. Raymond.
Mr Hungerford.

Debate concern-
ing Mr Read.
Sir J. Ward.
Mr Docminicque.

Debate concern-
ing Mr Sawbridge.
Mr Lowndes.
Lord Molefworth.
Sir Ad. Oughton.
Mr H. Walpole.

Debate concern-
ing Mr Tillard
and Mr Turner.

Debate on Mr Sur-
man.

Mr Grey Neville,

Mr Moore.

Mr Hungerford.

Mr Lechmere.

Sir J. Jekyll.
Serj. Pengelly.
Mr H. Walpole.

Debate concern-
ing Mr Grigby.

put, which of the two Sums should be given him, it was carry'd for 10,000 l. without a Division.

Col. Raymond was next; and his Cafe appearing favour-able Mr Heysham mov'd for allowing him 30,000 l. and being seconded by Mr Tuffnell, Sir Robert Raymond, and Mr Hungerford, no Opposition was made to Mr Heysham's Motion.

After this, Mr Sloper mov'd for allowing Mr Read 10,000 l. and, being back'd by Sir John Ward and Mr Docminicque, the same was carry'd without any Debate.

In the like Manner the Sum of 14,000 l. was allow'd to Mr Reynolds.

June 3. Mr Hungerford having mov'd for allowing Mr Sawbridge 10,000 l. he was oppos'd by Mr Lowndes, Lord Molefworth, Sir Adolphus Oughton, and Mr Horatio Walpole: But at last, a Member moving for 5000 l. it was agreed to without dividing. In the same Manner the Sum of 15,000 l. was allow'd to Mr Tillard, and 800 l. to Mr Turner, which was near his whole Estate.

Having gone through with the Directors, the Committee proceeded to Mr Surman, the Deputy Cashier, whose Cafe occasion'd a Debate of about an Hour and a half. Mr Grey Neville, who spoke most in his Behalf, represented, 'That in the Course of the whole Affair he had only acted as a Servant, and by the Command either of Mr Knight, or of the Directors, and therefore strenuously insisted, that he might be left out of the Bill.' Mr Arthur Moore spoke likewise in his Favour, and mov'd to allow him 30,000 l. Mr Hungerford would have reduc'd it to 20,000 l. Mr Lechmere to 12,000 l. another Member to 10,000 l. and another to 5000 l. All these were oppos'd by Sir Joseph Jekyll, Serjeant Pengelly, and Mr Horatio Walpole, who would not have allow'd him above 20 l. or 30 l. At last, the Question being put for allowing him 5000 l. it was agreed to without dividing.

June 6. Upon hearing the Merits of the controverted Election of Boralston in Devonshire, [See Page 246.] it was resolv'd, that Mr Broderick was duly elected.

June 10. The Commons, in a Committee of the whole House, consider'd farther of the South-Sea Sufferers Bill, particularly with Relation to the Allowances to be given to Mr Grigby. Mr Arthur Moore mov'd to allow him 10,000 l. but another Member said, 'That since that Upstart was once so prodigally vain as to bid his Coachman feed his Horses with Gold, no doubt but he could feed on it himself; and therefore he mov'd, that he might be allow'd as much Gold as he could eat, and that the rest of his Estate might go towards the Relief of the Sufferers.'

After

After this a Motion being made for allowing him 2000 l. it was carried without a Division.

Mr Aislaby's Case came next under Consideration. Mr Robert Walpole mov'd, that so much of his Estate might be allow'd him, as he was possess'd of towards the End of the Year 1719, before the South-Sea Bill was brought in, and this Motion was back'd by Mr Erle, Sir Charles Hotham, Mr Lowndes, Mr Lechmere, Mr Ward, and Mr Palmer. On the other hand, Mr Freeman mov'd, that all he had got since the Year 1714, might be confiscated and apply'd to the Use of the Publick; and he was supported by Sir Joseph Jekyll, who urg'd ' That it was in the Power of the Lords of the Treasury to have prevented the Mischief that had been done by the Directors.' Mr Broderick, Mr Sloper, Sir William Wyndham, and some others, spoke on the same Side, and the Question being put, that all the Estate which Mr Aislaby was possess'd of in the Year 1719, be left for him and his Family; the same, upon a Division, was carry'd in the Negative by a Majority of 18 Votes. Then another Motion was made, and the Question put, for allowing him and his Family all the Estate he was possess'd of on the 20th of October 1718, which was carry'd in the Affirmative by a Majority of 113 Voices against 95.

The following is the Balance of the Estates of the late Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, Directors, Deputy-Cashier, and Accomptant, of the South-Sea Company, as deliver'd upon Oath to the Barons of the Exchequer; together with the Allowance made, by the Committee, to each Person out of their respective Estates.

Persons.	Estates.			Allowances.		
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d. q.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Sir John Fellows, Sub-Governor	243	09	06	10000	00	0
Charles Joye, Esq; Deputy-Governor	40	10	00	5000	00	0
Mr Astel	277	50	08 $\frac{3}{4}$	5000	00	0
Sir John Blunt	183	34	08 $\frac{3}{4}$	1000	00	0
Sir Lambert Blackwell	83	52	11	10000	00	0
Sir Robert Chaplin	45	87	05	10000	00	0
Sir William Chapman	39	16	08 $\frac{1}{2}$	10000	00	0
Mr Chester	140	37	06	10000	00	0
Mr Child	52	43	01	10000	00	0
Mr De la Porte	17	15	06	10000	00	0
Mr Eyles	34	32	07	20000	00	0
Mr Edmondson	5	36	00	3000	00	0
Mr Gibbon	106	54	06	10000	00	0
	I i 2			Mr		

Anno 7. Geo. I.
1721.

Debate concern-
ing Mr Aislaby.
Mr R. Walpole.

Mr Erle.
Sir C. Hotham.
Mr Lowndes.
Mr Lechmere.
Mr Ward.
Mr Palmer.
Mr Freeman.
Sir J. Jekyll.

Mr Broderick.
Mr Sloper.
Sir W. Wyndham

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1725.

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Persons.	Estates.			Allowances.		
	l.	s.	d. q.	l.	s.	d.
Mr Gore	389	36	15 05	20000	00	0
Mr Hawes	400	31	00 02 $\frac{1}{2}$	31	00	2
Sir William Hammond	227	07	04 02	10000	00	0
Mr Horsey	199	62	05 03	10000	00	0
Mr Holditch	395	27	10 04	5000	00	0
Sir Theodore Janssen	243	244	03 11	50000	00	0
Sir Jacob Jacobson	114	81	04 00	11000	00	0
Mr Ingram	167	95	00 00	12000	00	0
Sir John Lambert	725	08	01 05	5000	00	0
Sir Harcourt Master	118	14	12 03 $\frac{1}{2}$	5000	00	0
Mr Morley	186	9	10 03	1800	00	0
Mr Page	348	17	12 03 $\frac{1}{2}$	10000	00	0
Col. Raymond	643	73	06 03	30000	00	0
Mr Read	117	297	16 00	10000	00	0
Mr Reynolds	183	68	13 02 $\frac{1}{2}$	14000	00	0
Mr Sawbridge	772	54	01 08	5000	00	0
Mr Tillard	191	75	14 04	15000	00	0
Mr Turner	88	1	17 06	800	00	0
Mr Surman, Deputy- Cashier	121	321	10 00	5000	00	0
Mr John Grigby, Ac- comptant.						
	316	87	06 00	2000	00	0

June 16. Mr Methuen deliver'd to the House the following Message from his Majesty, viz.

GEORGE R.

King's Message for
a Subsidy to Swe-
den, and for satis-
fying the Owners
of two Ships burnt
on account of the
Plague.

“ **H** Is Majesty having taken the first Opportunity upon
“ the Death of the late King of Sweden, to renew the
“ ancient Alliances between this Kingdom and Sweden, and
“ having stipulated by a Treaty to pay a Subsidy to that
“ Crown, hath order'd that Treaty to be laid before the
“ House of Commons; and hopes, from their known Zeal
“ and Affection for the Protestant Religion, and the true
“ Interest of their Country, that they will enable him to
“ make good the Engagements he has enter'd into upon this
“ Occasion.
“ His Majesty being inform'd that two Ships call'd *The*
“ *Bristol Merchant* and *Turkey Merchant*, now lying under
“ Quarantine, did arrive from Cyprus, and other Parts of
“ Turkey, infected with the Plague, and have Cotton, Wool,
“ and other Goods on Board which are dangerous to spread
“ the Infection; and conceiving it necessary, for the Pre-
“ servation of the Health of his Subjects, that the said Ships
“ and their Ladings be burnt and destroy'd, and that a rea-
sonable

“ fonsable Satisfaction be given to the Owners, hath, by Ad-
 “ vice of his Privy-Council, caus’d the Value thereof to be
 “ computed by his Majesty’s Officers, and order’d those
 “ Computations to be laid before the House of Commons,
 “ that Provision may be made for fatisfying the fame.

Anno 7. Geo. I.
 1721.

Most of the Members, who expected a Message of another Nature, and that they were to be acquainted with the near Prospect of a Peace in the North, were not a little surpriz’d at this Demand of a Subsidy for Sweden: Hereupon the Consideration of the said Message was put off to the next Day; and Mr Methuen having, with the said Message, deliver’d the several Papers, with a Schedule of them, the same was read, and it was order’d, That the said Papers do lie on the Table, to be perus’d by the Members of the House.

June 17. The House proceeded to consider the King’s Message of the Day before, which was again read by Mr Speaker. The Copy of the Treaty between Great Britain and Sweden, January 21, 1719-20, and of its separate Articles, were also read: And a Motion being made, ‘ That a Supply be granted to his Majesty, to make good the Engagements he had enter’d into with the Crown of Sweden; and to give a reasonable Satisfaction to the Owners of the Ships call’d, *The Bristol Merchant*, and *The Turkey Merchant*, in case it were found necessary for the Preservation of the Health of his Majesty’s Subjects, that the said Ships and their Ladings should be burnt and destroyed.’ This Motion occasion’d a long Debate. Mr Shippen, Sir William Wyndham, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Lord Moleworth, and Mr Butler, Member for Suffex, who were against the Motion, desir’d to know, ‘ Whether we were to give 72,000 l. to Sweden, besides the maintaining a great Fleet with 6000 Seamen in the Baltick, which they thought a sufficient Charge to the Nation, without paying so great a Subsidy? Urging, ‘ That before this last Treaty with Sweden, there had been a Rupture between the two Nations; and Hostilities and great Depredations committed by the Swedish Privateers on our Merchants; so that before any Subsidy be given to that Crown, Accounts ought first to be stated and settled, and it might appear upon the Balance, that Sweden is indebted to us.’ To this it was answer’d, by Mr Robert Walpole, Mr Horatio Walpole, Mr Lechmere, Lord Barrington, and other Courtiers, ‘ That the Subsidy allowed to Sweden by this last Treaty, and the Squadron sent to their Assistance, was no more than had been stipulated by former Engagements; but that the said Subsidy was not like to be demanded any more, the Preliminaries of the

Debate thereon.

Mr Shippen.
 Sir W. Wyndham
 Sir J. Jekyll.
 Lord Moleworth.
 Mr Butler.

Mr R. Walpole.
 Mr H. Walpole.
 Mr Lechmere.
 Ld. Barrington.

Anno 7. Geo. I.
1721.

Mr R. Walpole.

the Peace between the Czar of Muscovy and the Crown of Sweden, being in a manner settled. Neither did the King desire any new Tax for it, the Land and Malt-Tax being sufficient to answer all this Year's Expences.' Mr R. Walpole added, 'That he was extremely glad, he could at the same Time acquaint the House, that his Majesty's Endeavours to procure a general Peace had been so successful, that an advantageous Treaty with Spain was actually agreed on and sign'd.' Hereupon the Motion for a Supply being carried without a Division, the next Question was, that the House go into a Committee to consider of that Motion: The Country Party would fain have put it off to a long Day; but the Courtiers having mov'd for the 19th, it was carried without dividing.

Sir W. Wyndham.
Ed. Moleworth.

June 19. The Commons went into a Committee of the whole House to consider of the Motion for a Supply; and at the same Time took into Consideration both his Majesty's Message, and the late Treaty with Sweden, upon which there arose a very warm Debate. Sir William Wyndham declar'd himself against the Subsidy to Sweden, as an unnecessary Charge; and Lord Moleworth went to the Bottom of, and laid open, the whole Affair of the Northern War. His Lordship said, 'That he would go as far as any Man to maintain and support the Honour and Dignity of the Crown of Great Britain; but that, on the other Hand, he was not for squandering away unnecessarily the small Remainder of the Wealth of the Nation. That by our late Conduct we are become the Allies of the whole World, and the Bubbles of all our Allies: But when we have Occasion for our Allies, we are oblig'd to pay them well; and to that Purpose his Lordship instanc'd in the Dutch Troops, that came over to our Assistance in the late Rebellion.' He added, 'That as to our Alliances with Sweden, it was a Matter of great Intricacy and Nicety; because the Treaties which England has, in divers Times, made with Sweden, are partly contradictory;' and thereupon his Lordship entred into a Detail of the Treaties of Roschild and Travendall, made in the Reigns of King Charles II. and William III. 'That the Engagements lately entred into with the Crown of Sweden were likewise, in some Measure, contrary to the Treaties subsisting with Denmark; particularly as to the securing to the Duke of Holstein the Dutchy of Sleswick; and directly opposite to the Measures formerly concerted with the Czar of Muscovy, in order to engage him to check the Fierceness and Ambition of the late King of Sweden. That, after all, it seem'd unreasonable to expect that the Czar should restore his Conquests, whilst other Princes kept the Spoils of Sweden: And therefore in order to engage the Czar to yield what he had gain'd,

it

were but just that the King of Prussia should give up Stetin, and the Elector of Hanover, Bremen, and Werden. His Lordship own'd, that the distress'd Condition to which the Swedes had been reduc'd, was really worthy of Compassion: but that, on the other Hand, it must be consider'd, that they had been, in great measure, the Authors of their own Misfortunes, by their tame Submission to a despotick, tyrannical Prince, and by Sacrificing their whole Substance to enable him to carry on his unjust, rash, and ambitious Designs; and that any Nation who follow'd their Example deserv'd the same Fate. To this Purpose, his Lordship took Notice of the hard Usage of the Subjects of Mecklenburgh from their Prince, which by the way, he shrewdly insinuated to have been one of the Causes of the late Rupture with the Czar; but that after all, England ought not to intermeddle with the Affairs of the Empire, that the getting Naval Stores for our Shipping was the main Advantage we reap'd from our Trade in the Baltick: And he own'd that Hemp was a very necessary Commodity, particularly at this Juncture, [*At this Expression there was a general Laugb*] but that, in his Lordship's Opinion, if due Encouragement were given to some of our Plantations in America, we might be supply'd from thence, at a much cheaper Rate than from Sweden or Norway.' Mr Robert Walpole, and Mr H. Walpole answer'd Lord Moleworth; who being supported by Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr Lechmere reply'd to the latter; and the Question being put; That a Supply be granted to his Majesty to enable him to make good the Engagements he has entred into with the Crown of Sweden? It was carry'd in the Affirmative, by 197 Voices against 136. Then another Question being put, That a Supply be granted to his Majesty, to be apply'd to the Satisfaction of the Masters, Owners, and Freighters of the Ships *Bristol Merchant*, and *Turkey Merchant*, which are intended to be burnt and destroy'd for Preservation of his Majesty's Subjects against the Plague; It was carry'd without Opposition.

Anno 7. Geo. I.
1721.

Mr R. Walpole.
Mr H. Walpole.
Sir J. Jekyll.
Mr Lechmere.

June 20. Mr. Farrer reported the two Resolutions before-recited for granting a Supply to his Majesty, for the Purposes therein mention'd, which were agreed to.

June 21. The Commons, in a grand Committee, consider'd of the Supply, and resolv'd to grant to his Majesty, I. A Sum not exceeding 72,000*l.* to enable him to make good the Engagements he had entred into with the Crown of Sweden. II. A Sum not exceeding 23,935*l.* to be apply'd to the Satisfaction of the Owners of the two Ships, which were to be burnt and destroy'd, for the Preservation of his Majesty's Subjects against the Plague.

72,000*l.* granted
for a Subsidy to
Sweden, and
23,935*l.* for the
two Ships burnt on
account of the
Plague.

June

Anno 7. Geo. I.
1730-31.

The York-Buildings Company im-
power'd to dispose
of Part of the For-
feited Estates, which
they had purchas'd,
by Way of Lottery.

June 22. Mr Farrer reported the two foregoing Resolutions, which being agreed to, Mr Loundes made a Motion for adding a Clause to the Malt-Bill, for enabling the Company of York Buildings to dispose of Part of the forfeited Estates by them purchased, by selling Annuities by Way of Lottery: This was oppos'd by Mr Arthur Moore, and some other Members; but Mr Hutcheson and Mr Lechmere having back'd Mr Loundes's Motion, the same upon a Division was carry'd by a Majority of 90 Voices against 66, and afterwards pass'd into a Law.

The House agree
with the Commit-
tee in their Allow-
ances to the S. S.
Directors, except
Mr Astell, Sir Lam-
bert Blackwell, Sir
John Blunt, and
Mr Hawes.

June 28. The House went through all the Schedules of the Estates of the late Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, Directors, &c. of the South-Sea Company, and agreed with the Committee, as to the Allowances given them, [See p. 251.] except Mr Astell's, to whom they gave 10,000 l. Sir Lambert Blackwell, who had 15,000 l. Sir John Blunt, who got 5000 l. and Mr Hawes 5000 l. It was mov'd to reduce Sir Theodore Janssen's Allowance to 30,000 l. but upon a Division, it was carry'd in the Negative by a great Majority.

A Clause in favour
of Mr Aislabe.

Then a Clause was offer'd by Colonel Earle, to be added to the Bill, in favour of Mr Aislabe, viz. for excepting from the Forfeiture, his Country House, Gardens, and Park, as also his Lady's Jewels and Household Goods; which was brought up and read, and a Debate arising thereupon, the same was adjourn'd to the next Day, when, it was agreed to without any Division.

Debate concerning
the forfeited Estates
of the S. S. Directors.

This being over, the Remainder of the Sitting was spent in a Debate of near three Hours upon the Question, whether as the Bill stood, to vest the forfeited Estates in Trustees, or to mulct the late Directors and others, at a certain Sum? A Clause for the Mulct was offer'd by Mr Hutcheson, who propos'd a Million and Half Sterling, Sir Thomas Cross mov'd for 1,400,000 l. but not agreeing upon the Sum, the Debate was adjourn'd to the third of July.

Debate concerning
Mr Craggs's Estate.

July 3. The House resum'd the adjourn'd Debate upon the Clause offer'd to be added to the Sufferers Bill, viz. That the Estate of which the late Mr Craggs, senior, was possess'd in October 1719, be vested in the Hands of the Trustees appointed by this Bill to dispose of the Estates of the late Directors; which being strenuously oppos'd by the Court Party, was, upon a Division, carry'd in the Negative, by 104 Voices against 90.

Debate on the Pro-
posal for laying a
Mulct on the S. S.
Directors.

Then Sir John Eyles, Bart. *, Member for Chippenham, propos'd, That a Clause for vesting the Estates of the forfeiting Persons in themselves, and only laying a Mulct up-
on

* One of the Commissioners for the forfeited Estates, and Sub-Governor of the South-Sea Company.

on them, might be read, which being done accordingly, Sir Thomas Cross, Member for Westminster, spoke to it, and suggested, 'That it were more advantageous to the Publick, either to mulct the Directors, or to allow them 15 *per Cent.* out of their Estates for prompt Payment:' But this being warmly oppos'd by Mr Jessop †, Member for Aldbrough, Mr Milner, Sir Nathaniel Gould, and Lord Moleworth, the Motion for reading the said Clause a second Time was rejected without a Division.

Anne 7. Geo. I.
1721.

Sir T. Cross.

Mr Jessop.
Mr Milner.
Sir Nath. Gould.
Lord Moleworth.

July 6. The engrossed Sufferers Bill was read a third Time with a new Title, viz. A Bill, *For raising Money upon the Estates of the late Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, Directors, &c.* which, with other Amendments, was pass'd and sent up to the Lords by Mr Clayton. It is observable, that after the third Reading over of the whole Bill, which took up above two Hours, Mr Milner propos'd a Rider to be added to it, importing, That the Household Goods, Plate, Linen, &c. of the Directors, might be excepted out of the Bill; but this Motion was rejected with Disdain.

The S. S. Sufferers
Bill read the third
Time, and pass'd.

July 11. Mr Methuen acquainted the House, That he had a Message sign'd by his Majesty, which was read by Mr Speaker as follows :

GEORGE R.

" **H**is Majesty finds it necessary to acquaint his loyal
" House of Commons with the Difficulties he labours
" under, by Reason of Debts contracted in his Civil Go-
" vernment, which being computed to Lady-Day last, do
" amount to more than five hundred and fifty thousand
" Pounds.

The King's Mes-
sage relating to the
Civil List Debts.

" If the Provision, made by an Act of the last Session of
" Parliament, for discharging this Debt, had not hitherto
" prov'd in a very great Degree ineffectual, his Majesty
" had not been under a Necessity of applying again to Par-
" liament upon this Occasion; but being resolv'd to cause a
" Retrenchment to be made of his Civil List Expences for
" the future, and finding that such a Retrenchment cannot
" well be effected, without discharging the present Arrears,
" has order'd the Accounts thereof to be laid before the
" House, and hopes he may be empower'd to raise ready
" Money for that Purpose, on the Civil List Revenues;
" which, to avoid the laying any new Burden on his People,
" his Majesty proposes shall be replac'd to the Civil List, and
" reimburs'd, by a Deduction to be made out of the Salaries
" and Wages of all Offices, and the Pensions, and other
" Payments, from the Crown."

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After

† A Welch Judge, one of the Commissioners and Receiver General of the Alienation-Office.

Anno 7. Geo. 1.
1721.

Mr Shippen's
Speech thereon.

After the reading of this Message, Mr Shippen stood up, and took Notice of this new and unusual Method of asking for Money, not from the Throne, and, at the Beginning of a Session, as it had always been the Custom in former Reigns; but now, by a Message, towards the End of the Session, when most of the Members were gone Home: 'Look round about the House, Gentlemen, said he, and see how few Members are present, when a Business of this Consequence is to be debated.' But besides the Unseasonableness of the Time, Mr Shippen observ'd, 'That this Message was no less extraordinary as to another Circumstance: For whereas the Ways and Means of raising Supplies were always left to the Commons; here, not only the Sum, but the Way of raising it, was pointed out to them, which was making the House a perfect Parliament of Paris. That if Things were brought to that Pass, it might be easy for any King, whenever he thought fit, to make himself arbitrary, and absolute Master of our Liberties and Properties: Concluding, he was sure, that the Gentleman, who had advis'd the asking for such a Sum, in that Manner, [*meaning Mr Robert Walpole*] would have been of a quite contrary Mind four Years ago; [*See p. 138.*] but that it was usual for Men's Judgments to alter as their Interests lead them.' But Mr Shippen not being seconded, it was resolv'd to take the King's Message into Consideration the next Day, in a Committee of the whole House.

July 12. The Commons, in a Grand Committee, took the said Account and Message into Consideration; and Mr Shippen having spoke much to the same Purpose, as he did the Day before, was answer'd by Mr Robert Walpole, who shew'd the Occasion, and Reasonableness of the King's Message, the Tendernefs and Regard his Majesty express'd in it for the Ease of his Subjects, and the Necessity of complying with his Majesty's gracious Desires and Intentions. He was seconded by Mr Lowndes, who said, 'That Six-pence in the Pound on all the Civil List Funds, would answer the Purpose;' but Mr Pulteney, and Sir Joseph Jekyll, were of Opinion that it would not do, and therefore they mov'd for One Shilling in the Pound; adding, 'That if this were too much for the present Occasion, the Overplus might go towards the Discharge of the Publick Debts.' Mr Sloper upon this last Consideration, mov'd for One Shilling and Six-pence in the Pound, and that the Tax might extend to all Military Officers, whose Pay was above Ten Shillings a Day. This being oppos'd by Mr R. Walpole, Mr Sloper answer'd him, and Mr Lowndes reply'd to Mr Sloper, whose Motion was back'd by Mr Arthur Moore*, Member for Grimsby, and

* A Commissioner of Trade and Plantations in the Reign of Queen Anne.

The House in a
Grand Committee
take into Consider-
ation the King's
Message.

Debate thereon.
Mr Shippen.
Mr R. Walpole.

Mr Lowndes.

Mr Pulteney.
Sir J. Jekyll.

A Motion for lay-
ing a Tax on all
the Civil List Funds.

Debate thereon.

Mr R. Walpole.
Mr Sloper.
Mr Lowndes.
Mr Arthur Moore.

and Mr Herne ; but Mr Walpole, and Mr Lowndes, having again replied, Mr Sloper's Motion was dropt. Then the Question was put, whether one Shilling, or Six-Pence in the Pound, be laid on all Payments out of the Civil List ; and it was carried for one Shilling, by one Voice only, viz. 111 Votes against 110. After this, the main Question was put, ' That one Shilling in the Pound be given on all Payments out of the Civil List, towards a Fund for paying the Interest of 500,000 l. and for sinking Part of the National Debts, which was carried by 153 Voices against 63.

July 14. Mr. Farrer reported the Resolution of the said Committee, for a Tax of One Shilling in the Pound on all Payments out of the Civil List : Upon which Mr. Lowndes moved, That the House do not agree with the Committee in the said Resolution, and that the said Tax be alter'd to Six-pence in the Pound. Hereupon Mr. Hungerford took Notice, ' That this Tax was inconsistent with the Resolution taken this Session for a Land-Tax, importing, That Three Shillings in the Pound, and no more, be laid on all Lands, Salaries, Pensions, &c. That there was, indeed, an Instance of such a Tax in the late Queen's Reign, when 500,000 l. were raised much in the same Manner, for the Civil List ; but that this was then called Robinism, [*the Earl of Oxford's Name, who was then Prime Minister, being Robert*] and he fear'd this would bear the same Name.' Mr. Treby * answer'd Mr. Hungerford, as Mr. Clayton, Member for Woodstock did Mr. Treby, who was answer'd by Mr. Henry Pelham †, and the latter by the Lord Stanhope ††, Hereupon Mr. Robert Walpole answer'd most of the Objections that had been offer'd on the opposing Side. But Mr. Pulteney observ'd, ' That he had not always been of the Opinion he now seem'd to be of ; that his Mind alter'd as he was in, or out of Place ; and as he might be out in a Twelve-month's Time, so he might then be of another Opinion.' To this Mr. R. Walpole reply'd, ' That it was possible, indeed, he might be out again : But whenever that happen'd, he should be glad to resign to a Person of so much Merit as Mr. Pulteney.' The latter return'd the Compliment ; after which, Sir Joseph Jekyll spoke for the Motion of One Shilling in the Pound ; but the Question being put thereupon, it was carry'd in the Negative, by a Majority of 132 Voices against 83. And then it was resolv'd, without dividing, That His Majesty be enabled to raise any Sum not exceeding 500,000 l. to discharge the Arrears and Debts upon the Civil List, by causing a Deduction, not exceeding Six-pence in the Pound, to be made out of

K k 2

Salaries,

Anno 7. Geo. R.
1721.Mr Herne.
Mr Walpole.
Mr Lowndes.The Committee
resolve that a Tax
of one Shilling in
the Pound be laid
on the Civil List
Fund.Mr. Lowndes
moves for disagree-
ing with the Com-
mittee.
Debate thereon.

Mr Hungerford.

Mr Treby.
Mr Clayton.
Mr Pelham.
Lord Stanhope.
Mr R. Walpole.

Mr Pulteney.

Sir J. Jekyll.

The House resolve
that only 6d. in
the Pound be laid
on the Civil List
Fund.

* Secretary at War.

† Appointed one of the Commissioners of the Treasury in this Session.

†† Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince.

Anno 7. Geo. I.
1721.

Salaries, Wages, Pensions or other Payments from the Crown: And a Bill was order'd to be brought in accordingly.

July 21. The Bill for the said Tax was read the third Time, pass'd, and sent up to the Lords.

The House presented to the King an Address representing the State of the Publick Credit.

July 26. The House presented to the King an Address, representing the State of the publick Credit, and their Resolutions thereto relating, the Particulars of which may be found in the *VOTES* of this Session; and also to request the King, That as the establish'd Rules of Parliament made it impracticable for them to prepare Bills for the Royal Assent during this Session, for some of the Purposes contain'd in those Resolutions, his Majesty would be pleas'd, as soon as the publick and private Bills depending were dispatch'd, to give them an early Opportunity of perfecting that great and necessary Work.

July 29. The King came to the House of Peers, and the Commons attending, the Speaker, upon presenting the Civil List Bill to his Majesty, made the following Speech.

The Speakers Speech to the King on presenting the Civil List Bill.

Most Gracious Sovereign,
YOUR Majesty's most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, being sensible of the great Debt upon the Civil List, occasion'd by the Calamity of the Times, which has disabled the two Companies of Assurance to make good the Money which they had stipulated to pay to the Crown, which, if it had been insisted on, would have occasion'd the Ruin of many Families, and would consequently have been a great Obstruction to Trade; And your Majesty having always had so much Goodness, as rather to wave your own Right, than to exact it, to the Prejudice of your faithful Subjects; We have therefore, to make good that Loss, given your Majesty, and we humbly pray, that your Majesty would be graciously pleas'd to accept of, Six-pence in the Pound, to be paid out of the Civil List, from your Faithful Commons, who will be always ready to support your Majesty and your Government.'

After which the Royal Assent was given to an Act, *For raising Money upon the Estates of the late Sub-Governor, Deputy-Governor, Directors, Cashier, Deputy-Cashier, and Accountant of the South-Sea Company, and of John Aislavie, Esq; and likewise of James Craggs, Senior, Esq; deceas'd, towards making Good the great Loss and Damage sustain'd by the said Company; and for disabling such of the said Persons as are living, to hold any Office or Place of Trust under the Crown, or to sit or vote in Parliament for the future; and for other Purposes in the said Act express'd: And to five other Bills.*

And

And then the Lord Chancellor prorogued the Parliament to the 31st.

July 31. The King came to the House of Peers and made the following Speech.

Anno 8. Geo. 1.
1731.

The King's Speech
in Answer to the
Address of the
House relating to
the State of the
publick Credit.

My Lords and Gentlemen,
“ **T**HE Occasion of my calling you together again so suddenly, is to give you an Opportunity of resuming the Consideration of the State of Publick Credit.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,
“ The Progress that you made in this Affair during the last Session, laid such a Foundation of this necessary Work, that the World is fully appriz'd of what is reasonably to be hoped for at this present Conjunction.

My Lords and Gentlemen,
“ I must recommend to you all possible Dispatch, and am perswaded that at this Season of the Year, your Deliberation will be confin'd to what is absolutely necessary upon this extraordinary Occasion.”

The Commons being return'd to their House, resolv'd themselves into a Grand Committee on his Majesty's Speech, and came to several Resolutions thereupon for the re-establishing publick Credit, which afterwards pass'd into a Law.

August 10. The King came to the House of Peers, with the usual State and Solemnities; and the Commons being sent for up, and attending, the Lord High Chancellor, by his Majesty's Command, read the following Speech to both Houses.

My Lords and Gentlemen,
“ **I** Am glad that the Business of this and the former Session is at length brought to such a Period, that I have now an Opportunity of giving you some Recess, after the great Pains you have taken in the Service of the Publick.

The King's Speech
at putting an End
to the Sixth Session.

“ The Common Calamity, occasion'd by the wicked Execution of the South-Sea Scheme, was become so very great before your Meeting, that the providing proper Remedies for it was very difficult: But it is a great Comfort to me, to observe, that Publick Credit now begins to recover; which gives me the greatest Hopes that it will be entirely restor'd, when all the Provisions you have made for that End, shall be duly put in Execution.

“ I have great Compassion for the Sufferings of the Innocent, and a just Indignation against the Guilty; and have readily given my Assent to such Bills as you have presented to me, for punishing the Authors of our late Misfortunes, and for obtaining the Restitution and Satisfaction due to those who have been injur'd by them, in such Manner as
“ you

Anno 2. Geo. 1.
1721.

“ you judg’d proper. I was, at the same Time, willing and
“ desirous, by my Free and General Pardon, to give Ease and
“ Quiet to the rest of my Subjects, many of whom may, in
“ such a general Infatuation, have been unwarily drawn in
“ to transgress the Laws.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I return you my hearty Thanks for the Supplies you
“ have granted for the current Service of this Year; and
“ particularly for your enabling me to discharge the Debts
“ and Arrears on the Civil List, and to make Good the En-
“ gagements I was under for procuring Peace in the North
“ which, in all Probability, will now very soon be concluded.
“ These Instances of your faithful Endeavours to support the
“ Honour and Dignity of the Crown, at Home and Abroad,
“ are fresh Marks of your Zeal and Affection to my Person
“ and Government.

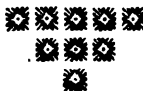
My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I take this Opportunity of acquainting you, that we
“ have renew’d all our Treaties of Commerce with Spain,
“ upon the same Foot as they were settled before the late
“ War; which must necessarily prove an immediate and
“ valuable Advantage to the Trade and Manufactures of this
“ Kingdom.

“ I earnestly recommend to you all, in your several Stati-
“ ons, to suppress Profaneness and Immorality, and to preserve
“ the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom.

“ You are all sensible, that the Discontents occasion’d by
“ the great Losses that many of my Subjects have sustain’d,
“ have been industriously rais’d and inflam’d by malicious and
“ seditious Libels; but I make no doubt, but that, by your
“ prudent Conduct in your several Countries, all the Enemies
“ of my Government, who flatter’d themselves they should
“ be able to take Advantage from our Misfortunes, and blow
“ up the Sufferings of my people into Popular Discontent
“ and Disaffection, will be disappointed in their wicked
“ Designs and Expectations.

And then the Lord Chancellor prorogued the Parliament
to the 19th Day of October.



S P E E C H E S

SPEECHES and DEBATES

In the SEVENTH Session of the

First Parliament of King GEORGE I.

ON the 19th of October the Parliament being met, the King came to the House of Peers, and the Commons attending, his Majesty, by the Mouth of the Lord High Chancellor, made the following Speech to both Houses.

Anno 8. Geo. I.
1721.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Acquainted you, when we parted last, with our having renew'd all our Treaties of Commerce with Spain; since which, Peace is happily restor'd in the North, by the Conclusion of the Treaty between the Czar and the King of Sweden; and by that which I have made with the Moors, a great Number of my Subjects are deliver'd from Slavery; and all such of them as trade to those Parts of the World, are, for the future, secur'd from falling under that dreadful Calamity.

King's Speech at
opening the Se-
venth Session.

“ In this Situation of Affairs we should be extremely wanting to ourselves, if we neglected to improve the favourable Opportunity, which this general Tranquility gives us, of extending our Commerce, upon which the Riches and Grandeur of this Nation chiefly depend. It is very obvious, that nothing would more conduce to the obtaining so publick a Good, than to make the Exportation of our own Manufactures, and the Importation of the Commodities used in the Manufacturing of them, as practicable and easy as may be; by this Means, the Balance of Trade may be preserv'd in our Favour, our Navigation increas'd, and greater Numbers of our Poor employ'd.

“ I must therefore recommend it to you, Gentlemen of the House of Commons, to consider how far the Duties upon these Branches may be taken off, and replac'd, without any Violation of publick Faith, or laying any new Burthen upon my People. And I promise myself, that by a due Consideration of this Matter, the Produce of those Duties, compar'd with the infinite Advantages that will accrue to the Kingdom by their being taken off, will be found so inconsiderable, as to leave little Room for any Difficulties or Objections.

“ The

Anno 8. Geo. I.
1721.

“ The supplying ourselves with naval Stores, upon Terms the most easy and least precarious, seems highly to deserve the Care and Attention of Parliament. Our Plantations in America naturally abound with most of the proper Materials for this necessary and essential Part of our Trade and Maritime Strength ; and if, by due Encouragement, we could be furnish'd from thence with those naval Stores, which we are now oblig'd to purchase, and bring from foreign Countries, it would not only greatly contribute to the Riches, Influence, and Power of this Nation, but, by employing our own Colonies in this useful and advantageous Service, divert them from setting up, and carrying on Manufactures which directly interfere with those of Great-Britain.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ It will be a great Pleasure to me, if, in raising the Supplies of this Year, it may be so order'd, that my People may reap some immediate Benefit from the present Circumstances of Affairs Abroad. I have order'd Estimates to be prepar'd for the Service of the ensuing Year, and likewise an Account of the Debts of the Navy, to be laid before you. You cannot but be sensible of the ill Consequences that arise from such a large Debt remaining unprovided for ; and that as long as the Navy and Victualling Bills are at a very high Discount, they do not only affect all other publick Credit, but greatly increase the Charge and Expence of the current Service. It is therefore very much to be wish'd, that you could find a Method of discharging this Part of the National Debt, which, of all others, is the most heavy and burthensome, and by that Means have it in your Power to ease your Country of some Part of the Taxes, which from an absolute Necessity, they have been oblig'd to pay.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ The unspeakable Misery and Desolation that has of late rag'd in some Parts of Europe, cannot but be a sufficient Warning to us, to use all possible Precautions to prevent the Contagion from being brought in among us ; nor if these Kingdoms should be visited with such a fatal Calamity, to be in a Condition, with the Blessing of God, to stop its farther Progress. And as all other Provisions will be altogether vain and fruitless, if the abominable Practice of running of Goods be not, at once, totally suppress'd, I most earnestly recommend to you, to let no other Consideration stand in Competition with a due Care of preserving so many thousand Lives.

“ The

“ The several Affairs which I have mention'd to you, being of the highest and most immediate Concern to the whole Kingdom, I doubt not but you will enter into the Consideration of them with that Temper, Unanimity, and Dispatch, that the Necessity and Importance of them require.”

Anno 3. Geo. I.
1721.

The Commons being return'd to their House, Sir George Oxenden, Member for Sandwich, mov'd for an Address of Thanks, which was unanimously agreed to.

Sir George Oxenden moves for an Address,

Oct. 20. Sir George Oxenden, Chairman of the Committee appointed to draw up the said Address, reported the same to the House, and upon the Speaker's putting the Question, Whether this should pass as the Address of the House? Mr Arthur Moore, Member for Grimsby, said, 'He thought the Expressions relating to the preventing Running of Goods were, too general; and that, in his Opinion, the best Way to prevent that pernicious Practice, was to take off some of the high Duties, whereby the Temptation to Smuggling would very much abate; since People would not think it worth their while to run great Hazards for a small Gain. And besides, if the Duties were lessen'd, the Importation, in all Probability, would increase proportionably; so that the Customs might amount to as much, with a smaller Duty, as they do at present; and if they did not, Ways might be found to make up the Deficiency to the Crown.' Nothing of Moment was offer'd against this Speech; but, the House not thinking it proper to enter then upon the Consideration of that Matter, the Address, as it had been drawn up, was approv'd, and the next Day presented to the King by the whole House, as follows:

Which being reported Mr Arthur Moore makes some Objections thereto.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great-Britain in Parliament assembled, beg Leave to return your Majesty our unfeigned Thanks for your most gracious Speech from the Throne.

The Commons Address.

' We congratulate your Majesty upon the Success that has attended your unwearied Application for restoring Tranquility to Europe, for securing our Commerce by Treaties, and for releasing great Numbers of your Subjects from Slavery among the Moors, and for delivering the trading Part of the Nation from the Apprehensions of the like Calamity for the future; which are so many Instances of your Majesty's Goodness, in which all your Subjects are so nearly concern'd, that we are no less bound by Interest, than led by Inclination and Duty, most thankfully to

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' acknowledge

Anno 8. Geo. I.
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‘ acknowledge these happy Effects of your Majesty’s Care
‘ for your People.

‘ Your Majesty’s recommending to us to improve the ge-
‘ neral Tranquility Abroad, towards extending and enlarging
‘ our Commerce, is an additional Proof, how much your
‘ Majesty has the real Interest of Great-Britain at Heart,
‘ in all your Counsels and Undertakings.

‘ Your Commons are throughly sensible that our Poor
‘ cannot be sufficiently employ’d, nor the Balance of Trade
‘ be long preserv’d in our Favour, while such Duties are
‘ continu’d, as either clog the Exportation of our own
‘ Manufactures, or render the Manufacturing of them at
‘ Home less easy and practicable ; and they will most chear-
‘ fully apply themselves to consider how far such Duties
‘ can be taken off and replac’d, without laying any new
‘ Burthen on your People, or violating the publick Faith ;
‘ having great Reason to promise themselves, that the free
‘ Circulation of Trade, which must naturally succeed upon
‘ the taking off this Pressure, will, in a short Space of
‘ Time, compensate any Diminution of the Customs, which
‘ this Alteration may occasion for the present.

‘ And since the Trade, Navigation, and Safety of this
‘ Nation must remain, in some Measure, precarious, as long
‘ as we are under the Necessity of purchasing and importing
‘ all our naval Stores from foreign Countries, your Majesty’s
‘ most faithful Commons will do their utmost Endeavours,
‘ that this important and beneficial Branch of Trade may
‘ be supply’d from your Majesty’s Plantations in America,
‘ and thereby divert our Colonies from setting up Manu-
‘ factures, which directly interfere with those of their
‘ Mother-Country.

‘ Your Majesty’s tender Concern to have the Supplies of
‘ this Session so order’d, that your Subjects may be among
‘ the earliest in reaping the happy Effects of the general
‘ Tranquility Abroad, cannot fail of exciting in your
‘ faithful Commons a Desire of making suitable Returns,
‘ by proceeding, with all Alacrity, to grant the necessary
‘ Supplies for the current Service of the Year, and for dis-
‘ charging the heavy Debt of the Navy : And we find our-
‘ selves engag’d, by all the Ties of Duty and Interest, to
‘ second your Majesty’s provident Intentions, for suppressing
‘ the infamous and pernicious Practice of Running Goods ;
‘ which, besides that it defrauds the publick Revenues and
‘ discourages the honest Trader, may, at this Juncture, in-
‘ danger the Health and Lives of many Thousands of your
‘ Majesty’s innocent Subjects.

‘ The several Points which your Majesty has been graci-
‘ ously pleas’d to recommend to us, carry in them such evi-
‘ dent

dent Marks of your Majesty's paternal and most affectionate Concern for your People, and are of such lasting Consequence to the Welfare and Safety of this Nation, that we should be inexcusable, if we did not, by a ready Concurrence on our Parts, do all in our Power to render these your Majesty's most gracious Purposes effectual; and proceed in the Consideration of them with such Temper, Unanimity, and Dispatch, as may fully answer your Majesty's Expectations, and defeat the Designs of those who hope for any other Contentions amongst us, but of Zeal and Affection towards your Majesty's sacred Person and Government.'

Anno 8. Geo. 2.
1721.

To which the King gave this Answer.

Gentlemen,

" I Return you my Thanks for this dutiful and loyal Address, and for the Assurances you give me of going through the weighty Affairs now before you with Unanimity and Dispatch; and I promise myself, from your experienc'd Zeal and Application, that my good Wishes for the Welfare and Prosperity of my People, will be render'd effectual."

The King's Answer thereto.

Oct. 23. A Motion was made for a Supply to be granted to his Majesty, which was unanimously agreed to.

Oct. 27. The Commons, in a Grand Committee, consider'd of the Supply to be granted to his Majesty; and, in the first Place, went upon the State of the Debt of the Navy, as it stood on the 30th of September 1721, which amounted to about 1,700,000 l. Hereupon Mr Freeman stood up, and with some Warmth animadverted upon the Persons concern'd in that Part of the Administration, saying, among other Things, ' It was Matter of Wonder, how so great a Debt could be incurr'd, when the Parliament had provided for what had been desir'd upon that Head.' He was seconded by Mr Shippen, who hinted, ' That such extraordinary Expences could not be for the immediate Service of Great-Britain, but in all Probability, for the Preservation of some foreign Acquisitions.' Mr Plummer answer'd them. Upon which Sir Joseph Jekyll said, ' That he was not against providing for any just publick Debt; but that, in his Opinion, they could not answer it, either to themselves, or those they had the Honour to represent, if they gave away the Nation's Money blindfold; and therefore he desir'd, that the House might be inform'd, how so great a Debt had been contracted?' To this Mr R. Walpole replied, ' Nothing in the World was more reasonable; and therefore he back'd the Motion for

Debate in the Committee of Supply concerning the Debts of the Navy.
Mr Freeman.

Mr Shippen.

Mr Plummer.
Sir J. Jekyll.

Mr R. Walpole,

Anno 8. Geo. 1.
1721.

One Million granted towards paying the Debts of the Navy: And an Address on that Occasion.

Debate concerning the Number of Land-Forces.

Mr Treby.

Mr Freeman.

Mr Heysham.
Mr Yonge.
Mr Jefferies.
Mr Treby.
Mr Shippen.
Mr R. Walpole.

Mr Treby.

Mr Freeman.

Mr H. Walpole.

A Bill to forbid Commerce with any Country infected with the Plague.

having a particular Account of that Debt laid before the House; but, in the mean Time, he might assure them, that near 1,100,000*l.* of it was contracted in the last Reign; and as the Persons now in the Administration, were not answerable for that Part, neither did they desire that above one Million of it should be this Year provided for.' Hereupon the Question being put, That one Million be granted towards paying off the Debt of the Navy, it was carry'd without dividing: Then the Speaker having resum'd the Chair, it was resolv'd, according to Sir Joseph Jekyll's Motion, to address his Majesty for an Account of all Money granted by Parliament for the Service of the Navy, from the first Day of January 1710; and how far the said Money has been issued for that Purpose, and what the Excess of the Expence above the Provision made by Parliament has every Year amounted to, and what were the Causes of such Excess.

Oct. 31. The Order of the Day being read, for the House to resolve itself into a Grand Committee, to consider farther of the Supply granted to his Majesty, the several Estimates and Accounts relating to the Land-Forces, Chelsea-Hospital and reduc'd Officers, were referr'd to the said Committee: But a Motion being made by Mr Treby, that the Speaker do now leave the Chair, the same was oppos'd by Mr Freeman, who desir'd that this Affair might be put off, at least till the Friday following, urging, 'That there had not been sufficient Time allow'd to the Members to peruse the several Accounts and Estimates, and, consequently, they were not prepar'd to give their Opinion thereupon.' He was seconded by Mr Heysham; but Mr Yonge answer'd them both; Mr Jefferies having replied to Mr Yonge, he was answer'd by Mr Treby, the latter by Mr Shippen; to whom Mr R. Walpole having replied, the Question was, at last, put upon Mr Treby's Motion, and carry'd in the Affirmative, by 120 against 40: The House having thereupon resolv'd itself into a Grand Committee, Mr Farrer in the Chair, Mr Treby mov'd, 'That a Supply be granted for the same Number of Forces as were provided for last Year, viz. 14,294 Men, including Commission and Non-Commission Officers, and 1859 Invalids. This was again oppos'd by Mr Freeman, who alledg'd, 'That considering the general Tranquility, both at Home and Abroad, the Number of Land-Forces might be reduc'd, and Part of that Expence apply'd to more important Uses:' But he was answer'd by Mr Horatio Walpole; and the Question being put, Mr Treby's Motion was, upon a Division, carry'd by a Majority of 121 Votes against 37.

November 9. A Bill, *To enable his Majesty effectually to prohibit Commerce with any Country, as he shall think necessary,*

sary, in order to prevent the Contagion being brought into this Kingdom, was read the first Time.

Nov. 13. The Bill, *To prevent the Contagion, &c.* was read a second Time, and committed to a Committee of the whole House.

Nov. 17. Sir Gilbert Heathcote stood up, and set forth, 'That since the Russia Company had engross'd the Trade to that Country, the Tar was rais'd above double the Price it bore when the Trade was open. That, besides, while we fetch'd our naval Stores from Russia, it was in the Power of the Czar, not only to set what Price he pleas'd upon them, but even to prevent our having them at all, in Case we should be at War, either with him, or any of his Allies; or, at least, to hinder our having them, unless brought over and imported in his own Vessels; which, he said, that he was inform'd the Czar now insisted upon. That therefore, since these Commodities were so absolutely necessary for our Navy, it was not fitting we should lie at the Mercy of a foreign Prince for them; especially, since we could be supply'd with them from our own Plantations, and upon easier Terms: For whereas we now pay for the naval Stores from Russia mostly in ready Money, we might have them from New-England, and other English Plantations in America, in Exchange for our own Manufactures; whereby we should not only encourage his Majesty's Subjects abroad, and divert them from setting up and carrying on Manufactures which directly interfere with those of Great Britain, but also employ our Poor at Home.' Concluding, with a Motion for bringing in a Bill, *For giving farther Encouragement for the Importation of Naval Stores*; which being seconded, the said Bill was order'd to be brought in.

Then the House resolv'd itself into a Grand Committee, upon the Bill, *To prevent the Contagion being brought into this Kingdom*, Mr Sandys in the Chair. A Clause being offer'd to be insert'd in the Bill, empowering the King to order his Officers to fire upon, and sink any Ship coming from an infected Place, Sir Gilbert Heathcote mov'd, and was seconded by Sir Nathaniel Gould, and Mr Chifwell, Member for Calne, all Turkey Merchants, 'That there might be an Exception as to the Ships of the Turkey Company; alledging, that many of them were abroad, which they expected home very speedily, and which could not have Notice of this Law. They urg'd besides, that to allow the sinking and destroying all Ships coming from infected Places, was, in Effect, to prohibit all Commerce with Turkey, where it was known by every Body, that the Plague was always in some Part or other; whereby we should lose the most beneficial Branch of our Trade, and which took off so much of our Woollen Manufacture.'

Anno 8. Geo. I.
1721.

Sir G. Heathcote's
Motion for a Bill
for the encouraging
the Importation of
Naval Stores.

Debate on the Bill
relating to the
Plague.

Sir G. Heathcote.
Sir Nath. Gould.
Mr Chifwell.

Anno 8. Geo. I.

1721.

Sir P. Yorke.
Mr Yonge.

Mr T. Broderick.

The Bill to prevent
the Plague read the
third Time, and
pass'd.A Bill order'd to
be brought in, in
favour of the Qua-
kers.Sir J. Ward.
Mr Heysham.
Lord W. Paulet.
Mr Sloper.
Mr H. Walpole.
Sir Wilf. Lawson.A Bill order'd to
be brought in, For
the better securing
the Freedom of
Elections.

nufacture.' To this it was answer'd, by Sir Philip Yorke, and Mr Yonge, * That there was a vast Difference between the common Plague, which is Epidemical in Turkey, and the Contagion which at present rages in the South Parts of France, to prevent the bringing over of which this Bill was chiefly intended. That therefore it might be left to the Discretion of the King and his Ministers to act in that Matter as they should see Occasion, and to give Directions accordingly by Proclamation: And Mr Thomas Broderick, added, ' That for his Part, he was more afraid, that in this Case, as on other Occasions, the King would be too merciful, rather than too severe.' Hereupon the Bill was gone through. Then, upon the Question, when the Amendment made thereto should be reported, Sir Gilbert Heathcote and they who were against the Bill insisted to have it put off, that there might be more Time to consider of any Objections that might be made against it: But Mr Broderick said, ' He thought no Time ought to be lost in a Case of this Nature, wherein the Lives of us all were concern'd: That for his Part he wish'd the Bill could obtain the Royal Assent that very Day; and therefore mov'd, ' That it be reported the next Day, which being order'd accordingly, the said Amendments were then agreed to, and the Bill order'd to be engross'd.

Nov. 20. The Commons read the third Time, pass'd, and sent up to the Lords, the Bill, *To enable his Majesty effectually to prohibit Commerce, for the Space of one Year, with any Country that is, or shall be, infected with the Plague.*

December 13. A Petition of the Quakers, in Behalf of their Friends, who scruple the Form of solemn Affirmation, viz. the Words, *In the Presence of Almighty God*, was presented to the House, and read, praying, that Leave be given to bring in a Bill, *For granting the said People such Form of Affirmation or Declaration, as may remove those Difficulties which many of them lie under; or such other Relief as to the House should seem meet:* This Petition was spoke to by Sir John Ward, and Mr Heysham, Members for London, who were back'd by the Lord William Paulet, Mr Sloper, Mr Horatio Walpole, and Sir Wilfrid Lawson *; whereupon a Bill was order'd to be brought in, according to the Prayer of the said Petition.

Dec. 15. The Quaker's Bill was read the first Time.

Dec. 16. Upon the Motion of Mr Hutcheson, a Bill was order'd to be brought in, *For the better securing the Freedom of Elections of Members to serve in Parliament.*

Dec. 19. The Commons read a second Time, and committed the Bill in Favour of the Quakers.

January

* One of the Grooms of the King's Bedchamber.

January 9. The Bill, *For granting the People call'd Quakers, such Form of Affirmation or Declaration, as may remove the Difficulties which many of them lie under,* was read the third Time, pass'd, and sent up to the Lords.

Anno 2. Geo. 3.
1761-22.

The Quaker's Bill
passes the House.

Jan. 16. A Bill, *For securing the Freedom of Elections of Members to serve in Parliament,* was read the first Time.

Jan. 22. The above-mention'd Bill was read a second Time ; upon which Mr Hutchefon stood up and spoke for committing the same, as follows,

Mr Speaker,

' Tho' I think the Necessity of the Bill which has been read to you, is of itself a sufficient Argument for it, yet since I was one of those who had the Honour of your Commands for bringing it in, it may, perhaps, be expected that I should say something upon it. As therefore there is too much Reason to apprehend, that this is the last Struggle you are ever like to have for the Preservation of your Rights and Liberties ; so certainly the Efforts of every honest Man are more than ordinarily requisite at this critical Juncture, to procure, if it be possible, the Choice of a free and independent Parliament, that being the only Means, under Providence, which can save you from that State of Ruin and Confusion, which seems so immediately to threaten, and to be hanging over you. If you should have the Misfortune to miscarry, and that the Majority of this House should hereafter be compos'd of Persons, who have Views and Schemes to pursue repugnant to the common Good and Ease of their Country, what else must you then expect but the Continuance at least, if not the Increase, of those heavy Burthens you have already upon you, and at every Turn to see the Honour and Sanction of Parliament basely prostituted to the destructive Measures of those, who shall then happen to be in Power, which, without other Means of Violence, could not be justify'd and supported ? If you should be plung'd into an unnecessary and expensive War, if your Trade and Interest should be sacrific'd for the Service of other Princes, and it may be, that done too, only to engage them to the Concession of foreign Provinces and Acquisitions, in which Britain has not the least Concern, what Redress could our Country hope for, even under such Grievances, from Patriots who had themselves contributed towards them, or were the mercenary Tools and Dependents of those who had ? All Manner of Licentiousness and publick Frauds would then have their open and avow'd Advocates ; and it would be no Wonder to see the greatest Criminals escape unpunish'd, when the Power of Remission and Pardon of Crimes were so much in their own Hands.

Mr Hutchefon's
Speech for committing
the Bill, *For
the better securing
the Freedom of
Elections, &c.*

' It

Anno 8: Geo. I.
1721-22.

‘ It is too notorious what Attempts are now carrying on to invade the Freedom of your approaching Elections; in some Places by Threats, to fill and over-awe them with the quartering of Troops, if they do not comply; in others, by the corrupt Sollicitations of Agents and Undertakers, employ’d by those, who, from the incredible Sums which are dispers’d, one must imagine, have more than private Purfes at their Command.

‘ But what, in God’s Name, can all this tend to? What other Construction can any Man in common Sense put upon all these Things, but that there seems to have been a form’d Design, by Violence and Oppression, first to humble you and to make your Necks pliable to the Yoke that is design’d for You, and then to finish the Work by tempting the Poverty and Necessities of the People, to sell themselves into the most abject and detestable Slavery, for that very Money which had been either unnecessarily rais’d, or mercilessly and unjustly plunder’d and torn from their very Bowels? And thus you may be in a fair Way of being subdu’d by your own Weapons. Nor can I imagine what Inducement Men can have, who run from Borough to Borough, and purchase their Elections at such extravagant Rates, unless it be from a strong Expectation of being well repaid for their Votes, and of receiving ample Recompence and Rewards for the secret Service they have covenanted to perform here. In this Situation, it is high Time for Gentlemen to put themselves upon their Guard; and if it be not already too late, to endeavour to put a Stop to the Course of those Evils, which are otherwise likely so soon to overtake them. It is for these Purposes that this Bill is now before you, and I hope it either is, or by your Assistance will be made such, as may fully answer the Ends for which you were pleas’d to order it to be brought in.

‘ The Abuses in the Manner of dispatching your Writs to the Sheriffs, were the Motives which first led you into this Consideration. I am persuaded the Method here prescrib’d to regulate that Matter, will be found so easy and practicable, and so little liable to any Objection, that it would be needless in me to take up your Time in enlarging upon that Head: But for the Penalties upon false Returns, unless they are settled on the severest and most rigorous Terms, it will be in vain for you to contend with Sheriffs and returning Officers, who, instead of the People in whom the Right is and ought to be lodg’d, will draw the whole Power of Elections into their own Hands, and therefore they ought to be tyed up to such strict Rules, as that they shall never dare, upon any Account whatsoever, to depart from them, much less to be subject to those Sort of Influences, which, of all others, you have most Reason to be jealous of. We know, that Persons heretofore

tofore have not only brib'd the returning Officer, but have even indemnify'd him against the whole Penalty of Five Hundred Pounds, rather than not get the Return, right or wrong, in Favour of themselves; depending, I suppose, upon the Strength and Partiality of their Friends, to maintain them, at any Rate, in the unjustifiable Possession of a Seat here; this has been practis'd upon former Occasions, and therefore there is always just Grounds to suspect it will be attempted again. And it is now come to such a Pass, that if you were even to double that Penalty, without doing something else, I am afraid it would have little or no Effect. But when all those Bonds of Indemnity are declar'd null and void, when the Securities usually given and taken upon these Occasions are withdrawn, they may then, perhaps, be deterr'd, at least from so barefac'd a Practice of these arbitrary and illegal Proceedings for the future.

Another Expedient for securing the Freedom of your Elections, and which, I think, will more effectually contribute towards it, than any one Thing whatsoever, is the annulling the Votes of those Swarms of Officers in the Customs and Excise; they are already subjected to the Penalty of one hundred Pounds, if they shall presume to intermeddle; this therefore is no more than a natural Consequence, and a necessary Enforcement of what you have done before. The Commissioners themselves of those Branches of the Revenue have been for some Time under a legal Incapacity of sitting here, as being thought under such strong Ties and Influences, in regard to their Employments, as were inconsistent with that Freedom with which Men ought to act in Parliament; certainly then the same Reason will hold good as to the Votes of them and their inferior Officers, especially in Matters that so nearly relate to it. There is likewise a Proviso, that no Person shall be capable of possessing any of these Offices, for a certain Time to be limited, after they shall have tender'd their Votes in any Election; and the Reason of that is very plain; without it all this Disability would signify nothing; for by displacing them just to serve a Turn, and restoring them again immediately after, the whole Force of this Clause would be entirely defeated.

I make no doubt but the Intention was very just and commendable of the Gentlemen who brought in the Qualification Act, which was certainly design'd to establish a landed Property in Parliament, without which, I will venture to say, it will be impossible you should be safe; but that Matter stands at present upon so loose a Foot, that I am afraid it has hitherto been of very little Use or Service to you. What Dependence, for Instance, can you have upon a Man who has no more than three hundred Pounds a Year in Land, or,

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perhaps, only an Annuity of that Value for Life, and has at the same Time thirty or forty thousand Pounds in the Funds, or an Employment of two or three thousand Pounds a Year civil or military from the Crown ? And even that small Qualification is no otherwise obligatory upon him, but merely to swear to his having it, if it be requir'd, at the Time of his Election ; for tho' he sells it, or otherwise divests himself of it immediately after, yet it remains a Doubt, whether, by so doing, he shall vacate his Seat in Parliament. This is certainly such an Omission as requires to be better regulated and explain'd. There is likewise a Saving in that Act in Favour of eldest Sons of Peers, and the same for those of Commoners of six hundred Pounds a Year ; but I confess I am at a Loss to find out upon what Grounds the latter was inserted, unless Care had been taken at the same Time to have oblig'd the Father or the Son to have prov'd the Possession of such an Estate ; for at present, let the Circumstances of the Family be what they will, if the eldest Son can procure himself to be elected, I cannot see but he is intitled to a Seat here, without any farther Examination whatsoever. This is another Defect so gross in your former Act, and opens a Back-Door to so many Persons, so entirely contrary to the Intent and Meaning of it, that it very well justifies the Repeal of it by this Bill, I mean so far only as it relates to the eldest Sons of Commoners.

Whether the House will be willing to enact it by a Clause, must be submitted to them, I only take the Liberty to mention, that it were very much to be wish'd, that Gentlemen of Estates and Families in the Country would heartily unite in this Particular, of keeping the Elections in their several Counties among themselves ; that they would resolve inviolably to support each other's Interest against the Incroachments and corrupt Applications of Strangers, let them come from what Quarter they will. If this were done, it would, in a great Measure, put an End to those dangerous and infamous Practices that are now on Foot, and we might hope once more to see this House fill'd with Gentlemen of free and independent Fortunes, such as would be above making their Court any where at the Expence of their Country, and would despise all Manner of slavish Concessions to Men in Power ; Ministers would then be neither able to screen themselves, or their Friends, against your Inquiries ; and the boldest and most enterprising of them would be made to tremble at the Apprehensions of your Animadversions upon them ; nor should we then, it is to be hop'd, sit tamely here, and see our Country harra's'd with the Expences of fruitless Expeditions abroad, and with the Maintenance of a standing Army at home, dangerous to our Constitution and Liberties.

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‘ There are other Parts of this Bill, which I had like to have omitted to have spoken to, which are design’d, if possible, to put a Stop to that Torrent of Bribery and Corruption, which the Iniquity of the Times has let in upon you ; and tho’ I have very little Prospect of any good Effect that Way, and whatsoever the Fate of this Bill may be, every Gentleman, I dare swear, will so far agree, that some Method should be taken to prevent such Practices, or the Kingdom must be undone. If at this Time you had Men at the Head of your Administration, who had ever been charg’d with, or any Way convicted of such Crimes, I own it would be in vain to propose this, or any other Method, to punish and discourage it. Were it possible to believe, that the Influences of such Men could prevail here, or in any other Branch of the Legislature, it would then be no Wonder to see this Bill miscarry, or to hear it treated as a Composition of Absurdities, or as a Violation of the Birthrights of great Numbers of his Majesty’s best Subjects. But at present this shall be no Reason with me to anticipate so much ill Fortune to it, since it is plain it could come before you with no other View, but to restore the Freedom and Honour of Parliament, to rescue the Rights and Liberties of our Country, and to save, if it be possible, the poor Remnant of our Constitution. These are the Considerations which occur to me in Favour of this Bill ; and I humbly move you that it may be committed.’

Accordingly the said Bill was committed to a Committee of the whole House.

February 1. Sir John Cope, Bart. Member for Tavistock, charg’d Sir Francis Page, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, with endeavouring to corrupt the Borough of Banbury in the County of Oxon, in order to procure Sir William Codrington to be chosen a Representative for the said Borough in the ensuing Election. The Sum of this Charge was, that Mr Baron Page had not only offer’d to the said Corporation to forgive them six or seven hundred Pounds, they ow’d him for their new Charter, but likewise to give them another large Sum in ready Money, which Sir John Cope having offer’d to prove by undeniable Evidence, set the whole House into a Flame ; and some Members were for censuring the Baron immediately ; but Mr Robert Walpole moderated that Heat, representing, ‘ That it was unreasonable to arraign, condemn, and censure a Man, especially one in so eminent a Station, before they heard what he had to say in his own Vindication ; and besides, that it would look like prejudging the Merits of the Election of that Borough ; and therefore he was of Opinion, they ought not to take any Notice of that Complaint, until the Election was over,

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and

Sir John Cope charges Mr Baron Page with endeavouring to corrupt the Borough of Banbury.

Debate thereon.

Anno 8. Geo. I.
1721-22.

Debate on the Bill,
For securing the
Freedom of Elec-
tions, &c.

and then, if any Thing of that Nature appear'd, the House might proceed to censure as they should think fit.' He was supported by several other Members of the Court-Party, who all'dg'd, 'That when they should hear what Mr Baron Page had to say for himself, the Matter might appear quite otherwise; and that the Gentleman who accus'd him, might be either misinform'd, or impos'd upon.' Hereupon the Matter of the said Charge was order'd to be heard at the Bar of the House the 13th. Then in a Committee of the whole House, the Commons went upon the Bill, *For better securing the Freedom of Elections of Members to serve for the Commons in Parliament*; upon which there were great Debates about several Clauses that were offer'd to be insert'd in the Bill: One of them was, that no Officer of the Customs, or Excise, should have any Vote at any Election for Parliament-Men; which was strenuously oppos'd by the Court Party, as taking away from the said Officers their Birthright, as Englishmen and Freeholders; so that after some Speeches made on both Sides, the Country-Party were contented to drop that Clause. Another was propos'd, importing, 'That no Person who did not pay Scot and Lot, should have a Vote in a Corporation; but this was also oppos'd by the Courtiers, who urg'd, 'That it had already been adjudg'd, at Committees of Elections, and agreed to by the House, in several Cases, that such Persons, in some Places, should have no Votes; and that in other Places they should be allow'd to vote, provided they did not receive Alms from the Parish.' The other Party, in order to give the Bill a more easy Passage, did not think fit to insist upon this second Clause neither; and so the Bill was gone through, and order'd to be reported on the 6th.

The House order
Sir John Cope and
Mr Baron Page to
be heard by their
Council.

Feb. 2. The House order'd, That the Complaint made the Day before by Sir John Cope, Bart. against Mr Baron Page, be by him put into Writing, and deliver'd to Mr Baron Page; and, That Sir John Cope, Bart. and Mr Baron Page be heard at the Bar of this House by their Counsel, upon the Matter of the said Charge.

The Bill, For se-
curing the Freedom
of Elections, passes
the House, and is
rejected by the
Lords.

Feb. 7. The engros'd Bill, *For better securing the Freedom of Elections*, was read the third Time, pass'd, and sent up to the Lords; who reject'd it, on the second Reading thereof February the 13th.

Farther Proceed-
ings on the Com-
plaint of Sir John
Cope against Mr
Baron Page.

Feb. 13. The House went upon the Complaint of Sir John Cope, Bart. against Mr Baron Page, for endeavouring to corrupt several of the leading Members of the Corporation of Banbury against the next Election; and to aggravate the Matter, Sir John Cope acquainted the House, that he was inform'd, that some of his Evidences had been tamper'd with; and that there was one Mr Gregory at the Door, who could give the House an Account thereof. Mr Gregory having thereupon



thereupon been call'd in, and examin'd, Sir John Cope mov'd, That the Matter of the said Charge might be referr'd to the Consideration of a Committee, upon Oath; but this was oppos'd by the Courtiers, who urg'd, That the said Complaint was already order'd to be heard at the Bar of this House this Day, and the Question being put, that the hearing the Matter of the said Charge at the Bar of this House be discharg'd, it was carry'd in the Negative by 176 Voices against 135. Then Sir John Cope mov'd, and the Question was propos'd, that the Witnesses to be examin'd in the Matter of this Charge, be examin'd at the Bar of this House in the most solemn Manner; but the previous Question being put, that the Question be now put, it pass'd in the Negative by 144 Votes against 142. Then the Counsel for Mr Baron Page being call'd in, and the Charge of Sir John Cope against him read, the Mayor of Banbury, and other Witnesses, were call'd in, and examin'd by Sir John Cope; after which, the Counsel for Mr Baron Page was heard, and a Witness examin'd. The Witnesses for Sir John Cope declar'd, ' That Mr Baron Page being with Sir Adolphus Oughton, and Sir William Coddington in the Town-Hall at Banbury, Mr Baron Page call'd the Mayor and two or three of the Aldermen into another Room, and discoursing with them about a Person to be set up at the next Election to represent the Corporation, he propos'd to them Sir William Coddington. That they answer'd, They would be very glad to accept one of his Recommendation; but added, that most other Corporations made a considerable Advantage of their Elections; and they knew no Reason why they should not do it as well as their Neighbours; that they wanted to have their Streets pav'd, an Augmentation to their Vicarage, and a School to be built; which the Corporation not being able to do of themselves, their Stock being very low, they therefore expected, that the Person who should be chosen should be at that Expence, which, in all, might amount to 500 l. or 600 l. That thereupon the Baron told them, he did not expect such an Answer; that they knew he had been very kind to the Corporation, and had been at a great Charge, no less than 600 l. or 700 l. to procure them a new Charter; that he never intended to ask that Money of them, and if they would order a Release for it to be drawn up, he would readily sign it, which he did accordingly on the 22d of December last. That this was all that pass'd then; but that the Baron came afterwards to them, and offer'd them first 100 l. and then came up to 500 l.' It being late, the House adjourn'd the farther hearing of that Matter to the next Day.

Feb. 14. After the farther examining of Witnesses, and hearing of Mr Baron Page's Counsel, a Motion being made, and

Anno 8. Geo. I.
1721-22.

The House resolve
that Sir John
Cope had not
made good his
Charge against
Mr Baron Page.

Debate concerning
a Bill, To empower
the S. S. Company
to dispose of Part of
their Capital Fund
to pay their Debts.

Mr Hutcheson.
Lord Morpeth.
Gen. Rofs.
Mr W. Pulteney.

Mr R. Walpole.

and the Question put, that it appear'd to this House, that Sir John Cope, Bart. had made good his Charge against Sir Francis Page, one of the Barons of his Majesty's Exchequer, it was, after a long Debate, carry'd in the Negative, by 128 Votes only against 124.

Feb. 16. The House went into a Committee upon a Bill, *To enable the South-Sea Company to dispose of the Effects in their Hands by Way of Lottery or Subscription, in order to pay the Debts of the said Company.* Sir Thomas Crofs being in the Chair, Mr Robert Walpole offer'd a Clause to be added to the Bill, *To empower the South-Sea Company to dispose of Part of their Capital Fund, not exceeding two Hundred Thousand Pounds per Annum, to any Persons, Body Politick or Corporate, to enable them to pay their Debts.* This Clause was very strenuously oppos'd by Mr Archibald Hutcheson, the Lord Morpeth, General Rofs, and Mr Pulteney; who suggested, 'That this was but an Ingraftment in other Terms: That the South-Sea Company had desir'd no such Power; but if they had it, the Directors would not fail making Use of it, whether there was any Occasion for it or not.' To this Mr Walpole replied, 'He perceiv'd, that because he had once declar'd himself in Favour of an Ingraftment, every Thing he propos'd since appear'd frightful, as tho' he were in the Interest of another Company, and not in that of the South-Sea; but that he took that Opportunity to declare, that he had no Manner of Concern in the Bank, where, for a long Time, he had not had one Penny; whereas he had, at this very Juncture, a considerable Stock in the South-Sea Company, and therefore had Reason to be for the Interest of the latter, if he consider'd only his own; but that in this whole Affair, he had the publick Good principally in View: And altho' he had been so much reflected on for being for an Ingraftment, yet he would undertake to prove to any two unprejudic'd Gentlemen in that House, as plainly as Figures could do, that an Ingraftment had been for the Interest and Advantage of the South-Sea Company. That as to this Clause, he could not imagine, why any one concern'd in the said Company, should be against their having as much Power as they could, since it was in their Choice, whether they would make Use of it or not: That considering the present Circumstances of Affairs, the lowness of Publick Credit, the Parliament's drawing to an End, and how many Accidents might happen before another Session, he thought it could not hurt the Company to have Power from the present Parliament, to do what they might have Occasion to apply for to a Parliament, when, perhaps, none were sitting.' Hereupon the said Clause was agreed to, and the Bill gone through.

Feb.

Feb. 23. The Commons read the third Time, pass'd, and sent up the said Bill to the Lords.

Anno 8. Geo. I.
1721-22.

March 7. The King went to the House of Peers with the usual State and Solemnity, and the Commons attending, their Speaker, upon presenting the Money-Bill, made the following Speech to his Majesty, viz.

Which is pass'd.

Most gracious Sovereign,

THis is the seventh Year in which your Majesty's faithful Commons, without burthening your People with any new or unusual Taxes, have readily and chearfully granted to your Majesty the necessary Supplies, not only for carrying on the ordinary Expences of the Government, but for maintaining the Honour and Dignity of the Crown ; and, at the same Time, they have omitted no Opportunity of easing the publick Incumbrances, and of putting the National Debt into a Method of Payment ; for no sooner had your Majesty, by the Vigilance of your Councils, and the Success of your Arms, restor'd and secur'd the publick Peace and Tranquility, but your Commons immediately found Means to reduce the Interest of the National Debt, and thereby set apart a Fund, which, by a farther Reduction of Interest since made by your Commons, will, in a few Years, be considerably increas'd, and the Payment of the Principal become practicable ; and from which your Majesty's trading Subjects have already reap'd this immediate Benefit, that your Commons have been enabled, during this Session, without endangering the Security of any Parliamentary Engagements, to take off such Duties as were found by Experience to be most prejudicial to the Trade and Manufactures of your Kingdoms. And as your Commons were apprehensive, that the Debt of the Navy was rising to such an Height, as would, if not timely prevented, necessarily affect and depreciate all other publick Credit, and which would inevitably increase the Charge and Expence of the current Service ; they have therefore unanimously agreed on such Methods of discharging so much of that Debt, as will effectually prevent the Mischiefs they apprehend, and can be no Ways burthensome to their Fellow-Subjects.

The Speakers's
Speech to the King
on presenting the
Money-Bill.

Thus have your Commons fully and happily compleated every Thing which your Majesty was graciously pleas'd to recommend to them at the Beginning of this Session ; and whenever your Majesty, in your Royal Wisdom, shall again think it proper to meet your People in Parliament, may they imitate your present House of Commons in our Duty and Affection to your Majesty, in our Steadiness and Resolution to support your Government ; may they continue,
with

Anno 8. Geo. I.
1721-22.

with like Application and Diligence, to extend Trade and Commerce, the true and natural Source of Wealth and Plenty in these Kingdoms ; and we should think ourselves happy, if even our Mistakes might be of Service to your Majesty, by being a Warning to those that come after us : And that when the Wisdom of your Majesty's Councils, and the Steadiness of your Administration, shall have restor'd Credit to its former flourishing Condition, they may not grow wanton with too much Prosperity, but may proceed with such Caution and Prudence in their Endeavours to lessen the National Debt, as may put it out of the Power of any Set of Men to produce Misery and Distress, from what shall be propos'd for the Ease and Benefit of your People : And that, by the Blessing and Assistance of Divine Providence, they may so effectually unite the Affections of your People, and firmly establish your Majesty's Throne, *That the Scepter may not depart from your Royal House, nor a Lawgiver from between your Feet !* that the ancient legal Constitution of this Kingdom, in King, Lords, and Commons, may be perpetuated in your Majesty and your Royal Posterity, till Time shall be no more.

Your Majesty having been, at different Times, in the Course of this Session, graciously pleas'd to accept such Supplies, as your Commons offer'd to your Majesty for the Service of this Year, they do now humbly pray your Majesty's like gracious Acceptance of a Bill they have prepar'd for discharging the Debt of the Navy, intitled, *An Act for paying off and cancelling one Million of Exchequer Bills, &c.*

After this the King gave the Royal Assent to the said Bill ; also to a Bill, *To enable the South-Sea Company to dispose of the Effects in their Hands by Way of Lottery or Subscription, &c.* Also to several other publick, and private Bills.

After which his Majesty made the following Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King's Speech
at putting an End
to his first Parlia-
ment.

“ **Y**OU could not have given me a more acceptable Instance of your Zeal and Affection, than by dispatching, with so much Unanimity, the several Particulars I recommended to you at the Beginning of this Session, for the Ease and Advantage of my People.

“ The many and great Encouragements you have given to our Trade and Manufactures, and the Provision you have made for our being supply'd with naval Stores from our own Plantations, will, I make no doubt, excite the Industry of my Subjects, employ a greater Number of the Poor, encrease our Navigation, and be a considerable Addition to the Riches and Strength of this Nation.

Gentlemen,

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

Anno 8. Geo. 1.
1721-22.

“ The raising the current Supplies of the Year, and the making a Provision for the Discharge of so considerable a Part of the Debt of the Navy, is a farther Proof of your Affection to me, and your Regard for the Publick ; and doing it in a Manner so little burthensome to my People gives me the greatest Satisfaction.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I cannot in Justice part with this Parliament, without returning you my sincerest Thanks, for your steady and resolute Adherence to my Person and Government, and to the Interest of the Protestant Cause, both at Home and Abroad. The Enemies of our happy Constitution have given the strongest and most honourable Testimony of your Behaviour in these Particulars, by the implacable Malice which they have, upon all Occasions, express'd against you.

“ You must all be sensible, that they are, at this Juncture, reviving, with the greatest Industry, the same wicked Arts of Calumny and Defamation, which have been the constant Preludes to publick Troubles and Disorders ; and such is their Infatuation, that they flatter themselves the grossest Misrepresentations will turn to their Advantage, and give them an Opportunity of recommending themselves to the Favour and good Opinion of my People ; but I have so just a Confidence in the Affection of my Subjects, and in their Regard for their own Welfare, that I am persuaded they will not suffer themselves to be thus impos'd upon, and betray'd into their own Destruction.

“ For my Part, as the Preservation of the Constitution in Church and State shall always be my Care, I am firmly determin'd to continue to countenance such as have manifested their Zeal for the present Establishment, and have the religious and civil Rights of all my Subjects truly at Heart ; and I question not but that Behaviour, which has justly recommended them to me, will effectually secure to them the Good-will of all that are well affected to my Government ; and will convince the World, that the Expectations of those are very ill grounded, who hope to prevail with a Protestant free People, to give up their Religion and Liberties into the Hands of such as are Enemies to both.”

And then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's Command, prorogued the Parliament to the 15th of March : But on the 10th of the same Month, a Proclamation was issued for the Dissolution of this Parliament, and the Calling another.

The Parliament
Dissolved.

S P E E C H E S

A N D

D E B A T E S

I N T H E

First Session of the SECOND PARLIAMENT

O F

King G E O R G E I.

Being the Sixth Parliament of Great Britain.

Anno 9. Geo. I.

1722.

The Parliament
meet.Mr Spencer Compton
re-elected
Speaker.

ON the 9th of October, the Parliament being met at Westminster, pursuant to a Proclamation for that Purpose, the King came to the House of Peers, with the usual State, and the Commons being sent for up and attending, his Majesty's Pleasure was signify'd to them by the Lord Chancellor, that they should return to their House and chuse a Speaker, and present him to his Majesty the Thursday following. The Commons being return'd accordingly, Mr Pulteney*, Member for Heydon, made a Motion for chusing Mr Spencer Compton†, Knight of the Shire for Suffex, their Speaker, as a Person of known Abilities, and consummate Experience, and in all Respects qualify'd for so arduous and important an Employment, which he had already discharg'd with universal Applause, in the last Parliament. This Motion was immediately seconded, and being supported by a great many Voices, he was chosen Speaker, without Opposition.

October 11. The King being come again to the House of Peers, the Commons presented their Speaker to his Majesty, who, by the Mouth of the Lord Chancellor, signify'd his Approbation of their Choice. Then the Lord Chancellor read his Majesty's Speech to both Houses, as follows.

My

* Appointed Lord Lieutenant of the East Riding of Yorkshire, January 20th 1721-22.

† Paymaster General of his Majesty's Forces, and of Chelsea Hospital.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I Am concerned to find my self oblig'd, at the opening of
 " this Parliament, to acquaint you, that a dangerous Con-
 " spiracy has been for some Time form'd, and is still car-
 " rying on, against my Person and Government, in Favour
 " of a Popish Pretender.

" The Discoveries I have made here, the Informations I
 " have receiv'd from my Ministers abroad, and the Intelli-
 " gences I have had from the Powers in Alliance with me,
 " and indeed from most Parts of Europe, have given me
 " most ample and concurrent Proofs of this wicked Design.

" The Conspirators have, by their Emissaries, made the
 " strongest Instances for Assistance from Foreign Powers, but
 " were disappointed in their Expectations: However, con-
 " sidering in their Numbers, and not discourag'd by their for-
 " mer ill Success, they resolv'd once more, upon their own
 " Strength, to attempt the Subversion of my Government.

" To this End, they provided considerable Sums of Money,
 " engag'd great Numbers of Officers from abroad, secur'd
 " large Quantities of Arms and Ammunition, and thought
 " themselves in such Readiness, that had not the Conspiracy
 " been timely discover'd, We should, without Doubt, before
 " now, have seen the whole Nation, and particularly the
 " City of London, involv'd in Blood and Confusion.

" The Care I have taken has, by the Blessing of God,
 " hitherto prevented the Execution of their traiterous Pro-
 " jects: The Troops have been encamp'd all this Summer:
 " Six Regiments, though very necessary for the Security of
 " Ireland have been brought over from that Kingdom: The
 " States-General have given me Assurances, that they would
 " keep a considerable Body of Forces in a Readiness to em-
 " bark on the first Notice of their being wanted here, which
 " was all I desir'd of them, being determin'd not to put my
 " People to any more Expence than what was absolutely
 " necessary for their Peace and Security.

" Some of the Conspirators have been taken up, and se-
 " cur'd; and Endeavours are us'd for apprehending others.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" Having thus in general laid before you the State of the
 " present Conspiracy, I must leave to your Consideration
 " what is proper and necessary to be done for the Quiet
 " and Safety of the Kingdom. I cannot but believe the
 " Hopes and Expectations of our Enemies are very ill
 " grounded, in flattering themselves, that the late Discon-
 " tents, occasion'd by private Losses and Misfortunes, how-
 " ever industriously and maliciously fomented, are turned
 " into Disaffection, and a Spirit of Rebellion,

N. n. 2

" Had

Anno 9. Geo. 2.
1734.

The King's Speech
at opening the first
Session of his Se-
cond Parliament,
wherein his Ma-
jesty takes Notice
of Laver's Plot.

Anno p. Geo. I.
1712.

“ Had I, since my Accession to the Throne, ever attempted any Innovation in our establish'd Religion ; had I, in any one Instance, invaded the Liberty or Property of my Subjects, I should less wonder at any Endeavours to alienate the Affections of my People, and draw them into Measures that can end in nothing but their own Destruction.

“ But to hope to persuade a free People, in full Enjoyment of all that is dear and valuable to them, to exchange Freedom for Slavery, the Protestant Religion for Popery, and to sacrifice at once the Price of so much Blood and Treasure, as have been spent in Defence of our present Establishment, seems an Infatuation not to be accounted for. But however vain and unsuccessful these desperate Projects may prove in the End, they have at present so far the desired Effect, as to create Uneasiness and Diffidence in the Minds of my People ; which our Enemies labour to improve to their own Advantage. By forming Plots they depreciate all Property that is vested in the publick Funds, and then complain of the low State of Credit : They make an Increase of the National Expences necessary, and then clamour at the Burthen of Taxes, and endeavour to impute to my Government, as Grievances, the Mischiefs and Calamities which they alone create and occasion.

“ I wish for nothing more, than to see the publick Expences lessen'd, and the great National Debt put in a Method of being gradually reduc'd and discharg'd, with a strict Regard to Parliamentary Faith ; and a more favourable Opportunity could never have been hoped for, than the State of profound Peace, which we now enjoy with all our Neighbours. But publick Credit will always languish under daily Alarms and Apprehensions of publick Danger : And as the Enemies of our Peace have been able to bring this immediate Mischief upon us, nothing can prevent them from continuing to subject the Nation to new and constant Difficulties and Distresses, but the Wisdom, Zeal, and vigorous Resolutions of this Parliament.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I have order'd the Accounts to be made up, and laid before you, of the extraordinary Charge that has been incurred this Summer, for the Defence and Safety of the Kingdom ; and I have been particularly careful, not to direct any Expence to be made greater or sooner than was of absolute Necessity.

“ I have likewise order'd Estimates to be prepar'd and laid before you, for the Service of the Year ensuing ; and

“ I

" I hope the farther Provisions, which the treasonable Practices of our Enemies have made necessary for our common Safety, may be order'd with such Frugality, as very little to exceed the Supplies of the last Year.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I need not tell you of what infinite Concern it is to the Peace and Tranquility of the Kingdom, that this Parliament should, upon this Occasion, exert themselves with a more than ordinary Zeal and Vigour. An intire Union among all that sincerely wish well to the present Establishment, is now become absolutely necessary. Our Enemies have too long taken Advantage from your Differences and Dissentions. Let it be known, that the Spirit of Popery, which breathes nothing but Confusion to the civil and religious Rights of a Protestant Church and Kingdom, however abandon'd some few may be, in despite of all Obligations divine and human, has not so far possess'd my People, as to make them ripe for such a fatal Change. Let the World see, that the general Disposition of the Nation is no Invitation to Foreign Powers to invade us, nor Encouragement to Domestick Enemies to kindle a Civil War in the Bowels of my Kingdom. Your own Interest and Welfare call upon you to defend yourselves. I shall wholly rely upon the Divine Protection, the Support of my Parliament, and the Affections of my People, which I shall endeavour to preserve, by steadily adhering to the Constitution in Church and State, and continuing to make the Laws of the Realm the Rule and Measure of all my Actions."

October 15. The House began to enter upon Business, appointed and order'd the Sitting of the Grand Committees for Religion, Grievances, Courts of Justice, Trade, and Privileges and Elections; and made the usual standing Orders and Regulations. When they came to the Committee of Privileges and Elections, Mr Hutchefon, Member for Hastings, mov'd, That it should consist of 36, or such other Number of Select Members as the House should think fit, who should be empower'd to hear, try, and determine the Merits of Elections; and that no other Members but such as were chosen by the House, might have Votes in the said Committee. He was seconded by Mr Jefferies, Member for Droitwich, who shew'd, that this had been the constant Usage and Practice both before and after Queen Elizabeth's Time, and that it had never been otherwise, till the long Parliament in 1641, when all Things were in Confusion; but nevertheless Mr Hutchefon's Motion was dropt.

Mr Hutchefon moves, that the Committee of Privileges and Elections be a Select Committee of 36, and is back'd by Mr Jefferies.

Mr

Ann 9. Geo. I.
1722.

Mr W. Pulteney
moves for an Ad-
dress of Thanks to
the King for his
Speech.

Debate thereon.

Mr Doddington.

Mr Shippen.

Sir W. Wyndham.

Mr W. Pulteney.

Mr Yonge.

A Bill from the
Lords for suspend-
ing the Habeas
Corpus Act for one
Year.

Debate thereon.

Mr Cæsar.

Mr Speaker having afterwards reported the King's Speech to both Houses, Mr William Pulteney stood up, and represented the dismal Consequences of the Plot, if it had pleas'd the Divine Providence that it had not been timely discover'd; and mov'd for an Address of Thanks, on the several Heads of his Majesty's Speech, particularly to congratulate his Majesty on the timely Discovery of the dangerous and unnatural Conspiracy against his Majesty's Person and Government; to express the just Detestation and Abhorrence his faithful Commons had of all such traitorous Practices, and their Indignation and Resentment against the Authors and Contrivers of them. This was seconded by Mr Doddington, Member for Bridgwater; but Mr Shippen, Member for Newton, mov'd, that to the Paragraph, *Assuring his Majesty, that his faithful Commons would enable him effectually to suppress all remaining Spirit of Rebellion*, these Words might be added, *with due Regard to the Liberty of the Subject, the Constitution in Church and State, and the Laws now in Force.* He was seconded by Sir William Wyndham, Member for Somersetshire; but Mr Pulteney reply'd, 'That such a Clause would be injurious to the King, since it would look like making a Condition or Bargain with his Majesty, and tacitly imply, either that the Laws had already been infrig'd, or that the Commons were jealous lest his Majesty should, for the future, break in upon the Constitution: Therefore, instead of the said Clause, he propos'd, that at the latter End of the Address, they should return his Majesty their Thanks for his most gracious Declaration, that he would preserve the Constitution in Church and State, and continue to make the Laws of the Realm the Rule and Measure of all his Actions.' This was seconded by Mr Yonge, Member for Honiton: And then the Question being put, which of the Two Clauses should be made Part of the Address, it was carry'd for Mr Pulteney's Clause, without any Division. After this, a Committee was appointed to draw up the said Address.

Mr Justice Tracy and Mr Baron Price having brought from the Lords, a Bill, *To empower his Majesty to secure and detain such Persons as his Majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his Person and Government*: The same, upon Mr R. Walpole's Motion, was immediately read the first Time, and ordered to be read a second Time the next Morning.

Oct. 16. The said Bill was read a second Time, and a Motion being made, and the Question put thereupon, That it be committed to a Committee of the whole House, the same was oppos'd by Mr Cæsar, Member for Hertford, who represented the dangerous Consequences of a Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, to the Rights and Liberties of Englishmen.

ANNO 9. GEOR. II.
1724.

Mr Hungerford.
Mr Bromley.

Earl of Hertford.
Mr S. Cowper

Mr Smith.
Sir J. Jekyll.

Sir Rob. Raymond.

Mr Worley.

Sir Wilfred Law-
son.
Mr Hungerford.
Mr Jeffries.
Mr Hutchefon.
Mr Sloper.
Mr Pulteney.
Mr Yonge.
Mr H. Pelham.

Mr R. Walpole.

men. He was seconded by Mr Hungerford, Member for Scarbrough; but Mr Bromley, Member for the University of Oxford, said thereupon, 'That the chief Objection against this Bill being in Point of Time, and whether the Suspension was to continue six or twelve Months, it was more proper to debate it in a Committee than in a House, and therefore he was for committing it;' which, after some small Opposition, was carry'd without dividing. The House being immediately resolv'd into that Committee, and the Earl of Hertford †, Member for Northumberland, placed in the Chair, Mr Spencer Cowper *, Member for Truro, stood up, and open'd the Debate. He declar'd, 'That he and all his Family had come as early and as readily into the Revolution, and on all Occasions had appear'd as zealous for the present happy Settlement as any one: But yet he could not be of Opinion, to trust the Liberties of the People in the Hands of any Ministry, for so long a Time as above a Year. That neither in King William's nor Queen Anne's Reigns, nor since his present Majesty's Accession to the Throne, even in Times of open and actual Rebellion, the *Habeas Corpus* Act had ever been suspended for above Six Months; and therefore he mov'd, that the present Suspension might be limited to that Term.' He was seconded by Mr Smith ††, Member for Eastlow, and Sir Joseph Jekyll **, Member for Ryegate, who added, 'That if, at the End of those six Months, there appeared to be a Necessity for a farther Suspension, he should, and he doubted not but the whole House would, readily come into it.' They were answered by Sir Robert Raymond †, Member for Helston, who, to shew the Necessity of the Suspension for a whole Year, said, 'That the present Conspiracy being laid deep, spreading far and wide, and consisting of several Branches, it requir'd a great deal of Time to unravel, and make a full Discovery of it.' Mr Worley, Member for Newton [*Hants*] having answer'd him, he was reply'd to by Sir Wilfred Lawson, Member for Cockermouth; after which the Debate was continued between Mr Hungerford, Mr Jeffries, Mr Hutchefon, and Mr Sloper, Member for Camelford, who all supported Mr Cowper's Motion; and Mr Pulteney, Mr Yonge, and Mr H. Pelham, Knight of the Shire for Suffex, who were for agreeing to the Bill without Amendments. At last Mr Robert Walpole *, Member for Lynn, laid

† Governor of Tinnmouth-Fort, and Captain of the Second Troop of Guards.

* Chief Justice of Chester, and Attorney-General to the Prince.

†† One of the Tellers of the Exchequer.

** Master of the Rolls.

† Attorney-General.

* Chancellor and Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer.

Anno 9. Geo. I.

1722.

laid before the House some Particulars of the detestable and dangerous Conspiracy, which for some Time past had been, and was still carrying on, for the utter Subversion of the present happy Settlement. He said, 'That this wicked Design was form'd about Christmas last; that the Conspirators had at first made Application to some Potentates abroad, for an Assistance of 5000 Men: That being deny'd, they afterwards, about the Month of April, made farther Application and earnest Instances for 3000 Men: That being again disappointed in their Expectations from Foreign Assistance, they resolv'd desperately to go on, confiding in their own Strength, and fondly depending on the Disaffection in England; and that their first Attempt was to have been the seizing of the Bank, the Exchequer, and such other Places where the publick Money was lodg'd: That the Government had undoubted Informations of this Plot ever since May last; but nevertheless thought fit not to take up any Body, because there being then two Terms coming on together, the Conspirators would have had the Benefit of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and so the Apprehending them was put off 'till the long Vacation.' He added, 'That the traiterous Designs against his Majesty's Person and Government had been carrying on ever since the Death of the late Queen; and that they could prove that there had been a Meeting of some considerable Persons, one of whom was not far off, wherein it had been propos'd to proclaim the Pretender at the Royal Exchange. That an exact Account of this detestable Conspiracy would, in due Time, be laid before the Parliament: And as to the Business now before them, tho' it was true, that the *Habeas Corpus* Act had never before been suspended for above six Months; yet, considering the Lords had made this Suspension for a whole Year, if the Commons should go about to alter it, the same might occasion a Difference between the two Houses, which, at this Time of Jealousy and Danger, might sound ill in Foreign Courts.

The Bill for suspending the *Habeas Corpus* Act passes the House;

After this Speech, about seven in the Evening the Question being put, that the Bill do pass as it was sent down from the Lords, it was carry'd in the Affirmative, by a Majority of 246 Voices against 193. Then the Speaker resum'd the Chair, and the Earl of Hertford having immediately reported the said Bill to the House without any Amendment; It was read the third Time, and pass'd without dividing.

And has the Royal Assent.

Oct. 17. The King came to the House of Peers with the usual Solemnity, and the Commons attending, his Majesty gave the Royal Assent to the said Bill.

The same Day the House presented their Address to the King, as follows:

Most

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, beg Leave to return our humble Thanks to your Majesty, for your most gracious Speech from the Throne.

' It is with Hearts full of Joy we approach your sacred Person, to congratulate your Majesty, that, by the Blessing of God, the Designs of your Enemies have hitherto been happily frustrated and disappointed.

' We cannot sufficiently acknowledge your Majesty's Care and Vigilance, and the wise and prudent Measures you have taken for our Safety, in ordering the Encampment of the Troops, and sending for such others from Ireland, as were thought farther necessary for the Peace and Quiet of this Kingdom. And it is the greatest Satisfaction to us, to see the Readiness of your Majesty's good Friends and Allies, the States General, to assist you with a good Body of Forces, if there had been Occasion.

' But among all the Steps taken for the Safety of your Majesty and the Kingdom, none can possibly equal that of the speedy calling your loyal Commons together in Parliament ; who are met determin'd with the utmost Unanimity and Zeal, to do every Thing in their Power for the Preservation of your Majesty's most sacred Person : Nor can less be expected from the Gratitude and Affection of a free People, sensible that thro' the whole Course of your Reign, no Innovation has been attempted in our holy Religion, nor the least Inroad made upon the Liberty or Property of any of your Subjects, and that the full Enjoyment of all that is dear and valuable to them, is entirely owing to your Majesty's Government.

' Tho' the Enemies of our happy Establishment should have Malice and Boldness enough, still to be carrying on their traiterous Designs, yet we are persuaded, that all Uneasiness and Apprehensions will vanish, when your faithful Commons assure your Majesty, that they will enable you effectually to suppress all remaining Spirit of Rebellion.

' If neither the sacred Obligation of the most solemn Oaths, nor the certain Misery they must bring upon their Country, who would attempt to overturn this Government, can deter them from such desperate Undertakings : If there be any of your Majesty's Subjects, who are so abandon'd, as to be ready to exchange the Protestant Religion for Popery, and Liberty for Slavery ; yet we hope the vigorous Resolutions of a loyal and dutiful Parliament will convince them of the Danger as well as Folly of such an Attempt ; and shew the whole World, that the Generality and best Part of

Anno 9. Geo. I.
1722.

‘ your People are so far from giving any Invitation to foreign Powers to invade us, that they will, with their Lives and Fortunes, support your Majesty against all your Enemies at Home and Abroad.

‘ We cannot therefore express too great an Abhorrence of such unnatural Practices, nor too great an Indignation against those who would have made the Capital of this flourishing Kingdom a Scene of Blood and Desolation. Wicked Men ! whilst they have the Malice to revile your Government, and attempt to overturn it, at the same Time have the Insolence to depend upon the Clemency of it for their Security : While they are endeavouring to destroy all Liberty, they are clamouring that a few of them are, for the publick Safety, confin’d : Whilst they are attempting to destroy all Property, they are murmuring at the necessary Taxes given to your Majesty for the Security of it : And whilst they act against all Law themselves, they trust and are confident that, even in their own Case, the Laws of the Realm will be the Rule and Measure of your Actions.

‘ We beg Leave to acknowledge, with great Gratitude, your Majesty’s Goodness, in assuring us, that notwithstanding the traiterous Practices of your Enemies have made the Increase of the annual Expence necessary, yet Care will be taken, that the Supplies to be asked for the Year ensuing, shall very little exceed what was given for the Service of the last.

‘ And we assure your Majesty, that we will not only make good the extraordinary Expences that have been already incurred, but will, with all Cheerfulness, grant whatever shall be necessary for the Safety of the Kingdom ; being entirely convinc’d, that we can by no other Means restore publick Credit, and enable ourselves to attempt the gradual Reduction of the great National Debt, with a strict Regard to Parliamentary Faith, than by doing every Thing in our Power for the Support of your Majesty’s Government, and the happy Establishment in your Royal Family.

‘ And we do with all Humility return your Majesty our unfeigned Thanks for your most gracious Declaration, on which we entirely rely, that your Majesty will steadily adhere to our Constitution in Church and State, and continue to make the Laws of the Realm the Rule and Measure of your Actions.

To the above Address the King return’d the following Answer.

Gentlemen,

The King’s Answer
to the Commons
Address of Thanks.

“ I Return you my hearty Thanks for this very dutiful and loyal Address. The seasonable Declarations of your Zeal and Affection to my Person and Government, will, I

“ doubt

“ doubt not, contribute very much to the Tranquility and
 “ Safety of the Kingdom; and as I shall always look
 “ upon my own and the Interest of my People to be infe-
 “ parable, you may be assur’d I shall make no Use of any
 “ Power or Confidence that my faithful Commons shall place
 “ in me, but in Support of the Constitution, and in Mainte-
 “ nance of the Rights and Liberties of my People.

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 1722.

OA. 19. A Motion being made for a Supply to be granted to his Majesty, the same was referred to the Grand Committee.

A Supply voted.

OA. 23. The said Resolution being reported, was unanimously agreed to.

OA. 26. The Commons in a Grand Committee consider’d farther of the Supply, and Mr Treby having represented the Necessity, at this Time of Danger from the traitorous Designs and Conspiracies that were still carrying on by the Enemies of the Government, to increase the present Standing Forces, and thereupon mov’d for an Augmentation of about 4000 Men, the same occasion’d a very long and warm Debate. The chief Opponents to the Motion were, Mr Shippen, Lord Morpeth, Member for Morpeth; Mr Palmer, Member for Bridgwater; Mr Bromley, Mr Barnard, Member for London; Mr Crowley, Member for Okehampton; Sir Thomas Hanmer, Member for Suffolk; and Mr Hutchefon: But they were answer’d by Mr Sandys, Member for Worcester; Captain Vernon, Member for Penryn; Mr Eversfield, Member for Horsham; Mr H. Pelham, Mr Doddington, Lord Stanhope*, Member for Leithwithiel; Mr West, Member for Bodmin; Mr Smith, Mr R. Walpole, Lord Middleton, Member for Midhurst; and Mr Pulteney; Then the Question being put upon Mr Treby’s Motion, it was carry’d in the Affirmative, by 236 Voices against 164. After this, it was resolv’d, without dividing, That the Number of effective Men for Guards and Garrisons in Great Britain, Jersey, and Guernsey, for the Year 1723, including 1859 Invalids, be 18,294 Men, Commission and Non-Commission Officers included. Which Resolution, being the next Day reported, was agreed to by the House.

Mr Treby moves for an Augmentation of 4000 Men for the Army.

Debate thereon.

Mr Shippen.
 Lord Morpeth.
 Mr Palmer.
 Mr Bromley.
 Mr Barnard.
 Mr Crowley.
 Sir T. Hanmer.
 Mr Hutchefon.

Mr Sandys.
 Capt. Vernon.
 Mr Eversfield.
 Mr H. Pelham.
 Mr Doddington.
 Lord Stanhope.
 Mr West.
 Mr Smith.
 Mr R. Walpole.
 Lord Middleton.
 Mr Pulteney.

OA. 31. The Commons in a Grand Committee, consider’d of Ways and Means to raise the Supply, and upon Mr R. Walpole’s Motion, it was unanimously agreed to lay two Shillings in the Pound upon all Lands, Tenements, Pensions, Offices, &c. Mr Walpole, on that Occasion, acquainted the House, ‘ That he hoped that Tax, together with the Duty on Malt, and the Million in Exchequer Bills

Mr R. Walpole, in his Motion for the Land-Tax, hints a Design of laying an extraordinary Tax on Papists and Nonjurors.

O o 2

which

• *Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the Prince.*

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which the South-Sea Company were to repay to the Government, would go near to answer all the necessary Expences for the next Year's Service ; and to make up what might be deficient, he hinted the laying an extraordinary Tax of five Shillings in the Pound on the Estates of all Roman-Catholicks and Nonjurors ; which could not be thought either unjust or unreasonable, considering the ill Use they made of the Saving out of their Incomes, which most of them laid out in maintaining the Pretender and his Adherents abroad, and fomenting Sedition and Rebellion at home.'

The Lords desire a Conference with the Commons, and communicate to them the King's Message relating to the Pretender's Declaration, and their Resolutions thereupon.

Names of the Managers, viz.
Mr R. Walpole.
Mr Edgewcombe.
Mr Methuen.
Mr H. Pelham.
Mr Hutcheson.
Mr Yonge.
Mr Bromley.
Col. Bladen.

November 16. The Lords sent a Message to desire a Conference with the Commons, which being agreed to, the Managers for the Commons, who were Mr R. Walpole, Mr Edgewcombe, Member for Plympton ; Mr Methuen, Member for Brackley ; Mr H. Pelham, Mr Hutcheson, Mr Yonge, Mr Bromley, and Colonel Bladen, Member for Stockbridge, being return'd to their House, Mr Pelham reported the Conference, and that it was to communicate to the House a Message sent to the Lords by his Majesty, under his Sign Manual, concerning an original Declaration in Writing sign'd by the Pretender himself ; together with the said Declaration and a Printed Copy thereof ; and that the Lords desired the Concurrence of the House to the following Resolutions of their Lordships thereupon, viz. ' Resolved by ' the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled ; I. That the Printed Copy of the Pretender's Declaration, mention'd in his Majesty's Message, be burnt ' by the Hands of the common Hangman, at the Royal Exchange in London, upon Tuesday next, at One of the ' Clock ; II. That the Sheriffs of London do cause the ' same to be burnt there accordingly.'

To which the Commons agree, with an Amendment.

Mr Yonge's, Sir W. Thompson's, Mr H. Pelham's, and Mr Onslow's Observations on the Pretender's Declaration.

Then the said Report, and also the said Message from his Majesty to the House of Lords, and the Declaration sign'd by the Pretender, and the Printed Copy thereof, and the Resolutions of the Lords thereupon were read. Hereupon Mr Sandys mov'd for agreeing with the Lords in the first Resolution, and being seconded by Colonel Bladen, the same was unanimously agreed to. Then the second Resolution being read a second Time, Mr Yonge mov'd for an Amendment to it, viz. That the two Sheriffs of London should then attend in their own proper Persons, and cause the said Declaration to be burnt by the Hands of the common Hangman ; which Resolution so amended, was agreed to *Nem. Con.* On this Occasion, Mr Yonge run over the Pretender's Declaration, and expos'd the Insolence, Weakness, and Absurdities of that Libel. Sir William Thompson *, Member for

* Recorder of London.

for Ipswich, spoke also with great Vehemence on the same Topick, as did also Mr H. Pelham, who mov'd, That an Address be presented to his Majesty upon that Subject. He was seconded by Mr Arthur Onslow, Member for Guildford, who represented the Danger of Popery, and animadverted on the Audaciousness of the Pretender and his Adherents: Hereupon, it was resolv'd *Nem. Con.* That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, expressing their utmost Astonishment and Indignation at the surprizing Insolence of the Pretender, in his late traiterous and presumptuous Declaration; and to assure his Majesty, that his faithful Subjects being fully satisfy'd they have no other Security for their Religious and Civil Rights, but the Preservation of his Person and Government and the Protestant Succession, are determin'd to support, with their Lives and Fortunes, his most just Title to the Crown of these Realms, against the Pretender and all his open and secret Abettors. And a Committee was appointed to draw up an Address, pursuant to the said Resolution.

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An Address voted
on this Occasion.

Nov. 17. Mr Pelham reported the said Address, which being unanimously agreed to, the Managers of the Commons were sent to desire their Lordships Concurrence both to the Amendment to one of their Resolutions beforemention'd, and to the Address the Commons had agreed upon. The Lords having readily concurr'd, both Houses went immediately to the Palace at St James's, and presented to his Majesty the said Address as follows.

Most gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and faithful Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in Parliament assembled, being deeply affected with the Sense of those many Blessings which we have constantly enjoy'd, and hope long to enjoy, under your Majesty's most just and gracious Government; and being thoroughly convinc'd that our Religious and Civil Rights, as well as the very Being of the British Name and Constitution, do, under God, entirely depend upon the Preservation of your Majesty's Sacred Person, and of the Protestant Succession, as settled by Law, in your Royal Line, are fill'd with the utmost Astonishment and Indignation at the unexampled Presumption and Arrogance of the Pretender to your Dominions, in daring to offer such an Indignity to your Majesty and the British Nation, as to declare to your Subjects, and to all foreign Princes and States, that he finds himself in a Condition to offer Terms to your Majesty, and even to capitulate with you for the absolute Surrender of the Religion and Liberties of a free Nation.

The Joint Address
of both Houses to
the King, relating
to the Pretender's
Declaration.

However

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‘ However great the Infatuation of his Advisers may be, we are sensible nothing could have rais’d his or their Hopes to so extravagant a Degree of Presumption, but repeated Encouragements and Assurances from the Conspirators at Home, founded on the most injurious and gross Misrepresentations of the Inclinations and Affections of your Majesty’s Subjects; and a rash Conclusion, that because some, from whom it ought least to have been expected, had broke through the solemn Restraint of reiterated Oaths, in order to raise themselves on the Ruins of their Country; therefore the whole Body of the Nation was ripe for the same fatal Defection, and ready to exchange the mild and legal Government of a most indulgent Prince, for the boundless Rage of an attainted Fugitive, bred up in the Maxims of Tyranny and Superstition.

‘ But we, your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal Subjects, resolve, by a steady and constant Adherence to your Government, to wipe off this Stain and Imputation from the Name of Britons; and to convince the World, that those wicked Designs, form’d against your Majesty’s Sacred Person and Government, which the Insolence of this Declaration proves to be most real while it affects to treat them as imaginary, are indeed impracticable against a Prince relying on and supported by the Vigour and Duty of a British Parliament and the Affections of his People.

‘ And we beg Leave in the most solemn Manner, to assure your Majesty, that neither the impotent Menace of foreign Assistance, nor the utmost Efforts of Domestick Traitors shall ever deter us from standing by your Majesty with our Lives and Fortunes, and supporting your Majesty’s most just Title to the Crown of these Realms, against the Pretender and all his open and secret Abettors, both at Home and Abroad.’

To which his Majesty return’d the following Answer.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

His Majesty’s Answer thereto.

“ I Give you many Thanks for the just Resentment you have express’d against the Indignity offer’d to me and the British Nation.

“ I shall continue to protect and support my good People in the full Enjoyment of their Religion, Liberties and Properties, against all that shall endeavour to subject them to Tyranny and Superstition.”

Nov. 23. In a Grand Committee, the Commons consider’d on Ways and Means to raise the Supply, and a Motion was made, That towards raising the Supply, and reimbursing

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to the Publick the great Expences occasion'd by the late Rebellions and Disorders, the Sum of One Hundred Thousand Pounds be rais'd and levy'd upon the real and personal Estates of all Papists, Popish Recusants, or Persons educated in the Popish Religion, or whose Parents are Papists, or who shall profess the Popish Religion, in lieu of all Forfeitures already incurr'd for, or upon account of their Recusancy, and in lieu of the Rents and Profits of two Thirds of their register'd Estates for one Year. This Motion was oppos'd by Sir Willfred Lawfon, and Mr Hungerford, who suggested, ' That such an extraordinary Tax would carry the Face of Persecution, which was inconsistent with the Principles and Temper of the Protestant Religion ; ' Dr Friend, Member for Launceston, added, ' That some of those that had their Education in foreign Popish Seminaries, prov'd some of the best Friends to the present Government.' To this Mr Yonge answer'd, ' That he knew very little of foreign Education, but he doubted very much whether Loyalty to King George was taught by Priests and Jesuits in Romish Seminaries.' The Lord Gage, Member for Tewksbury, [*who was bred a Roman Catholick*] hereupon said, ' That he believ'd most of the Roman Catholicks to be very loyal Subjects, tho' by their Principles they cannot take the Oath of Supremacy ; and therefore his Lordship propos'd that a new Oath of Allegiance might be fram'd for them ; Mr Onslow spoke on the same Side, and declar'd his Abhorrence of persecuting any Body, on Account of their Opinions in Religion.' This was answer'd by Sir William Thompson, who stated the Notion, in his Opinion, of Persecution, which was only when any one is punish'd for his particular Opinion in Religion, and for serving God according to that Opinion and the Dictates of Conscience : But added, ' That was not the Case here, for the extraordinary Tax now intended to be rais'd upon the Papists, was not a Punishment for their being Roman-Catholicks, but on Account of Penalties they had at divers Times incurr'd, for being Enemies to the Civil Government, raising Rebellions, and contriving Plots against the State.' He was replied to by Lord Gage, who was answer'd by Mr Horatio Walpole, and he again by Mr Hungerford. At last Mr R. Walpole stood up, and represented the great Dangers this Nation had been in, ever since the Reformation, from the constant Endeavours of Papists to subvert our happy Constitution and the Protestant Religion, by the most cruel, violent, and unjustifiable Methods ; that he would not take upon him to charge any particular Person among them with being concern'd in the present horrid Conspiracy : But that 'twas notorious to the whole World, that many of them had been engag'd in the Preston Rebellion, and some were

April 9. Geo. I.
1722.

Motion in the
Grand Committee,
for raising 100,000*l.*
on the Papists, to-
wards the Supply
of the current
Year.

Debate thereon.

Sir Willfred Law-
fon.
Mr Hungerford.

Dr. Friend.

Mr Yonge.

Lord Gage.

Mr Onslow.

Sir W. Thompson.

Lord Gage.
Mr H. Walpole.
Mr Hungerford.
Mr R. Walpole.

Anno 9. Geo. I.

1712.

The said Motion
agreed to ;

And reported to
the House ; upon
which ensues a Se-
cond Debate.

Lord Gage.
Mr Lutwyche.
Mr Hungerford.
Mr Sloper.
Sir J. Jekyll.

Mr West.

Mr Lowndes.
Capt. Vernon.
Mr R. Walpole.

A Bill order'd to
be brought in, in
Pursuance of the
above Motion.

Petition from the
S. S. Company,
relating to the
converting one
Moiety of their
Capital into An-
nuities.

Debate thereon.

Mr R. Walpole.

executed for it ; and the present Plot was contriv'd at Rome, and countenanc'd in Popish Countries ; that many of the Papists were not only Well-Wishers to it, but had contributed large Sums of Money towards carrying of it on ; and therefore he thought it very reasonable, since they made such ill Use of the Savings of the Incomes of their Estates, that the same should go towards the great Expence which they and the Pretender's Friends had put the Nation to.' Then the Question being put upon the Motion above, it was carried in the Affirmative by 217 Votes, against 168.

Nov. 26. The above Resolution was reported, and the Question being put, That the House agree with the Committee, It was very vigorously oppos'd by Lord Gage, Mr Lutwyche, Mr Hungerford, Mr Sloper, and Sir Joseph Jekyll, which last took Notice, ' That tho' the Law for taking away two Thirds of the Estates of Popish Recusants, which was made in Queen Elizabeth's Reign, was a just Punishment the Roman-Catholicks drew upon themselves by their frequent Conspiracies against her Life and Government ; yet nevertheless, such was the Wisdom and Moderation of that excellent Princess and of her Ministers, that they never put that severe Law in Execution ; and since those great Virtues shone no less brightly in his present Majesty, than in Queen Elizabeth, his Royal Predecessor, he wish'd he could say the same of those who have the Honour to serve him.' Mr West spoke likewise against the Resolution, but was answer'd by Mr Lowndes *, Member for Eastlow, Captain Vernon †, Member for Penryn, and Mr R. Walpole, so that the Question being put thereupon, it was carried by 188 Votes against 172 ; and a Bill was order'd to be brought in accordingly.

December 12. A Petition of the South-Sea Company was presented to the House by Sir John Eyles **, Member for Chippenham, and read, setting forth, That they labour'd under an insupportable Burden, from which they pray'd to be reliev'd by this House ; and that they were content to convert Part of their Capital into Annuities, redeemable by Parliament, transferable at, and payable by, the said Company. Hereupon Mr R. Walpole inform'd the House, That his Majesty had been acquainted with the Substance of the said Petition, and had commanded him to acquaint this House ; That his Majesty gave his Consent that this House should proceed to the Consideration of the said Petition, upon Condition that the said Company should convert one Moiety of their

* Secretary to the Treasury

† A Captain of a Man of War.

** Sub-Governor of the South-Sea Company.

their Capital into Annuities. Then some Clauses in the Act of Parliament of the Seventh Year of his Majesty's Reign, intituled, an Act, *For making several Provisions to restore the publick Credit, which suffers by the Frauds and Mismanagement of the late Directors of the South-Sea Company and others*, were read, and a Motion being made, that the Petition above-mention'd be referr'd to the Consideration of the Committee of the whole House, who were to consider of the State of Publick Credit and of the State of the National Debt, the said Motion was oppos'd by Mr Sloper, Serjeant Pengelly, Member for Cockermouth; Mr Hutcheson, Mr Freeman, and Sir Joseph Jekyll; but being answer'd by Sir John Eyles, Mr Methuen, and Mr Robert Walpole, the said Motion was carry'd, without dividing. Then the House went into the said Committee, and a Motion being made for remitting the two Millions due from the South-Sea Company to the Government, and for converting into Annuities one Moiety of their Capital Stock: This was strenuously oppos'd by Mr Sloper, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr Thomas Broderick, Member for Guildford; Sir Nathanael Gould, Member for Shoreham; Mr Trenchard, Member for Taunton; Sir Wilfrid Lawson, and Lord Tyrconnel, Member for Lincoln; who were answer'd by Mr Hungerford, Sir John Eyles, Mr Yonge, Mr Horatio Walpole, Mr Robert Walpole, and Mr William Pulteney. After a Debate that lasted till Seven in the Evening, the Question being put upon the said Motion, the same was carried in the Affirmative by 210 Voices against 147.

January 15. Upon a Motion made by Sir John Rushout, Member for Evesham, it was resolv'd, *Nem. Con.* That a Committee be appointed to examine Christopher Layer, in Relation to the Conspiracy mention'd in his Majesty's Speech, at the Opening of this Parliament, to be carrying on against his Person and Government; and order'd, That such Members of the House as were of his Majesty's Privy-Council, be the said Committee, viz. The Hon. Mr. Spencer Compton, Speaker; Mr Robert Walpole, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr Methuen, Mr William Pulteney, Mr John Smith, Mr Hampden, Lieutenant-General Wills, and Sir Robert Sutton. After this, upon another Motion made by Mr Robert Walpole, it was also resolv'd, to address his Majesty, for the several Examinations and Papers relating to Christopher Layer.

Jan. 16. Mr R. Walpole, pursuant to the Address of the House to his Majesty, presented to the House several original Papers relating to Mr Layer; and having deliver'd them in at the Table seal'd up, Mr Shippen moved, That the Packet be open'd, and the Papers read. He was seconded by Mr Jefferies; but Mr Pulteney having represented, 'That as those

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Mr Sloper.
Serj. Pengelly.
Mr Hutcheson.
Mr Freeman.
Sir J. Jekyll.
Sir John Eyles.
Mr. Methuen.
Mr R. Walpole.

Mr Sloper.
Sir J. Jekyll.
Mr T. Broderick.
Sir Nath. Gould.
Mr Trenchard.
Sir Wilfrid Lawson.
Lord Tyrconnel.
Mr Hungerford.
Sir John Eyles.
Mr Yonge.
Mr H. Walpole.
Mr R. Walpole.
Mr W. Pulteney.

A Committee appointed to examine Christopher Layer;

Their Names;

An Address resolv'd on, for several Papers relating thereto;

Which are presented, and, after some Debate between Mr Shippen, Mr J. Jefferies, and Mr Pulteney, are refer'd to the said Committee.

Anno 9. Geo. I.
1722-23.

Debate on a Bill,
For preventing
Frauds and Abuses
in the Tobacco-
Trade.

Mr Trenchard.

Mr Hungerford.

Sir Nath. Gould.

Debate on the
Amendments made
to the Mutiny-Bill
by the Lords.

Papers were to be a Guide to the Committee appointed to examine Mr Layer, it was improper to make them publick before the said Examination was over ; it was thereupon order'd, I. That the said Papers be referr'd to that Committee. II. That the said Committee meet and sit at such Time and Place as they thought fit. III. That Three be the *Quorum* of the said Committee.

February 8. The House went into a Grand Committee, to prepare Heads of a Bill, *For preventing Frauds and Abuses in the Tobacco Trade, &c.* and consider'd of the Duties and Allowances upon Tobacco, and what Abatements or Regulations might be made therein. Hereupon Mr Trenchard mov'd, ' That in order to prevent for the future the Frauds and Abuses committed in the said Trade, there might be a Re-Entry of all Tobacco that was remov'd from one Port to another, both in England and Scotland ; but that Motion not being seconded, was dropt. Then he took Notice, ' That tho' the Scots were, in many Respects, great Gainers by the Union of the two Kingdoms, yet they were very deficient in paying their Proportion of the publick Burdens ; that by the Treaty of Union they were to pay 50,000 l. *per Annum*, towards the Malt-Tax, but that, if he was rightly inform'd, for several Years past, they had not paid above 10,000 l. and therefore he mov'd, that it might be an Instruction to the Committee to inquire into that Matter. He was seconded by Mr Hungerford : But it being represented, that such an Inquiry was very improper in the present Juncture, and might inflame the Nation ; Sir Nathanael Gould made a Motion, That all Tobacco imported both into England and Scotland be put into Warehouses, and not be remov'd from thence without a Pernfit, to prove that the Duty was paid : But it growing late, the farther Consideration thereof was adjourn'd. This Affair was, after several unavoidable Delays on Account of so much important Business being depending before the House this Session, put off to the 5th of March.

Feb. 23. Mr Pulteney, from the Committee appointed to examine Christopher Layer and others, acquainted the House, that the Committee had prepar'd a Report to be laid before the House, and desir'd the House would appoint a Day for receiving the same : Whereupon it was order'd, That the said Report be receiv'd upon the 1st Day of March.

Feb 26. The Bill, *For punishing Mutiny and Desertion, &c.* being sent back from the House of Peers, an Amendment made by the Lords, for inserting in the Preamble the Number of Forces thought proper to be kept on Foot for the Year 1723, consisting of 16,449, effective Men, Officers included, and 1815 Invalids, was read ; and a Motion being made,

made, that the House do agree with the Lords, it occasion'd a very warm Debate, many Members urging, ' That it intrench'd on the proper Prerogative of the Commons to grant Supplies : ' But at last the Question being put, whether to agree or not? It was carried in the Affirmative, by 130 Votes against 116.

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1722-23.

March 1. Mr W. Pulteney, Chairman of the Committee on Layer's Plot, reported the Matter as it appear'd to them, and read the Report in his Place, and deliver'd the same in at the Table, with several Appendixes.

The Commons consider the Report from the Committee on Layer's Plot.

March 2. The House proceeded to take the above-mention'd Report into Consideration, and after the reading of it by the Clerk, put off the same to the 8th, and order'd in the mean Time, that the Report with the Appendixes be printed. To these therefore we refer our Readers for the Particulars of Layer's Scheme.

March 5. The Commons in a Grand Committee, consider'd farther of Heads for a Bill, *For preventing Frauds and Abuses in the Tobacco-Trade, &c.* and came to several Resolutions, which Mr Sandys having reported the next Day, were agreed to, without Debate, and a Bill order'd to be brought in pursuant to the said Resolutions, which afterwards pass'd into a Law.

A farther Progress made in the Tobacco-Bill.

March 8. The Commons proceeded to take into farther Consideration the Report from the Committee appointed to examine Christopher Layer and others; and Mr William Pulteney mov'd, ' That this Question might be put, viz. That upon Consideration of the Report and the several Papers and Examinations relating to the Conspiracy, it appears to this House, That a detestable and horrid Conspiracy has been form'd and carried on by Persons of Figure and Distinction, and their Agents and Instruments, in Conjunction with Traitors Abroad, for invading these Kingdoms with foreign Forces, for raising Insurrections and a Rebellion at Home, for seizing the Tower and City of London, for laying violent Hands upon the Persons of his most Sacred Majesty and the Prince of Wales; in order to subvert our present happy Establishment in Church and State, by placing a Popish Pretender upon the Throne.'

Mr W. Pulteney's Motion relating to the above Report.

This Motion was seconded by Sir John Rushout, and Mr Thomas Broderick; but Mr Shippen, and Mr Bromley endeavour'd to extenuate some Matters, which, in their Opinion, were couch'd in too strong Terms, as not being clearly prov'd. They said, ' They did not doubt of the Conspiracy, for they believ'd there had always been one carrying on against the present Settlement, ever since the Revolution: But from what had yet been laid before the House, it did not appear to them that there was such a particular concerted Plot

Debate thereon.
Sir John Rushout.
Mr T. Broderick.
Mr Shippen.
Mr Bromley.

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Sir J. Jekyll.

Mr Jefferies.

Mr H. Walpole.

Sir Robert Raymond moves the House against John Plunket as an Accomplice in Layer's Plot; upon which a Bill of Pains and Penalties is, after some Debate, order'd to be brought in against him.

Mr Onslow.

Sir Philip Yorke moves the House against George Kelly, as an Accomplice with Layer, and a Bill of Pains and Penalties is thereupon propos'd to be brought in against him.

as was mention'd in the Question above-mention'd. Sir Joseph Jekyll said thereupon, with a great deal of Warmth, 'That he could not with Patience, and with his usual Moderation, hear the Truth of this detestable and horrid Conspiracy call'd in Question, after so many undeniable Proofs. But, added he, as there are People who know nothing of the Plot, and yet believe it, so there are others that know the whole Plot, and yet pretend not to believe it.' He was answer'd by Mr Jefferies, who, in particular, excepted against these Words in the Question, viz. *For Laying violent Hands upon the Person of his most Sacred Majesty and the Prince of Wales*; because it appear'd by the Report, that the Conspirators only meant *the Seizing or Assaulting the King's Person*, &c. But he was replied to by Mr Horatio Walpole, who said, 'He was amaz'd to hear such Words come out of the Mouth of a Lawyer, and a Member of that House; but since he had forgot his Profession, and the Place he was in so far, as to make so small a Matter of Seizing the King's Person and the Heir Apparent, on whom all that is dear and valuable to Englishmen, both as Men and Christians, entirely depends, he must take the Liberty to tell him, that much less than seizing and assaulting the Person of the King or Prince, is by our Laws look'd upon as an Overt-Act of High-Treason.' Then the Question, as propos'd by Mr Pulteney, was carried without dividing.

After this, Sir Robert Raymond mov'd, That it appears to this House, that John Plunket has been a principal Agent and Instrument in the said horrid and detestable Conspiracy, and has carried on several treasonable Correspondences to procure a foreign Force to invade these Kingdoms, to raise Insurrections and a Rebellion at Home, and was engag'd with others in the villanous and execrable Design of laying violent Hands upon his Majesty's most Sacred Person. This Question being likewise carried without a Division; Sir Robert Raymond mov'd again, That Leave be given to bring in a Bill, *To inflict certain Pains and Penalties on John Plunket*. He was seconded by Mr Onslow, but tho' the said Motion was warmly oppos'd, yet after some Debate it was carried by a Majority of 289 against 130, that the said Bill be brought in; and then the House adjourn'd 'till the 11th.

March 11. The House resum'd the adjourn'd Consideration of the Report from the Secret Committee, and Sir Philip Yorke * open'd the Debate in a Speech, wherein he particularly enlarg'd on the Share Mr George Kelly *alias* Johnson, had in the traiterous and detestable Conspiracy, and then propos'd this Question, viz. That upon Consideration of the Report from the Committee, appointed to examine Christo-

phers

• Solicitor-General.

pher Layer, and others, and the several Papers and Examinations relating to the Conspiracy, it appears to this House, That George Kelly *alias* Johnson has been a principal Agent and Instrument in the said horrid and detestable Conspiracy, and has carry'd on several treasonable Correspondences to raise Insurrections and a Rebellion at Home, and to procure a foreign Force to invade these Kingdoms from Abroad : This Motion being seconded by Mr Sandys, was carry'd without any Division. Then Sir Philip Yorke mov'd, ' That a Bill be brought in *To inflict certain Pains and Penalties upon George Kelly alias Johnson*, which was seconded by Mr R. Walpole. Hereupon Mr Trenchard said, ' That he thought the properest Way to proceed against this Criminal, was in the old Parliamentary Method, by Bill of Attainder, there being sufficient Proof to support such a Bill : ' But this Motion was not seconded. On the other Hand, Mr Bromley, Mr Shippen and Mr Lutwyche oppos'd Sir Philip Yorke's Motion, but were answer'd by Sir Joseph Jekyll, and Mr Talbot, Member for Durham ; and the Question being put, it was carry'd in the Affirmative by 280 against 111.

Debate thereon.
Mr Sandys.

Mr R. Walpole.
Mr Trenchard.

Mr Bromley.
Mr Shippen.
Mr Lutwyche.

Sir Philip Yorke.
Sir J. Jekyll.
Mr Talbot.

The said Bill order'd to be brought in.

Mr Yonge moves the House against Dr Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, as being concern'd in the Conspiracy against the Government.

Then Mr Yonge stood up, and took Notice, how deeply Dr Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, had been concern'd in this detestable Conspiracy ; aggravating his Crime from his holy Function and high Station in the Church of England, a Church ever conspicuous for its Loyalty ; from the solemn Oaths he had, on so many Occasions, taken to the Government, and by which he had abjur'd the Pretender ; when at the same Time he was traiterously conspiring to bring him in, upon the Ruin of his Country and of all that was dear and valuable to us, as Freemen and Christians : Concluding, that as he was a Disgrace to his Order, and Dishonour to the Church, so he might apply to him on this Occasion, these Words of the 1st of *Acts*, Verse 20. *Let his Habitation be desolate, and let no Man dwell therein : And his Bishoprick let another take.* And therefore he mov'd, That it appears to this House, ' That Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester was principally concern'd in forming, directing, and carrying on the said wicked and detestable Conspiracy, for invading these Kingdoms with a foreign Force, and for raising Insurrections and a Rebellion at Home, in order to subvert our present happy Establishment in Church and State, by placing a Popish Pretender upon the Throne.' Mr Yonge was seconded by Sir John Cope ; but they were answer'd by Sir William Wyndham, who said, ' He saw no Cause to proceed against the Bishop in so severe a Manner, there being little or indeed no Evidence besides Conjectures and Hearsays.' He was back'd by Mr Bromley, Mr Shippen, Mr Hutcheson, Mr Hungerford, Col. Strangeways, Mr Lutwyche,

Debate thereon.

Sir John Cope.

Sir W. Wyndham.

Mr Bromley.
Mr Shippen.
Mr Hutcheson.
Mr Hungerford.
Col. Strangeways.
Mr Lutwyche.

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Dr Friend.

Sir Joseph Jekyll.
Mr R. Walpole.
Mr Pelham.
Mr Talbot.
Mr John Smith.
Mr W. Pulteney.

A Bill of Pains and Penalties order'd to be brought in against the Bishop of Rochester.

Lutwyche, and Dr Friend: They were reply'd to by Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr R. Walpole, Mr Pelham, Mr Talbot, Mr John Smith, and Mr William Pulteney; and a Motion being made, and the Question being put, that the House do now adjourn, it pass'd in the Negative by 285 Voices against 152; after which, the Question being put upon Mr Yonge's Motion, the same was carry'd without dividing. Then a Motion was made, and the Question put, That a Bill be brought in, *To inflict certain Pains and Penalties on Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester*, which after some Debate, was also carry'd without any Division.

March 13. Mr Robert Walpole acquainted the House, 'That he had receiv'd his Majesty's Commands to acquaint the House, that his Majesty having had just Reason to apprehend Dr John Friend, Member of this House, for High-Treason, had caused him to be apprehended, and desir'd the Consent of the House to his being committed and detain'd for High-Treason, according to an Act of this present Session, intitled an Act, *For empowering his Majesty to secure and detain such Persons as his Majesty shall suspect are conspiring against his Person and Government* [see p. 288.] Upon which he mov'd, that an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, that he would be pleas'd to give Order for committing and detaining Dr John Friend, pursuant to the Act of this Session of Parliament for that Purpose. This Motion was seconded and back'd by several Members: But Mr Shippen and Mr Bromley oppos'd it, saying, 'They could not see any Reason for that House giving Leave for detaining any Member, unless the Species of Treason was declar'd, and that the Information was upon Oath.' Sir Joseph Jekyll and Mr Robert Walpole, reply'd, 'That by the late Act for suspending the *Habeas Corpus* Act, the King was empower'd to take up any Person he had Reason to suspect; that therefore the Government was not oblig'd to say, whether the Information was upon Oath or not; But Mr Walpole added, 'He did not doubt but Dr Friend was charg'd upon Oath; and privately declar'd to several Members, that they had positive Proof of his being guilty of the blackest and basest Treason.' Mr Shippen then suggesting, 'That Dr Friend's having spoke so warmly two Days before, in Mr Kelly's and the Bishop of Rochester's Behalf, was, in his Opinion, the Reason of his being taken up the next Day himself, and that at that Rate, there was an End of the Liberty of Speech which every Member of that House had a Right to:' Mr R. Walpole, with a great deal of Warmth, reply'd, 'He wonder'd any Gentleman could think any Ministry capable of so base a Thing, as to take up any Gentleman for what he said in that House, without any other Cause, when they knew themselves

Mr R. Walpole moves for an Address to the King, to order Dr Friend to be committed for High Treason.

Debate thereon.
Mr Shippen.
Mr Bromley.

Sir J. Jekyll.
Mr R. Walpole.

Mr Shippen.

Mr R. Walpole.

selves to be accountable as well as others for their Actions :’ Adding, ‘ That they who made such Insinuations might more easily be prov’d to be Jacobites, than they could make out such an Allegation against the Ministry ; ’ Mr Pulteney spoke on the same Side, and in Relation to Dr Friend’s speaking in Kelly’s Behalf, observ’d, that it was usual in all Conspiracies, for one Traytor to endeavour to excuse another.’ Mr Shippen animadverted severely upon this Reflection, saying, ‘ It was not to be endur’d, to have a Member of that House call’d a Traytor, before he was convicted as such :’ But Mr Pulteney having explain’d himself, that Matter ended ; and then the Motion for an Address was carried without dividing.

March 14. The Commons having resum’d the Consideration of the Report from the Committee appointed to examine Christopher Layer and others ; it was resolv’d, ‘ That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, expressing the Indignation of this House against the horrid and detestable Conspiracy which had been carry’d on against his Majesty’s Sacred Person, and to congratulate his Majesty on the happy Discovery of it, and to assure his Majesty, that this House would proceed, with the utmost Vigour, to bring those to Justice who had been concern’d in these unnatural Designs against their Country, and would effectually support his Majesty’s Government, and would maintain, with all that is dear and valuable to them, the present happy Establishment.

A Committee was appointed to draw up this last Address, of which Mr Thomas Broderick being chosen Chairman, he reported the said Address to the House on the 18th, which was then agreed to.

March 19. Sir Robert Raymond presented to the House a Bill, *For inflicting certain Pains and Penalties on John Plunket*, which was read the first Time, and order’d to be read a second Time, on the 28th ; it was also order’d, I. That a Copy of the said Bill, and of the said Order, be forthwith sent to the said John Plunket, and deliver’d to him by the Serjeant at Arms. II. That the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General do take Care that the Evidence against the said John Plunket be ready to be produc’d to this House upon Thursday the 28th. III. That the said John Plunket be allow’d Pen, Ink, and Paper. Then Sir Philip Yorke presented also a Bill, *For inflicting certain Pains and Penalties on George Kelly, alias Johnson*, which was read the first Time, and order’d to be read a second on the 1st of April, and the like three Orders in relation to this Bill, were made as those of the Bill for punishing John Plunket.

March 20. The House presented their congratulatory Address to his Majesty as follows :

Anno 9. Geo. 1.
1722-23.

Mr Pulteney.

Mr Shippen.

The House resolve to present a congratulatory Address to the King on the Discovery of the Plot.

A Bill, *To inflict Pains and Penalties on John Plunket*, and another to the same Purpose against George Kelly, read the first Time.

Most

ANNO 9. GEO. I.
1722-23.

An Address of Cong-
ratulation to the
King on the Disco-
very of the Plot.

Most gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons in Parliament assembled, do humbly beg Leave to approach your Royal Person with Hearts full of Concern and Horror, for the detestable Conspiracy form'd against your Person and Government.

We lament with Indignation, that any of our Fellow-Subjects who enjoy, in common with us, the many and signal Blessings of your Majesty's mild and just Administration, should so far give themselves up to Delusion, as to conspire against publick Liberty, against their own Security, and against the only Bulwark of all that is dear and valuable, your Majesty's Person and the Protestant Succession in your Royal Family.

We see with Astonishment, that Persons of Figure and Distinction, who ought to have been the best Judges, and most zealous Defenders of your beneficent and mild Reign, by which alone their Fortunes and Dignities can be made secure, should be so far insatuated, as to head and abett a monstrous Conspiracy to destroy your Majesty, their Country, and themselves; that Honour, Faith, and the most solemn Ties of Religion, should be violated in Favour of a Popish Fugitive, known only for his blind Bigotry and Attachment to Rome.

As we have with sensible Sorrow and just Resentment, discover'd these vile Practices, so will we take Care that the wicked Authors may not, by any Contrivance or Practice whatsoever, escape Punishment; but that all Conspirators may, by the Justice of Parliament, be for ever hereafter deterr'd from engaging in such traiterous Attempts.

We congratulate your Majesty, and all your good Subjects, that you have escap'd the black and unnatural Designs of the worst of Men; and that Almighty God has, by this happy Discovery, given you and your Royal Family a fresh instance of his singular Care and Protection.

For us, your faithful Commons, who feel with Joy and Gratitude the inestimable Blessings of your Reign; who are sensible of the glorious Advantages of Liberty and of the Protestant Religion; and have in Abhorrence the Miseries and Slavery inseparable from Popery and a Popish Government; we will stand by your Majesty, and effectually support your Government, at the Hazard and Expence of our Lives and Fortunes.

We will maintain and defend your Majesty's rightful and lawful Title to the Crown of these Realms, and endeavour to transmit to the latest Posterity this happy, free, and ancient Constitution.

To

To this Address the King return'd the following Answer :

Gentlemen,

I Return you my Thanks for this dutiful and loyal Address : It is agreeable to the many Instances of Zeal and Affection to me, which you have upon every Occasion express'd. The just Resentment and Indignation you have shewn against this Conspiracy, will, I doubt not, give entire Satisfaction to all that sincerely wish well to the present Establishment, encourage the Friends to my Government, and deter the Enemies of our common Peace from renewing these rash and desperate Attempts."

The King's Answer.

March 22. Mr Yonge presented to the House a Bill, *For inflicting certain Pains and Penalties upon Dr Francis Atterbury, Lord Bishop of Rochester*; which was read the first Time, and order'd to be read a second, on the 4th of April. It was also order'd, I. That a Copy of the said Bill and of the said Order be forthwith sent to the said Lord Bishop of Rochester, and deliver'd to him by the Serjeant at Arms attending this House. II. That Mr Attorney-General and Mr Solicitor-General do take Care that the Evidence against the said Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester, be ready to be produc'd to this House, upon the 4th of April. III. That the said Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester be allow'd Pen, Ink, and Paper.

The Bill, *To inflict Pains and Penalties on the Bishop of Rochester*, read the first Time.

The same Day, the King came to the House of Lords, and the Commons attending, his Majesty gave the Royal Assent to an Act, *For reviving and adding two Millions to the Capital Stock of the South-Sea Company, and for reviving a proportional Part of the Yearly Fund payable at the Exchequer, and for dividing their whole Capital, after such Division made, into two equal Parts or Moieties; and for converting one of the said Moieties into certain Annuities, for the Benefit of the Members, and for settling the remaining Moiety in the said Company, &c.* [See p. 296.]

March 23. A Petition of George Kelly, Clerk, Prisoner in the Tower of London, was presented to the House and read, praying that he might be heard by himself and Counsel against the Bill, *For inflicting certain Pains and Penalties upon him, &c.* before the same should pass into a Law; and that this House would assign Sir Constantine Phipps and Serjeant Darnell for his Counsel, and Mr Hugh Watfon for his Solicitor; and that they might have free Access to him, to receive his Instructions in private; and that he might have the Summons of this House, for such Witnesses as he should think necessary. The Prayer of this Petition, the last

Petition of George Kelly to be heard by his Counsel against the Bill, *For inflicting Pains and Penalties upon him*; which is granted.

Anno 9. Geo. I.
1725.

of all excepted, was granted; and an Order thereupon made accordingly.

Petition of the Bp
of Rochester to the
same Purpose,
which is also grant-
ed.

March 25. Mr Speaker acquainted the House, That he had that Morning receiv'd a Letter from the Lord Bishop of Rochester, that his Lordship having receiv'd a Copy of a Bill, *For inflicting certain Pains and Penalties upon him*, for suppos'd Crimes of which he was innocent, he hop'd he should be allow'd to have Sir Constantine Phipps, and William Wynne, Esq; for his Counsel, and Mr Joseph Taylor, and Mr William Morrice, for his Solicitors to assist him, in order to the making his Defence; and that they might have free Access to him to receive his Instructions, and give him their Advice in private; which was granted.

A Petition of George
Kelly, for delaying
the second Reading
of the Bill against
him, which is re-
jected.

March 27. A Petition of George Kelly, Clerk, Prisoner in the Tower of London, was presented to the House, and read, praying, that the second Reading of the Bill, *For inflicting certain Pains and Penalties upon him*, might be put off 'till the 8th of April; and that the Depositions upon Oath, of Mr Michael Birmingham, Surgeon, and Messieurs Bask and Borgonio, Merchants, who resided at Paris, to be taken before a publick Notary, or before some or one of the British Residents there, and also the Deposition of Mr Gordon, Banker in Boulogne in France, to be taken upon Oath before the chief Magistrate of the said Town, or a publick Notary there, might be admitted to be read at the Bar of this House, as Evidence for the Petitioner. Mr Hungerford, Sir William Wyndham, Mr Palmer, and Mr Shippen spoke in Behalf of this Petition; but being answer'd by Mr Robert Walpole, Sir Joseph Jekyll, and Sir William Thompson, it was carried without dividing, that the said Petition be rejected.

Mr Hungerford.
Sir W. Wyndham.
Mr Palmer.
Mr Shippen.
Mr R. Walpole.
Sir J. Jekyll.
Sir W. Thompson.

The Bill against
John Plunket read
a second Time, and
he making no De-
fence the Bill is
committed.

March 28. The Bill, *For inflicting certain Pains and Penalties upon John Plunket*, was, according to Order, read a second Time; and tho' Mr Plunket did not think fit to make any Defence, yet the Commons proceeded, and the Counsel for the Bill produc'd Extracts of several original Letters from Abroad, giving Intelligence of the Conspiracy. And the Counsel having summ'd up the Evidence, and being withdrawn, Mr Speaker open'd the Bill, and the Question being put, That the said Bill be committed to a Committee of the whole House, the same was carry'd without dividing.

Debate concerning
Plunket's Punish-
ment.

March 29. The Commons went into a grand Committee upon the Bill, *For inflicting certain Pains and Penalties upon John Plunket*. Mr Onslow being plac'd in the Chair, several Letters and other original Papers, prov'd by several Witnesses to be Mr Plunket's Hand-Writing, were read, as was also a Letter from the Pretender, and several other Letters from General Dillon to Plunket; all which clearly evincing, that he had a principal Share in the contriving and

and carrying on of the Conspiracy ; Mr Miller mov'd, that the Pains and Penalties, for which a Blank was left in the Bill, might extend to Death ; urging, ' That, in his Opinion, there was sufficient Proof to convict him of High Treason, even in Westminster-Hall. He was seconded by the Lord Viscount Middleton, Sir John Rushout, Mr Clayton, Mr Sandys, Mr Walter Chetwynd, Mr John Chetwynd, Sir Wilfred Lawson, and many others ; but they were oppos'd by Mr Robert Walpole, Mr Horatio Walpole, Mr Thomas Broderick, and Sir Joseph Jekyll, who alledg'd, ' That the filling up of the Blank with Death would be a Kind of Deceit put on the Prisoner, because a Bill of Pains and Penalties was generally understood not to reach Life, and that it was to be suppos'd, the Prisoner took it in that Sense, otherwise he would have made some Defence.' The Members who were for Death, seeing the Courtiers of a contrary Opinion, would not divide the House ; and then Sir Robert Raymond mov'd, ' That the Pains and Penalties might be Imprisonment in some Part of Great Britain, during the Pleasure of his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors ; Forfeiture of his Estate ; and that his Attempting to make, or any others favouring, his Escape, be made Felony : ' The Question being put thereupon, it was carry'd in the Affirmative by 280 Voices against 91.

April 1. The Commons being acquainted, that Serjeant Darnell had declin'd appearing at the Bar of their House as Counsel for George Kelly, being engag'd in Business at the Assizes in Suffex, it was order'd, That Fettiplace Nott, Esq; be allow'd Counsel for the said George Kelly, instead of Mr Serjeant Darnell.

April 3. The Commons in a Grand Committee consider'd of the Pains and Penalties to be inflict'd on George Kelly, and after some Debate, it was resolv'd, by 224 Voices against 112, that his Punishment should be the same as John Plunket's.

April 4. The Bishop of Rochester's Tryal being to come on that Morning, his Lordship sent a Letter to Mr Speaker, which he desir'd might be communicated to the House ; and accordingly, Mr Speaker read the said Letter, containing in Substance, ' That his Lordship, tho' conscious of ' his own Innocence, did, on several Accounts, decline giving ' that House any Trouble that Day, and contented himself ' with the Opportunity, if the Bill went on, of making his ' Defence before another, of which he had the Honour to ' be a Member.' Notwithstanding this Disappointment, the Commons proceeded in that Affair, and the Counsel for the Bill being call'd in, and the Bill read, the Counsel open'd the Evidence, and produc'd a Scheme, taken amongst

Anno 9. Geo. I.
1723.

Mr Miller.

Lord Middleton.
Sir J. Rushout.
Mr Clayton.
Mr Sandys.
Mr W. Chetwynd.
Mr J. Chetwynd.
Sir Wilf. Lawson.

Mr R. Walpole.
Mr H. Walpole.
Mr T. Broderick.
Sir J. Jekyll.

Sir Rob. Raymond.

Debate concerning
George Kelly's
Punishment.

The Bishop of Ro-
chester declines
making his Defence
at the Bar of the
House of Commons.

Anno 9. Geo. 1.
1723.

Mr Layer's Papers, which was read ; as were also several Copies of Letters stopp'd at the Post-Office. Then the Counsel examin'd several Witnesses, to make good the Allegations of the Bill ; produc'd several Papers taken at his Lordship's Houses at Westminster and Bromley ; as also a Packet taken on one of his Lordship's Servants at the Tower of London ; and examin'd two Witnesses ; one to prove, that a Letter and Paper contain'd in the said Packet were his Lordship's Hand-Writing ; and the other to prove, that a Letter directed to Mr Dubois, taken amongst his Lordship's Papers, at the Deanry at Westminster, was seal'd with the same Seal that the Letter taken on his Lordship's Servant at the Tower, was seal'd. Then the Counsel summ'd up the Evidence, and being withdrawn, Mr Speaker open'd the Bill, which was committed to a grand Committee for the 6th Instant.

Debate on the third
Reading of the Bill
against Plunket.

Sir W. Wyndham.
Mr Shippen.
Mr Kettleby.

Mr R. Walpole.
Sir J. Jekyll.

It passes the House.

The Bill against
George Kelly pass-
es the House.

April 5. The engross'd Bill for punishing Plunket was read the third Time ; and the Question being put, That the Bill do pass, the same was strenuously oppos'd by Sir William Wyndham, who was seconded by Mr Shippen and Mr Kettleby ; but being answer'd by Mr Robert Walpole and Sir Joseph Jekyll, the Question was carry'd in the Affirmative by 250 Voices against 72. Hereupon the said Bill was order'd to be carry'd up to the Lords.

Debate concerning
the Punishment of
the Bishop of Ro-
chester.

Mr Lawson.

Mr Oglethorpe.

April 6. The Bill for punishing George Kelly alias Johnson, was read the third Time, pass'd, and sent up to the Lords ; and then the Commons went into a Grand Committee upon the Bill, *For inflicting certain Pains and Penalties upon Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester.* When it came to the filling up the Blank for Pains and Penalties, the Court-Party mov'd, That he should be depriv'd of his Office and Benefice, banish'd the Kingdom, be guilty of Felony if he return'd, and that it should not be in the King's Power to pardon him without Consent of Parliament ; but without Forfeiture of Goods and Chattels. Hereupon Mr Lawson represent'd, ' That the Evidence against the Bishop being all either Hearsay, or Conjecture, and therefore not to be depended upon, he ought to have no Punishment at all.' Mr Oglethorpe was of the same Opinion, but gave it another Turn ; He said, ' It was plain, the Pretender had none but a Company of silly Fellows about him ; and it was to be fear'd, that if the Bishop, who was allow'd to be a Man of great Parts, should be banish'd, he might be solicited and tempted to go to Rome, and there be in a Capacity to do more Mischief by his Advice, than if he was suffer'd to stay in England, under the watchful Eye of those in Power.' But the Question being put upon the first Motion, it was carried without any Division.

April

April 9. The engros'd Bill to inflict certain Pains and Penalties on Francis Lord Bishop of Rochester, was read the 3d Time, pass'd, and sent up to the Lords.

April 27. Mr Lowndes presented to the House a Bill, *For laying a Tax upon Papists*; which was read the first Time, and order'd to be read a second Time on the 3d of May.

May 3. The above Bill was read a second Time, and committed to a Committee of the whole House.

May 6. The Commons being in a Grand Committee on the Bill, *For laying a Tax on Papists*, Mr Lutwyche spoke against the said Bill as follows:

Mr. Speaker,

' The Gentlemen, who have spoke in favour of this Bill, have urg'd ' That since the happy Revolution the Roman-Catholicks have been more or less concerned in every Conspiracy against the Government; so that if they did not shew themselves in the late Conspiracy, it was out of Prudence, and not for want of Zeal for the Pretender's Cause.' They will not allow, that it is liable to the Objection of not being supported with particular Facts, but say, with great Probability, ' That the Roman-Catholicks have made large Contributions here at Home, to send to the Pretender and his Adherents Abroad: And if they are in a Capacity of supplying the Necessities of their Friends Abroad, it is but very reasonable for them to contribute to the defraying an Expence they have, in a great Measure, occasioned at Home.'

' Upon this general Way of Reasoning, this Bill for raising a Hundred Thousand Pounds upon the Roman-Catholicks has been form'd; and a general Charge of this Kind may be a sufficient Ground-work for a Preamble to the Bill; but the enacting Part ought to be supported with particular Facts plainly prov'd, otherwise we may involve innocent Persons in a Punishment only due to the Guilty. And though the Legislature hath sometimes gone upon the Notoriety of the Fact, it is to be hop'd, that this Method may be but seldom taken where the Life or Fortune of any Subject is in Question; nothing being more uncertain than Hearsay, Conjecture and forc'd Constructions; which the Law has wisely provided against by ascertaining fix'd Rules to direct the Judgment of the inferior Courts of Justice.

' It is likewise given, as a Political Reason for Passing of this Bill, ' That raising this Hundred Thousand Pounds upon the Roman Catholicks will deter the Jacobites Abroad from entering upon such rash Enterprizes, when they find that their Friends here in England are to suffer for the Disturbance they give us: And it will also shew them, that the Nation can put it self in a State of Security without burthening the Subject; which has been one of the chief Views of the

Anno 9. Geo. I.
1723.

The Bill against his Lordship pass'd the House.

A Bill for laying a Tax on Papists read twice.

Mr Lutwyche's Speech against the said Bill.

Anno 9. Geo. I.
1723.

‘ the Conspirators to add Fewel to the Discontents of the People.’ But if none of these Arguments should prevail; if the Notoriety of the Fact does not convince; nay, if the greatest Probability of the Roman-Catholicks sending Money Abroad can meet with no Credit; the Legislature, say they, is highly justify’d in passing this Law for raising an Hundred Thousand Pounds upon the Roman-Catholicks; ‘ Since by the Laws now in being, as by the Acts of Queen Elizabeth, the First of King George, &c. the Roman-Catholicks are subject to three Times greater Forfeitures than this Tax will amount to: And that the raising of this Hundred Thousand Pounds is a Mitigation of the Severity of the Law; and so far from being reckon’d a Hardship done them, it ought to be consider’d an Indulgence in the Government.’

‘ I have here thrown together some of the Reasons which have been given for passing this Bill; I think, those I have mention’d are what seem’d to me to make the greatest Impression upon the House, when this Matter was first debated. These Reasons were likewise enforc’d [See p. 295.] by a Gentleman, [Mr R. Walpole] whose Opinion is justly esteem’d in all Parliamentary Considerations. I will now mention the Objections, which occur to Me against the passing of this Bill.

‘ In Answer to the general Surmise of the Roman-Catholicks Disaffection to the Government; I can’t help observing, That this general Charge neither can nor ought to affect any particular Person, without Proof of some particular Fact alledg’d against him: And it would be the highest Injustice to make one Man suffer for the Crime of another. The Law supposing it incumbent upon every Man to be accountable for his own Actions, doth not require what is not in any Man’s Power, to be answerable for another; and I think I may affirm, with great Certainty, that in no one Instance the Laws have adjudg’d a Penalty upon one Man for the Crime of another: For though in the Case of High-Treason, the Blood being attainted, a Son does not attain the Honours which would have descended to him, if his Father had not been guilty of Treason; yet in that Case a Man does only forfeit a Fee-simple Estate, and the Income of an Estate vested in him during his natural Life: But the highest Crimes and Misdemeanors can’t avoid a Settlement, to the Prejudice of an innocent Person.

‘ I the rather insist upon the Unreasonableness of punishing one Man for the Crime of another, to shew the Absurdity of a Maxim which is laid down for a certain Doctrine, ‘ That because some of the Roman-Catholicks are suspected to have been concern’d in the late Conspiracy, therefore the whole Body of the Roman-Catholicks must equally bear the Burden

Burden of a Tax, which some of them only are alledg'd to have made necessary. I would not be thought to be an Advocate for the Roman-Catholicks, any farther than common Justice requires, but I must appeal to every one who has read the Report of the Committee appointed to examine the Layer, Whether it appears there that the Roman-Catholicks in general are concern'd in the Conspiracy? Or, whether any Mention is made in the Report of any one Roman-Catholick of Consequence, except a Noble Duke, [*the Duke of Norfolk*] to whom a Letter is suppos'd to be writ, intimating, as if he knew of the Designs carrying on? How unjust then would it be, if the Suspicion of this great Man's being engag'd in traiterous Practices, at the Hazard of his Life and Fortune, should give Occasion to the inflicting the severest Penalties upon many innocent Families, who neither wish nor can hope to better their Fortune by any Revolution of Affairs.

I think, Sir, I have fully answer'd what has been said for passing the Bill, upon the general Head of Disaffection; but one Thing more I will add, That if you impose this Tax upon the Roman-Catholicks, upon a general Allegation, 'That their Religion maintains Principles inconsistent with the Welfare of the Government;' you punish them for the Cause of their Religion. And for my own Part, I look upon Persecution to be a Doctrine odious in it self, highly reflecting upon the Honour of Parliament, and greatly infringing upon the Freedom of the Subject. Nor would I have his Majesty's mild and gracious Reign blemish'd with such a merciless Act of the Legislature, which must necessarily confirm the obstinate in their Errors, and entirely alienate the Affections of the well-dispos'd Roman-Catholicks.

We are likewise told, 'That the raising this Hundred Thousand Pounds upon the Roman-Catholicks is done out of a Political Reason, to deter the Jacobites Abroad from entering upon such rash Enterprizes, by making their Friends here in England pay the Expence which the Nation finds necessary for its own Security.' As this is a Matter meerly of Speculation, and as there is no certain Rule to go by to know what will be the Consequence of raising such a Tax, I will venture to give my Conjectures upon this Head. I do imagine, that as the Pretender's Scheme is unjust in itself, it can be form'd upon no better Hopes than the Discontents of the People; and the more Room there is for Complaint, the better Prospect he has of Success: And if it does happen that these Complaints are well-grounded, as were the Losses the People suffer'd in the South-Sea, then in such like Case, how much Industry is us'd by the Jacobites to aggravate the National Grievances; and to impute every Mischance to the ill Conduct of the Government. I am afraid, if the Roman-Catholicks

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Catholicks should be thus heavily tax'd; if their peaceable and quiet Behaviour does not intitle them to the common Protection of the Government; nay, if they are more hardly us'd by not having been concern'd than when they were actually engag'd in Rebellion; I say, I am afraid they will embrace any Opportunity to free themselves from such intolerable Burdens, thinking under no Form of Government they can receive worse Treatment.

' I shall next consider the Groundwork of this whole Bill, viz. ' The raising one Hundred Thousand Pounds upon the ' Roman-Catholicks, in lieu of certain Forfeitures they have ' incurr'd by several Acts of Parliament now in being.' And by stating the Balance betwixt the Roman-Catholicks and the Government, it is pretended, ' That the Sum now demanded of the Roman Catholicks falls far short of what is ' due to the Government, if all their Forfeitures were rigorously exacted.' I am very ready to grant, that the Roman-Catholicks have incurr'd several Forfeitures: But I think the Question at present is, Whether it is necessary at this Time, for the Security of the Government, to take Advantage of those Forfeitures? For if there is not some particular Reason shewn, why you ought to exact them more at this Time than another, you may with equal Justice raise one Hundred Thousand Pounds the next Year upon the Roman-Catholicks; and so on, whenever the Government shall stand in need of such a Fund. But surely 'tis not sufficient to say, because the Roman-Catholicks have incurr'd several Forfeitures, that therefore you will take Advantage of them: For the plain Answer to that is, Why do you do it now? And, Why have you not done it before? It is here necessary to observe, That when the Legislature pass'd this Law, to subject the Roman-Catholicks to the Forfeiture of two Thirds of their Estates, this Law was rather made intentionally to keep the Roman Catholicks in Subjection to the Government, than with any Design of having it put in Execution. For otherwise I dare say, so many Administrations, who are the executive Part of the Law, could never have thus long dispens'd with their Duty.

' If we look back as far as the Reformation, we shall find, that the Roman-Catholicks were never more numerous, never more powerful, than at the Revolution, just upon King James's Abdication. Then all Means had been us'd to propagate Popery; Men of that Persuasion were put into Places of Profit and Trust; the Army was fill'd with Roman-Catholicks, and it was generally thought that the Nation was ripe to take upon them the Drudgery of the Roman Yoke. When King William came to the Crown, he was warmly told of the Dangers of Popery; that as there were severe Laws against

against the Roman-Catholicks, they ought to be put in Execution: That the Roman-Catholicks held Correspondence, and were carrying on Plots and Contrivances with King James, then in France, who, as he had an undoubted Title to the Crown, was supported by one of the most powerful Princes in Europe. Then the Competition for the Crown was greatly different from the wild and extravagant Pretensions of a Popish Fugitive, fled to Rome for Sanctuary, after having been turn'd out of most of the Courts of Europe. But King William, who was a wise and just Prince, and knew that no Free State could long subsist, but in doing equal and impartial Justice, would not consent to the putting those Laws in Execution against the Roman-Catholicks, which he knew amounted to no less than a Persecution. However, the King, to gratify the Fears of those about him, who were continually possessing him with the Dangers of Popery, order'd an exact Account to be taken of the Conformists, Non-Conformists, and Papists in England, to see what Proportion there was betwixt the Papists and Protestants; and upon an exact Scrutiny, the Account was found to stand thus: One Hundred and Seventy Nine Conformists, viz. those of the Establish'd Church, to one Papist; besides Presbyterians, Quakers, Independents, and all other Protestant Dissenters.

' If the Roman-Catholicks were, at the beginning of the Revolution, but a handful of People; if all the Encouragement given to them by King James could not enable them to maintain a King of their own Religion upon the Throne, what have we now to apprehend from them? Since many of them have follow'd the Fate of King James, and several of them have conform'd to the Church of England: So that we may reasonably conclude, that the Number of Roman-Catholicks is one Third less than they were when King William came to the Crown. And I beg Leave here to observe a Notion, which has long prevail'd, ' That the Liberties of England can never be in Danger, but by the Roman-Catholicks.' Indeed, one would have imagin'd that Experience would have exploded this Opinion, since there is nothing more certain than if all the Protestants were united, no Power upon Earth could hurt us. The Contest does not lye betwixt the Protestant and Roman-Catholick Religion: Our Divisions are not occasion'd by the Increase of Popery, but it is obvious to every Man unconcern'd in the Dispute, how the Leaders of each Party promote their own mercenary Ends, by possessing their Followers with unnecessary Fears and groundless Jealousies.

' I must own, besides the Injustice of passing such a Law, I am mov'd with Compassion to my Fellow-Subjects, whose Condition must be very deplorable, if this Bill should pass

Anno 9. Geo. 1.
1723.

into a Law. I would instance in the Case of a Gentleman of a Thousand Pounds *per Annum*, who pays Five Hundred Pounds *per Annum* Rent Charge : He must pay double Taxes, which, at present amounting to Four Shillings in the Pound, comes to Two Hundred Pounds a Year, out of his Thousand Pounds a Year : He must likewise pay his Proportion of this Hundred Thousand Pounds, which, at a moderate Computation, will be Five Shillings in the Pound, which is Two Hundred and Fifty Pounds more to be added to the Deduction out of his Estate ; What, then will a Gentleman of a Thousand Pounds *per Annum* have to live upon ? It is said in Answer to this, That the Roman-Catholicks do not pay more Taxes, in several Places, than the Protestants. But suppose it were true, that they now pay no more than Two Shillings in the Pound, the Case of this Gentleman will be still very much to be lamented ; and instead of paying Nine Hundred and Fifty Pounds, he will pay Eight Hundred and Fifty Pounds out of his Estate. I have mention'd this particular Case, to shew the unreasonable Severity of this Tax ; but I dare say, many more Instances might be given of the like Nature.

‘ I can’t help being a little surpriz’d, that those Gentlemen who are so well acquainted with the Circumstances of our Affairs Abroad, did not consider, before they brought in this Bill upon the Roman-Catholicks, that his Majesty’s Allies would certainly interpose in their Behalf : And if upon a Refusal to act the friendly Part, our Protestant Brethren Abroad should be more severely dealt with, we should in vain complain of the Breach of Treaties and of the Laws of the Empire, when we have broke through the common Ties of Humanity.

‘ I know no better Rule of Government, than to punish the Guilty, and protect the Innocent ; neither the one can complain of hard Usage, tho’ he may be pitied, nor will the other wish for a Change of that Government, which defends him from the Oppression of wicked and ill-designing Men. But to punish a Body of People, whom before the Report was made, you suspected to be criminally concern’d in the Conspiracy ; and whom, upon Enquiry, you find to be innocent in every particular Suggestion alledg’d against them, I do not take to be the Means of convincing the World of the Impartiality of our Proceedings.

‘ I find great Strefs laid upon the Roman-Catholicks sending Money to the Pretender, and his Adherents Abroad ; a Fact so confidently affirm’d, that one would expect some better Proof of it than a general Assertion ; and yet I have never heard one single Instance given to convince me of the Truth of this Assertion. Considering the great Vigilance of the
Ministry,

Ministry, who have been able to discover the most subtle Contrivances in carrying on this Conspiracy, it appears to me very unlikely, if the Roman-Catholicks had made any considerable Remittances Abroad, that they should have escap'd the Notice of the Government. I would fain know how comes this Notion of the Roman-Catholicks sending Money Abroad; and why they are more zealous for the Pretender's Cause, than the rest of the Jacobites? If it is an equal Contribution among the Jacobites, it ought to be an equal Tax upon the Nonjurors and every Man who has paid his Quota, as well as upon the Roman-Catholicks. But to single out one Set of Men from the Herd of the Jacobites; and upon mere Supposition, to inflict the severest Penalties upon them, is an Act no ways agreeable to the just and equitable Proceedings of Parliament. For which Reasons I am against the Bill.

Mr Lutwyche was supported by Mr West, Lord Gage, and Mr Thompson, Member for York; Mr Trenchard, in particular, declar'd, 'That he thought it very unreasonable that the Papists should bear the whole Burden of this Tax, when there were so many Jacobites who had contributed as much to the raising Publick Disturbances as the Papists themselves;' and therefore he mov'd, 'That the Nonjurors ought to be included in the said Tax intended to be raised upon Papists: Accordingly, after some Debate, the Committee came to the following Resolution, viz. That towards raising the Sum of 100,000 l. granted to his Majesty, towards reimbursing to the Publick the great Expences occasion'd by the late Rebellions and Disorders, to be rais'd and levied upon the real and personal Estates of all Papists, an equal Rate and Proportion be rais'd and levied upon the real and personal Estates of every other Person, being of the Age of eighteen Years or upwards, not having taken the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, and the Abjuration Oath, who shall upon due Summons neglect or refuse to take the same. This Resolution being the next Day reported by Mr Farrer, a Motion was made, and the Question put, that the said Resolution be recommitted, but it was carried in the Negative; Then it was resolv'd, That the House do agree with the Committee, and order'd, That there be an Instruction to the Committee of the whole House to alter and amend the Bill, *For laying a Tax on all Papists*, pursuant to the said Resolution.

May 11. The Commons, in a Committee of the whole House, made a farther Progress in the Bill, *For laying a Tax upon Papists*; and a Motion being made by Mr Lutwyche for a Clause for including the Papists and Nonjurors in

Mr West.
Lord Gage.
Mr E. Thompson.

Mr Trenchard moves, that the Nonjurors be included in the Tax to be laid on the Papists; which is agreed to.

The Commons, in a Grand Committee, add a Clause for including the Scots Papists and Nonjurors in the said Bill.

Anno 9. Geo. I.
1721.

Scotland, in the Tax intended to be laid on Papists and Nonjurors in England, it was carried in the Affirmative by a Majority of five Voices only.

Debate concerning the said Clause upon its being reported to the House.

Lord Gage.
Mr Hutcheson.
Sir J. Jekyll.

May 14. Mr Farrer reported the Amendments the Committee had made to the Bill, which were agreed to, except the Clause above-mention'd; upon which a Debate arising, Lord Gage and Mr Hutcheson insisted upon the Equitableness of the said Clause, and Sir Joseph Jekyll said thereupon, 'That he knew no Reason why the Scots should be excus'd from paying their Proportion of this extraordinary Tax, unless it was, because forty-five Scots Representatives in that House always voted as they were directed: But if that was the Reason, it was to be fear'd, least Cornwall, which sends up almost an equal Number of Members, might, upon the same Consideration, claim an Exemption from Taxes.' But Mr Robert Walpole having represented, That the Names and real Estates of the Scots Papists and Nonjurors not being register'd, it was impossible to ascertain their Proportion of this Tax, he was supported by most of the Courtiers; and the Question being put, That the said Clause be made Part of the Bill, it was carried in the Negative by 178 Votes against 170; and then some other Amendments being made by the House to the Bill, it was order'd to be engross'd. However, two Days after, a Bill was order'd to be brought in, to oblige all Papists and Nonjurors in Scotland, to register their Names and real Estates; which was accordingly brought in, and had an easy Passage through both Houses.

Mr R. Walpole.

The above Clause rejected, and a Bill order'd for registering the Estates of the Scots Papists and Nonjurors, which passes the House.

The Bill, For laying a Tax on Papists, &c. pass'd;

May 17. The engross'd Bill, *For laying a Tax upon Papists and Nonjurors in England*, was pass'd and sent up to the Lords.

The Royal Assent given thereto; and also to the Bills against Plunket, Kelly, and the Bp. of Rochester.

May 27. The King came to the House of Peers with the usual State, and the Commons attending, their Speaker, upon presenting the Bill, *For laying a Tax upon Papists and Nonjurors*, made a Speech, wherein he shew'd the Occasion and Necessity of that Tax, on account of the late horrid and execrable Conspiracy, in which they had so great a Share. After this, his Majesty gave the Royal Assent to the said Bill; Also to the Bill, *To oblige all Papists in Scotland, and Nonjurors in Great-Britain, to register their Names and real Estates*; To the Bills, *For inflicting Pains and Penalties on John Plunket, George Kelly, and Dr Francis Atterbury Lord Bishop of Rochester*: Likewise to several other Bills, which, as they were not the Subject of any *SPEECHES* or *DEBATES*, it would be foreign to our Purpose to take Notice of here.

Then the Lord Chancellor read his Majesty's Speech to both Houses, as follows:

My

King's Speech at
putting an End to
the First Session of
his Second Parlia-
ment.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I Am persuaded, notwithstanding the unusual Length of
" this Session, you will not think your Time has been
" misemploy'd in consulting the necessary Means for pre-
" serving the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, and bring-
" ing to Justice some of the chief Promoters of that Con-
" fusion which lately threatned the Nation.

" The prudent Measures you have taken for our common
" Security, and your enabling me to defend my Kingdoms
" against any Designs or Attempts of our Enemies, are the
" most convincing Testimonies of your Fidelity and Affec-
" tion to me, and of your Concern for the Liberties of my
" People. Be assur'd, the Confidence you have repos'd in
" me shall never be made Use of but for their Safety and
" Defence.

" The Papers which have been laid before you, for your
" Information, and have since been publish'd for the Satis-
" faction of the World, evidently shew, that the Conspira-
" tors had brought their wicked Arts and Practices to such
" Perfection, that they confidently carried on their traiterous
" Projects in Defiance of the Law, from an Assurance of
" their being able to elude it : The Respect and Reverence
" due to the Law had been lost, and the Tranquility of my
" People endanger'd, had not you interpos'd. This made it
" necessary for the Legislature to exert itself in punishing
" such Offenders, whose Guilt is too certain to leave the
" least Room for Doubt, and whose Crimes are too heinous
" to admit of any Aggravation.

" And yet it is with Pleasure I reflect, that the Justice of
" Parliament has been so temper'd with Mercy, that even
" those who are resolv'd to be dissatisfied, must acknowledge
" the Lenity of your Proceedings, and will be at a Loss for
" any Pretence to complain, so few Examples having been
" made, and the Penalties, inflicted by Bill, falling so
" much short of the Punishments due to the same Crimes
" by the common Course of Law.

" The Firmness you have shewn must convince the
" World, how much They were mistaken, whose chief Hopes
" were founded on the Disaffection of my People. It gave
" me great Satisfaction to see as general a Concurrence in
" full Parliament upon this Occasion, as has been ever
" known on any former ; and it is to be hop'd, our Enemies
" will cease to flatter themselves with the vain Imagination
" of being able to subvert our Religion and present Establish-
" ment.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" I must acknowledge, in a particular Manner, the great
" Readiness

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1723.

“ Readiness you have shewn in raising the necessary Supplies
“ for the ensuing Year : It is an unexpected Felicity, that
“ you have been able so far to disappoint the Hopes of our
“ Enemies, as to avoid laying any new Burthen upon my
“ People : And that soon after that great Shock and Convul-
“ sion in all the publick Funds, and in the midst of intestine
“ Alarms and Disturbances, the Credit of the Nation should
“ so far revive and flourish, that not only the Supplies of the
“ Year should be rais’d, at a much lower Interest than was
“ ever known in the most quiet Times, but Part of the Na-
“ tional Debt should be reduc’d from an Interest of 5 to 3
“ *per Cent.* and put in a Course of being soon discharg’d.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I return you my most sincere Thanks for the indefatiga-
“ ble Pains you have taken in the Service of the Publick.
“ I earnestly recommend it to you, in your several Stations
“ and Countries, to persevere in your Endeavours for pre-
“ serving the Peace of the Kingdom ; by Justice and Reso-
“ lution, to subdue the restless Spirit of Faction and Sedition ;
“ and by Prudence and Temper, to reconcile the Misled.

“ Some extraordinary Affairs calling me Abroad this Sum-
“ mer, I doubt not but that the Wisdom and Vigilance of
“ my good Subjects will prevent our Enemies from taking
“ any Advantage of my Absence. To gain the Hearts and
“ Affections of my People, shall always be my first and prin-
“ cipal Care. On their Duty and Loyalty I will intirely
“ depend : And they may as surely depend on my Protection
“ in the full Enjoyment of their Religion, Liberty, and Pro-
“ perty.”

The Parliament
prorogued.

Then the Lord Chancellor prorogu’d the Parliament to the
second Day of July ; after which they were farther pro-
rogu’d to the 9th of January.

SPEECHES and DEBATES

In the SECOND SESSION of the

Second Parliament of King GEORGE I.

Anno. 10. Geo. I.
1723-24.

ON the 9th of January, the Parliament being met,
according to their last Prorogation, the King went
to the House of Peers, and the Commons attending,
the Lord Chancellor read his Majesty’s Speech to both
Houses, as follows :

My

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I Cannot open this Session without congratulating you
 “ upon the Success of your Endeavours last Year, for
 “ the Safety, Interest, and Honour of the Kingdom: The
 “ Rise of the publick Credit, the flourishing Condition of
 “ our Trade and Manufactures, and the general Tranquility
 “ of my People, are the happy Consequences of your pru-
 “ dent Resolutions. It is to be hop’d, that the few Exam-
 “ ples, which were made of some notorious Offenders, will
 “ be sufficient to deter the most Disaffected from engaging in
 “ the like desperate and wicked Practices. The Augmentation,
 “ which you thought fit to make to our National Forces by
 “ Sea and Land, has not only secur’d the general Quiet of
 “ the Kingdom against any sudden Attempts or Insurrections,
 “ but has also given me such Weight and Credit in all fo-
 “ reign Negotiations, as greatly contribute towards the Pre-
 “ servation of the Peace of Europe.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I will order the proper Officers to lay before you the
 “ Estimates for the Service of the current Year: I desire
 “ such Supplies only, as you shall find absolutely necessary
 “ for preserving the Peace of the Kingdom, and for the Se-
 “ curity of my People; and those, I hope, may be rais’d
 “ without laying any additional Charge or Burthen on my
 “ Subjects.

“ I must, in a particular Manner, recommend to your
 “ Care the publick Debts of the Kingdom, as the most
 “ National Concern you can possibly take into your Consi-
 “ deration. I am persuaded it must be a very great Satis-
 “ faction to all my faithful Subjects, to see the sinking Fund
 “ improv’d and augmented, and the Debt of the Nation
 “ thereby put into a Method of being so much the sooner
 “ gradually reduc’d and paid off: It would be a Work
 “ truly worthy of a British Parliament, to begin this com-
 “ mendable Undertaking, and to make such a Progress
 “ therein, as, with a strict Regard to publick Faith and pri-
 “ vate Property, may pave the Way to this great and de-
 “ sirable End.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ In the present happy Situation of our Affairs, I have
 “ nothing more to recommend to you, than that you would
 “ make Use of the Opportunity, which your own good
 “ Conduct has put into your Hands, in considering of such
 “ farther Laws, as may be wanting for the Ease and En-
 “ couragement of Trade and Navigation, for the Employ-
 “ ment of the Poor, and for the exciting and encouraging
 “ a Spirit of Industry in the Nation.

“ I

Anno 30. Geo. I.

1721-24.

“ I am fully satisfy’d, that the Trade and Wealth of my
 “ People are the happy Effects of the Liberties they enjoy,
 “ and that the Grandeur of the Crown consists in their Pro-
 “ sperity ; and I am as fully persuaded, that all, who wish
 “ well to their Country, must agree with me, that it is the
 “ vainest of all Delusions to imagine, that the Religion,
 “ Laws, and Liberties of this Kingdom can ever be se-
 “ cur’d, but by supporting the present Establishment, and
 “ maintaining the Succession in the Protestant Line. Let us
 “ therefore heartily join in every thing that may tend to
 “ promote our mutual Happiness, and to extinguish the
 “ Hopes of those, who long have been and still are restless
 “ in their Endeavours to subject this Nation to the whole
 “ Train of Miseries, that are inseparable from Popery and
 “ Arbitrary Power.”

The Commons being return’d to their House, the Lord Finch mov’d, and being seconded, it was resolv’d, *Nem. Con.* That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, which was unanimously agreed to, and on the 11th, presented by the whole House, as follows :

Most Gracious Sovereign,

The Commons Ad-
dress of Thanks.

YOUR Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, beg Leave to congratulate your Majesty upon your safe and happy Return into these Kingdoms ; and most humbly desire your Majesty to accept the unfeigned Thanks of this House, for your Majesty’s most gracious Speech from the Throne. As your Majesty is pleas’d to found the Grandeur of your Crown in the Security of the Liberties of your People, and your Glory in promoting their Prosperity ; so they, in Return, must be excited, by all the Ties of Duty and Gratitude, to build their Happiness upon the firm and unshaken Principles of Loyalty and Affection to your Majesty’s most Sacred Person and Government.

‘ It is the greatest Satisfaction to your Majesty’s faithful Commons to find, that the Loyalty of their Resolutions and the Justice of their Proceedings, in the last Session of Parliament, have been attended with all the happy Consequences they expected from them ; and now have been rewarded with your Majesty’s Royal Approbation.

‘ We beg Leave to assure your Majesty, that we shall readily and cheerfully raise all such Supplies, as shall be necessary to support the Honour of your Majesty’s Government, and secure the Tranquility of these Kingdoms.

‘ We are highly sensible of your Majesty’s Goodness to all your People, in recommending, particularly at this Time,

to

to our Consideration the publick Debts of the Kingdom ; which are so heavy a Load, and so much a National Concern, that we should be wanting to ourselves, if we did not assure your Majesty, that we will use our utmost Endeavours to improve and augment the Sinking Fund, and thereby put the National Debt into a Method of being gradually reduc'd and paid, without any Violation of publick Faith, or Infringement of private Property : And as your Majesty is pleas'd to encourage our attempting so great and noble a Design ; so we are fully perswaded, that the Wisdom and Steadiness of your Majesty's Government will enable us to perfect this great Undertaking.

Anno 10. Geo. 1.
1721-24

‘ We assure your Majesty, that we know of no other Safety, under God, for our Trade and Wealth, Liberty and Property, Religious and Civil Rights, but the Security of your Majesty's Sacred Person and Government, and the Succession in your Royal House ; which we will always support and maintain against any traiterous Attempt whatsoever ; being truly sensible of the Blessings we enjoy under your Majesty's most gracious and happy Government, which has hitherto preserv'd us from all those Miseries, Experience has taught us, are inseparable from Popery and Arbitrary Power.

To this Address his Majesty return'd the following Answer.

Gentlemen,

“ I Return you my hearty Thanks for this dutiful and loyal Address : The Wisdom and Resolution of this Parliament have principally contributed to our present happy Situation ; and the Perseverance of my faithful Commons, with the same Zeal and Unanimity, in the Dispatch of the publick Business, will be the surest Means of improving this favourable Opportunity to the best Advantage, for the Honour and Interest of the Kingdom.”

The King's Answer thereto.

January 22. The Commons, in a Committee of the whole House on the Supply, read the Estimates of the Charge of the Guards, Garrisons, and Land-Forces, and Mr Treby mov'd for keeping up the same Number of Troops for the Year 1724, as were maintain'd the Year before. This occasion'd a warm Debate which lasted five Hours. Mr Treby (a) was supported by Mr R. Walpole, Mr Pelham (b), Mr Doddington (c), Mr Yonge (d), Mr Thomas Broderick, Vol. I. S s Lord

Debate concerning the Number of Land-Forces.

Mr Treby.
Mr R. Walpole.
Mr Pelham.
Mr Doddington.
Mr Yonge.
Mr T. Broderick.

(a) Made Teller of the Exchequer,

(b) Appointed Secretary at War,

(c)(d) Made Commissioners of the Treasury ;

} All of them during this Session.

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Lord Finch.
S^r J. Miller.
Mr St J Broderick.
Mr Docminique.
Mr Pulteney.

Sir W. Lawfon.
Lord Morpeth.
Mr Bromley.
Sir T. Hanmer.
Mr Sloper.
Mr Shippen.
Hon. Mr Verney.
Mr Hungerford.
Sir J. Jekyll.
Mr Jefferies.
Mr W. Plummer.
Mr Hutcheson.

Petition from the
Sufferers by the
Bahama Project.

Debate thereon.

Mr R. Walpole.

Lord Morpeth.

The said Petition
rejected.

Lord Finch, Serjeant Miller, Hon. Mr St John Broderick, Mr Docminique, and Mr Pulteney (e). But Sir Wilfrid Lawfon, who was supported by Lord Morpeth (f), Mr Bromley, Sir Thomas Hanmer, Mr Sloper, Mr Shippen, Hon. Mr Verney (g), Mr Hungerford, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr Jefferies, Mr Walter Plummer, and Mr Hutcheson, insisted, 'That the additional Troops rais'd the last Year should be disbanded, because there was, at this Time, no apparent Occasion for so great a Number of Forces; but the Question being put upon the Motion, it was carry'd in the Affirmative by 240 Votes against 100; and resolv'd, I. That the Number of effective Men to be provided for Guards and Garrisons in Great Britain, and for Jersey and Guernsey, for the Year 1724, including 1815 Invalids, be 18264 Men, Commission and Non-Commission Officers included. II. That a Sum not exceeding 655,668 l. 8s. 7d. be granted for defraying the Charge of the said 18264 Men, for the Year 1724.

Jan. 23. Those Resolutions being reported, were agreed to by the House.

February 21. Sir John Guise presented to the House a Petition of Sir Gustavus Hume, and George Pratt, Esq; and several other Persons who were Sufferers by becoming Adventurers in the Project for carrying on a Trade to the Bahama Islands. After the Reading of this Petition, a Motion being made, that the said Petition be referr'd to the Consideration of a Committee, many Members were inclin'd to the Affirmative; but Mr R. Walpole thereupon represented, 'That this Petition seem'd intended to open again the Wounds of the Year 1720, which the Parliament, with great Wisdom, had endeavour'd to heal; that if they countenanc'd such a Petition, they would soon have a Load of Petitions of the same Nature brought upon them; and that the Law being open, the Petitioners ought to seek their Relief there, where many had already found it.' To this Lord Morpeth reply'd, 'That the rejecting of this Petition would sound very ill without Doors, and look'd as if they skreen'd their own Members; some of whom were known to have been the principal Managers of the Bahama Project: The Question being put upon the Motion, it pass'd in the Negative.

April 24. The King came to the House of Peers, and Sir William Saunderson, Gentleman-Usher of the Black-Rod, was sent with a Message from his Majesty to the House of Commons, commanding their Attendance in the House of Peers; the Commons being come thither accordingly, his Majesty gave the Royal Assent to several Bills; after which his

(e) *Appointed Cofferer of the Household, May 23, 1723.*

(f) *Son and Heir apparent to the Earl of Carlisle.*

(g) *Son to the Lord Walloughby de Brooke.*

His Majesty made the following Speech, by the Mouth of the Lord Chancellor.

Anno 10. Geo. I.

1724

The King's Speech
at concluding the
Second Session.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ **T**HE Unanimity, Chearfulness, and Dispatch with which you have now finish'd every Thing I recommended to you at the Opening this Session, are fresh Instances of your Affection to my Person and Government, and cannot fail of contributing, with the Blessing of God on our Endeavours, towards the Establishment of that happy Tranquility we now enjoy, both at Home and Abroad.

“ Your continuing the like National Force by Sea and Land this Year, as was judg'd necessary by Parliament for the Service of the last, gives me great Satisfaction : You have hereby wisely provided against the Mischiefs from any sudden Shocks of publick Credit ; you have provided for the Safety of the Kingdom, and have enabled this Nation to hold among the Powers of Europe the Rank and Figure due to her Honour and Dignity. Nothing could have been more acceptable to me, than your having been able to make that Provision without laying any new or additional Burthens on my People.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I return you my Thanks for the Care and Pains you have taken towards augmenting the Sinking Fund, and improving the publick Revenues by putting them under a stricter Management. I make no Doubt but that the happy Beginning you have made will be attended with such immediate good Consequences, as will encourage you to pursue the Way you have now open'd for a gradual Reduction of the Debt, and for putting the Trade and Navigation of Great Britain on such a Foot, as may not only in some Measure discourage the unjustifiable Encroachments they labour under from some of our Neighbours, but at the same Time extend her Exportations beyond what has been known in former Ages.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ As the early Recess which your Diligence and Unanimity has procur'd you, affords you the Opportunity of a longer Retirement into the Country, than the Business of former Sessions has usually allow'd of ; I assure myself, that you will carry with you thither the same Zeal for the publick Good, with which you have been animated in Parliament ; and that you will make it your Business to discountenance any Remains there may be yet left of Sedition or Disaffection, and to promote that perfect Harmony and Confidence between me and my People, which

Anno 10. Geo. I. 1724. " I most earnestly desire, and on which our mutual Happiness entirely depends."

The Parliament prorogued.

Then the Lord Chancellor prorogued the Parliament to the 4th of June : They were afterwards farther prorogued to the 12th of November.

SPEECHES and DEBATES

In the THIRD SESSION of the

Second Parliament of King GEORGE I.

Anno 11. Geo. I. 1724.

THE Parliament met on the 12th of November, according to their last Prorogation, and the King being come to the House of Peers with the usual State, and the Commons attending, the Lord Chancellor read his Majesty's Speech to both Houses as follows ;

The King's Speech at opening the Third Session.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I Am persuaded, you share with me in the Satisfaction
 " I feel at the prosperous Situation of Affairs : Peace with
 " all Powers Abroad ; at Home, perfect Tranquility, Plenty,
 " and an uninterrupted Enjoyment of all Civil and Religious
 " Rights, are most distinguishing Marks of the Favour and
 " Protection of the Divine Providence. And these, with all
 " their happy Consequences, will, I doubt not, by the Blessing
 " of God upon our joint Endeavours, be long continu'd
 " to my People.

" The same Provision by Sea and Land, for the Defence
 " and Safety of the Nation, will continue to make us respected
 " abroad, and consequently secure at Home. The same
 " Attention to the Improvement of the publick Revenues,
 " and to the Ease and Encouragement of Trade and
 " Navigation, will establish Credit upon the strongest Basis,
 " and raise such a Spirit of Industry, as will not only enable
 " us gradually to discharge the National Debt ; but will
 " likewise greatly increase the Wealth, Power, and Influence
 " of this Kingdom.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" I have order'd the proper Officers to prepare and lay
 " before you Estimates of the Expences for the Service of the
 " ensuing Year ; and, as they do not exceed what has been
 " found by Experience to be absolutely necessary for the Security
 " of the Kingdom, I make no Question but I shall
 " have

“ have your ready Concurrence in raising the Supplies, in such Manner as shall be most easy to my People. Anno 11. Geo. I.
1724.

“ There is one Thing that I cannot but mention to you, as deserving your particular Consideration. It is too manifest, that the Funds establish'd for the finishing the Works at Greenwich Hospital, and providing for a competent Number of Seamen there, cannot, in Time of Peace, be sufficient to answer the Expences of this great and necessary Work. It is therefore very much to be wish'd, that some Method could be found out to make a farther Provision for a comfortable Support to our Seamen, worn out in the Service of their Country, and labouring under old Age and Infirmities.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ You must all be sensible how much our present Happiness is owing to your Union and steady Conduct. It is therefore wholly unnecessary to recommend to you Unanimity and Dispatch in all your Deliberations. The Zeal and Abilities you have on all Occasions shewn in supporting the Interest of your Country, even under the greatest Difficulties, leave no Room to doubt of my having your intire and effectual Concurrence in every thing, that can tend to the Service of the Publick, and to the Good of my People.”

The Commons being return'd to their House, and Mr Speaker having reported his Majesty's Speech, Mr Edward Thompson mov'd for an Address of Thanks and Congratulation, which being unanimously resolv'd, a Committee was appointed to draw it up.

Mr E. Thompson's Motion for an Address of Thanks, which is agreed to.

Nov. 13. Mr Thompson reported the said Address, which was agreed to *Nem. Con.* and on the 14th, presented to his Majesty by the whole House, as follows :

Most Gracious Sovereign,

“ **Y**OUR Majesty's most dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great-Britain in Parliament assembled, return your Majesty the Thanks of this House for your Majesty's most gracious Speech from the Throne ; and as your Majesty's fatherly Tenderness for your People, and the unspeakable Comforts of an easy Government, demand the sincerest Tribute of Duty ; your Majesty's faithful Commons do now offer to your Majesty their most unfeigned Assurances of Gratitude and Loyalty, with that becoming Zeal and Affection that is particularly requisite at this Time.

The Commons Address of Thanks to the King.

“ We beg Leave to congratulate with your Majesty on the prosperous Situation of Affairs at Home and Abroad ; a Subject

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Subject not only of Content, but of Joy : And we should be wanting to ourselves, and insensible of our own Prosperity, if we did not feel the same Satisfaction in reaping the Fruits of your Majesty's great Wisdom, that your Majesty hath in imploying it to direct and guide us to our own Happiness.

Peace with all Powers Abroad, Plenty and Tranquility at Home, with a full and quiet Enjoyment of every Thing that is dear and valuable to us, are peculiar Marks of your Majesty's Government ; which that they may be for ever remembred, this House will use their utmost Endeavours, by the Divine Assistance, to transmit the happy Consequences of these Blessings to the latest Posterity, as Monuments to Futurity of the Glories of your Majesty's Reign.

To support the Interest and Credit of our Country, is to pay the most acceptable Obedience to your Majesty, and therefore this House will proceed with all Cheerfulness and Dispatch in raising such Supplies as shall be necessary for the Honour and Safety of the Nation : We will labour to discharge gradually the National Debt, by the Improvement of the Publick Revenues ; to increase our Wealth, by the Advancement of our Trade ; and to establish our Strength, by the Encouragement of our Navigation ; and are ready heartily to assist your Majesty in every thing that shall tend to the Security and Grandeur of your Majesty and your Kingdoms.

To this Address his Majesty return'd the following Answer.

Gentlemen,

His Majesty's Answer.

I Return you my hearty Thanks for your loyal Address ; I never made any Doubt, but that whenever the Honour and Interest of the Kingdom call'd upon you, I should meet with the same Return of Duty and Fidelity, and the same Affection and Zeal for my Service, as I have hitherto experienc'd on all Occasions.

Debate concerning
the Number of
Land-Forces.

Mr H Pelham.

Nov. 23. In a Committee of the whole House, the Commons consider'd farther of the Supply. The several Estimates of the Charge of Guards, Garrisons, and Land-Forces ; of the Forces in the Plantations, Minorca, and Gibraltar ; of the Out-Pensioners of Chelsea-Hospital, for the Year 1725, and of extraordinary Expences not provided for by Parliament, having been referr'd to the Committee, Mr H. Pelham open'd the Debate on those several Heads, shew'd the Necessity of keeping up the same Number of Guards, Garrisons, and Land-Forces, and mov'd for making the same

same Provision for them for the Year 1725, as was made for this Year. Mr Pelham's Motion was supported by Mr Treby, Sir Edmund Bacon, General Wade, and Mr Yonge; but was opposed by Mr Plummer, Mr Freeman, Sir William Barker, Lord Morpeth, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr Cornwall, Mr Snell, Mr Hungerford, and Mr Shippen, which occasion'd a warm Debate, that lasted till Four in the Afternoon. Those who oppos'd Mr Pelham's Motion, were not all of the same Opinion, as to the Number of Troops, some being for reducing the Army to seven or eight Thousand Men, as was done after the Conclusion of the Treaties of Ryswick and Utrecht, and others insisting only on the Disbanding of the 4000 Men rais'd upon Occasion of the late Conspiracy.

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Mr Treby.
Sir Ed. Bacon.
Gen. Wade.
Mr Yonge.

Mr Plummer.
Mr Freeman.
Sir W. Barker.
Lord Morpeth.
Sir J. Jekyll.
Mr Cornwall.
Mr Snell.
Mr Hungerford.
Mr Shippen.

Mr Snell, Member for Gloucester, to shew the Danger of a Standing Army in a free Country, brought two Instances; the one of an Insult given by Dragoons encamp'd in the West, to some Country-Men that were merry-making; the other, of an Officer quarter'd at Gloucester, who, upon a Rejoicing-Day, would not permit the City Drums to beat, pretending, that none but the King's Drums had a Right to beat in the Garrison.' To the first of these Complaints Mr Treby answer'd, ' That by several Affidavits taken before the Magistrates in the Neighbourhood, it appear'd that a rude Mob of discontented People had given the first Insult and Provocation to the King's Troops, by calling them *Round-heads*, and other abusive Names, and singing or playing the Tune of, *The King shall enjoy his own again*, &c. To the other, it was said, That the Officer, who was guilty of that Piece of Indiscretion, was so far from being countenanc'd, that on the contrary, upon the first Notice given of it to the Secretary of War, he was order'd to be dismiss'd from his Majesty's Service; which Punishment he would have undergone, had not the Magistrates of Gloucester been satisfy'd with his Submission, and interceded for him.' Mr Hungerford endeavour'd to shew the Danger of regular Troops to a free Nation, and what little Occasion there was for them at this happy Juncture, and concluded, ' He could not imagine, what Use an Army could be put to, unless it were to extinguish the Flame that had been kindled in Ireland by the new Brass Half-pence, [*meaning the base Half-pence coin'd by Mr Wood for the Use of Ireland*,] and to force that People to swallow them.' But the most material Objections were urg'd by Mr Shippen, who upon this Occasion spoke as follows:

Mr Snell.

Mr Treby.

Mr Hungerford.

Mr Speaker,

' I Have spoke so often against maintaining an extraordinary Number of Land-Forces in Time of Peace, that I should now choose to be silent, if I had not the first Day of the Session

Mr Shippen.

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tion enter'd my Claim to dispute the Continuance of the Four thousand Augmentation Troops, and if I did not think it my Duty to oppose every Proposition, which seems to carry the least appearance of Danger to our Constitution.

' I ask Pardon, especially of the Honourable Gentleman who moved it, if I take the present Question to be of this Nature. Nor can I be persuaded, that the frequent Imposition of unnecessary Taxes, or the Repetition of any Grievance, ought to beget an Insensibility, or a slavish Acquiescence in it. On the contrary, I think it ought to awaken and double our Attention, lest it should in time plead a Prescriptive Right, and gradually grow into an Establishment.

' If I may be permitted to consider the King's Speech, as the Composition of his Ministers, which tho' I know by Experience to be a more dangerous, [*See p. 160*] is yet a more Parliamentary Way, than to consider it as an Edict from the Throne, I will observe, that it does not ask the Opinion and Advice of the Commons, how far they will use their great, essential and undisputed Right of raising Money; but it positively prescribes the exact Provision we are to make, both by Sea and Land, for the Service of the ensuing Year; and, whether that be not a new Method of speaking to Parliaments, is with all Deference submitted to the Wisdom of this House, which is the best Judge of its own Privileges and Power.

' Surely, Sir, it is very melancholy to hear one Session after another, that, tho' we are in a State of Tranquility, as the Language is, yet we can neither be secure at home, nor respected abroad, without continuing above Eighteen thousand Land Forces in Pay.

' This Way of Reasoning entirely misrepresents our Circumstances and Condition. For it would suggest, that we cannot enjoy the Blessings of a good Reign, without enduring at the same time the Hardships of a bad one, which is a Contradiction in it self, and inconsistent with the Notions we, as Englishmen, must ever entertain of our legal Liberties, in Maintenance of which our Predecessors in Parliament though fit to alter the Lineal Succession of our Royal Family. This Way of Reasoning farther supposes, that the mutual Confidence betwixt his Majesty and his People is destroyed, that there is a Distrust on one hand and a Disaffection on the other, for which there is not the least Ground or Pretence. For his Majesty, by his Residence amongst us this last Summer, has not only given us the clearest Proof of his preferring the Welfare and Happiness of these Kingdoms to that of his own Foreign Dominions; but has for ever secured the Love of his Subjects here by his most gracious Affability and personal Condescensions to them. He has for ever secured that Tranquility at home, on which he is pleased with so much Satisfaction

faction to congratulate his Parliament. Nor can this Tran-
quility be affected by the Clamours in Ireland against a late
Patent, [*meaning Mr Wood's Patent for Coining, which was
afterwards recalled*] for there is a large Army in that King-
dom sufficient to curb tumultuous Spirits, and to awe Patro-
nizing Malecontents, should any such be found. Nay, if more
Forces are judged necessary, either for the Honour or Safety
of the Government there, that Kingdom is able and willing
to maintain more on its own Establishment; and therefore all
Arguments drawn from thence relating to the present Ques-
tion must be inconclusive. The House may, perhaps think
fit, at a proper Season, to listen so far to the Complaints of
our Fellow-Subjects in another Kingdom, as to call for this
obnnoxious Patent, and to examine into the Grounds of it.
For the Misgovernment of Ireland has been frequently under
the Examination of the House of Commons here, and such
Examinations have formerly proved fatal to as great Mini-
sters as England ever bred; which may be Matter of Re-
flection to their Successors, and to those it may concern;
but can never be any Inducement to an English Parliament
to pay one Soldier more, than is absolutely necessary for
our own Use.

‘ Now all Rebellions, all Conspiracies, seem to be totally
extinguished, not more by the late seasonable Exertion of
Parliamentary Justice, than by the wise and prudent Con-
duct of those in the Administration. They have so carefully
reviewed and modelled the Forces this Summer in every
Part of the Nation, that, we are to hope, there are not left
even so many, as three or four Serjeants and Corporals, who
shall have Fool-hardiness enough to undertake again to draw
the whole Army into wild and chimerical Attempts. They
have freed the Church from all Apprehensions of Danger,
by promoting only the most orthodox and learned Part of
the Clergy to the Episcopal Dignity, and other Ecclesiastical
Preferments. They have preserved the State, by advancing
only Men of distinguished Ability and Experience to all great
Offices and Civil Employments. They have, which is above
all, reconciled their own Animosities, and have no other Con-
tentions now, but who shall best serve his Majesty and the
Publick, without any Views of accumulating immense Wealth
to themselves, or of aggrandizing their own private Fami-
lies. Such an Administration can never need the Assistance
and Protection of above Eighteen thousand disciplined Troops.
Such an Administration should not suffer the Army to run
away with the Reputation of their good and great Works, or
to assume the Glory of raising our Credit, enlarging our Trade,
and establishing our present Prosperity.

‘ Nor are our Foreign Affairs in a less flourishing Condition, than those at Home, so far as I am capable of judging on the common Appearance of Things, without being in the Secrets of the Cabinet.

‘ We can have no Apprehensions from, our nearest Neighbour, France. For that Kingdom is engaged to us by many strict Treaties, and I have heard the French *Bona Fides*, of late Years, as much asserted and extolled in this House, as I have formerly heard it ridiculed and exploded. Besides, we have a vigilant Minister at Paris, who by his own Skill and Penetration in Politicks, as well as by good Advice and Assistance from hence, is not only promoting the British Interests there, but influencing and directing the French Councils.

‘ Nor can we have any Pretence to keep up those Forces on account of Danger from Spain. For, if that Monarchy should be indiscreet enough to retain the least harsh Remembrance of any pretended ill Usage from Great Britain : If it should resent our glorious and seasonable Conquest over their Fleet in the Mediterranean, [See p. 185] for which we struck a Medal with pompous Inscriptions : If it should insist on the Restitution of Gibraltar and Port-Mahon, which, in my humble Opinion, can never be surrender’d without the highest Infamy, as well as Injury, to England. I say, if any thing of this kind should remain in the Breast of the Court of Spain, notwithstanding our Treaties and daily Negotiations there, it is our Comfort, that we need fear no Invasion from their Armada ; that the Mutability of their Counsels, their Pretensions in Italy, their Distance from Great Britain, render it impracticable for them, to annoy or distress us. And if King Philip’s Resignation of that Crown was a good Argument the last Year, for continuing the Four thousand Augmentation Troops, then his Resumption of it now must be a good one for disbanding them this Year.

‘ The Emperor’s personal Obligations to Great Britain are such, that it is impossible for him to entertain any ill Intentions against us, either on account of the Ostend-East-India Company, or of his Majesty’s glorious Endeavours to remove the Religious Grievances in Germany, and to promote the Protestant Interest there, of which he is the great Guardian.

‘ The Dutch are our old natural Allies, and always ready to assist us. Nor is it their Fault, that we have sometimes disputed amongst our selves concerning the Expence of transporting their auxiliar Forces. They are bound to us, by antient Ties of Gratitude, for their original Preservation, and by, what is yet a stronger Cement, their own present Interest and Safety.

‘ As to the two Northern Crowns of Sweden and Denmark, They have in their Turns received our Protection, and tast-
ed

ed of our Bounty. We all remember the famous *Æra*, when Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds, as well as many smaller Supplies since, were raised on that Account. [See p. 125] Besides, we are to hope our Expeditions into the *Baltick*, under the Conduct of a brave Officer [*Sir John Norris*] here present, have been as effectual as they have been expensive, and that our Fleet has not only awed them into a Reconciliation betwixt themselves, but into an absolute Submission to Great Britain.

‘ The Czar is stretching his Conquests into remote Parts of the World, and if what we hear of a late Treaty be true, that it is made entirely in favour of Great Britain, without any regard to Foreign Principalities, we can apprehend nothing from our new Ally, who is otherwise so fully employed. For, however extensive our mediating Care may be, I presume we are not engaged with him to oppose the intended Succession of the Crown of Poland, or to settle the Balance of Empire in Persia.

‘ If such then is our prosperous Situation at Home and Abroad, Why should we be denied the promised happy Consequences of it? Why should we be afraid of reducing our Land Forces? Why should we not at least strike off the Four thousand Augmentation Troops, in Compassion to a Nation loaded, and almost sunk with Debt? For should a Storm arise after this Calm, should any new Events produce a Rupture in Europe, it will be time enough, if we are either prompted by our own heroick Disposition, or bound by any inviolable Treaties, to enter into the Quarrels of the Continent, I say, it will be time enough, when the War shall be actually declared, to lend our Assistance to those, whom we voluntarily espouse, or to perform our Engagements to our respective Allies, if they shall not be found romantick and impracticable. We have the Opinion of a most eminent Author in Civil Learning, ‘ That it is more grievous to any Nation to bear the least extraordinary Taxes in Times of Peace, than to endure the greatest Impositions in Times of War. Because a War may prove advantageous, may terminate in Conquest and glorious Acquisitions. But a Continuance of extraordinary Taxes, without it, must inevitably end in Poverty and Ruin.’

‘ Now I can never be so unjust to his Majesty’s most mild and gracious Government, as to ascribe our present Tranquility to the Continuance of an extraordinary Number of Troops, any more, than I can believe, it would cease at the Reduction of Part of them. This would be a dangerous, as well as an absurd Doctrine, with relation to us at Home. For should it be admitted, that above Eighteen thousand Land-Forces have not only procured our present

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Tranquility, but that they are absolutely necessary to the Security of the Kingdom ; then it will follow, that the same Number will always be absolutely necessary ; that a military Power is the most pacifick Form of Government ; and that an Army will be a better Preserver of Peace and Plenty, a better Guardian of our Civil and Religious Rights, than the Law of the Land. This Doctrine too, considered with regard to the Respect and Influence we may have Abroad, is as absurd and ill grounded : For that Respect and Influence can never proceed from the Number of Land-Forces, we may think fit to burthen our selves with in Time of Peace : But it must proceed from the Advantages of our Natural Situation, from our Naval Strength, from our extended Commerce, from our vast Riches, which have enabled us to carry on long and expensive Wars ; to maintain, when our Allies failed in their Quota's, three great Armies at once in three distant Nations ; and these Advantages will ever enable us to hold the Balance of Power in Europe, unless worn out with unnecessary and insupportable Taxes.

‘ But, if not so much as the Four thousand Augmentation Troops are to be parted with, if they are to be continued till the Pretences of all the Princes in Europe shall be adjusted, till the different Interests of different Nations shall be reconciled, till the Claim of Bremen and Verden shall be fully settled and acquiesced in, till the long expected Form of a Congress shall be compleated, I freely own, I am not without my Apprehensions, that our immense National Debt, instead of being annually reduced, will be daily increased ; that our present Grievances, for Grievances we have in the midst of all our Tranquility, instead of being speedily removed, will become perpetual, and we may dream of Blessings we shall never enjoy.

‘ On the whole, I am against continuing the Number of Forces proposed, and for disbanding at least the Four thousand Augmentation Troops.’

Mr Yonge.

Mr Shippen having done Speaking, Mr. Yonge rose up and said, ‘ That he was oblig’d to the Gentlemen that spoke on the other Side, for furnishing him with Reasons for keeping up the present Number of Troops : That the prosperous Situation of Affairs, the Peace with all Powers Abroad, and the perfect Tranquility at Home, being in a great Measure, owing to the good Posture we were in both by Sea and Land, which made us respected Abroad, and secure at Home, it were Imprudence not to continue those Forces on the same Foot. That the Parliament had indeed oblig’d King William, of glorious Memory, to reduce his Army to seven thousand Men. But what was the Consequence of it ? Why, truly,

truely, the French King was thereby encourag'd to acknowledge and proclaim the Pretender, as King of England, and to seize on the Monarchy of Spain, which was the Occasion of a long, bloody, and expensive War. That as to the Reduction of the Army after the Peace of Utrecht, it was well known, that it was principally owing to those who were for having an Army of another Stamp. That this Reduction would have prov'd fatal to the Protestant Succession, had some People had Time to ripen their Designs. That at least it encourag'd a great Rebellion soon after his Majesty's happy, and almost miraculous, Accession to the Crown: And as the Spirit and Discontents which rais'd that Rebellion, were not yet wholly extinguish'd and subdu'd, they would soon see Insurrections at Home, and the Peace of Europe disturb'd Abroad, if they parted with the Army.' After this the Question being put upon Mr Pelham's Motion, it was carry'd in the Affirmative, by 206 Voices against 69; and resolv'd, I. That the Number of effective Men to be provided for Guards and Garrisons in Great Britain, and for Jersey and Guernsey, for the Year 1725, be, including 1815 Invalids, 18,264 Men; Commission and Non-Commission Officers included. II. That the Sum of 654,488 l. 17 s. 8 d. be granted for the Charge of the said 18,264 effective Men, for the Year 1725.

January 23. A Petition of Edward Earl of Oxford, and of Henry Lord Morpeth, two of the Guardians of the Person and Estates of Elizabeth Duchess Dowager of Montagu, a Lunatick, was presented to the House, and read, setting forth, That very great Sums of Money of the said Lunatick's Estate have, pursuant to Orders of the Court of Chancery, been brought before Mr Hiccocks, late one of the Masters of the said Court, and Mr Thomas Bennet his Successor, now one of the Masters of the said Court, in order to be placed out at Interest for the Benefit of the said Lunatick, upon Securities to be approved by the said Masters respectively: That upon examining into the Accounts of the Masters in Chancery, relating to the Suitors Monies brought before them, considerable Deficiencies appear; and that the said Mr Thomas Bennet has not deposited, pursuant to Orders of the said Court, several Mortgages for large Sums of Money, belonging to the Estates of the said Lunatick; neither hath he deposited nor secured, pursuant to Orders of the said Court, 9000 l. and upwards, of his Balance of Cash; and praying such Relief as the House shall think fit.

This Petition coming unexpectedly into the House, whilst the Accounts of the Masters in Chancery were put in a Course of Examination before the Lords Commissioners of the

A Petition of the Earl of Oxford and Lord Morpeth, complaining of the Deficiencies of the Accounts of the Masters in Chancery.

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A Motion relating
to the Masters in
Chancery.

The Debate there-
on.

the Great Seal, the said Petition was ordered to lie upon the Table: But a Motion being made, That the proper Officer, or Officers, of the Court of Chancery, do lay before this House Copies of the Orders made by the Court, relating to the Accounts, and the Effects belonging to the Suitors, in the Hands of the Masters of the Court of Chancery, dated the 17th and 21st of December last, with Copies of the Reports therein mentioned; and also the Accounts of the said Masters relating thereto, with their several Explanations of the said Accounts; a great Debate arose thereupon, in which some severe Animadversions were made on the Conduct of the Earl of Macclesfield, late Lord Chancellor. Then Mr Henry Pelham mov'd, 'That the Debate be adjourn'd to the 9th of February, which was carried by a great Majority.'

February 9. Mr Methuen acquainted the House, that he had a Message from his Majesty to the House, sign'd by his Majesty; and that he was commanded by his Majesty to lay before the House Copies of several Reports and other Papers relating to the Masters in Chancery; and he delivered his Majesty's Message to Mr Speaker, and the said Copies and other Reports, at the Table. His Majesty's Message was read by Mr Speaker, as follows, viz.

GEORGE R.

King's Message relating to the Suitors in Chancery, and the Accounts of the Masters.

" HIS Majesty having Reason to apprehend, that the
" Suitors of the Court of Chancery were in Danger
" of losing a considerable Sum of Money from the Insuffi-
" ciency of some of the Masters, thought himself obli-
" ged, in Justice and Compassion to the said Suitors,
" to take the most speedy and proper Method the Law
" would allow, for inquiring into the State of the Masters
" Accounts, and securing their Effects for the Benefit of the
" Suitors: And his Majesty having had several Reports laid
" before him in pursuance of the Directions he had given,
" has ordered the said Reports to be communicated to this
" House, that this House may have as full and as perfect a
" View of this important Affair, as the Shortness of the
" Time, and the Circumstances and Nature of the Proceed-
" ings would admit of."

Then the said Reports, together with some of the Papers refer'd to therein, were read, and order'd to be taken into further Consideration on the 12th Instant.

Feb. 12. The House took into Consideration the several Reports and Papers referred to in his Majesty's Message of the 9th Instant. After the reading Part of the said Papers, Sir George Oxenden, Bart. rose up, and said, 'That it mani-

The House consider the King's Message and the Papers refer'd to therein.

manifestly appear'd by these Reports, which after the strictest Inquiry, and upon the maturest Deliberation, had been drawn up by Persons of the greatest Weight and Authority, for their Abilities, Experience, High Stations, and Integrity; That enormous Abuses had crept into the High Court of Chancery, chiefly occasion'd by the Magistrate, who was at the Head of that Court, and whose Duty consequently it was, to prevent the same. That the Crimes and Misdemeanors of the late Lord Chancellor were many, and of various Natures, but might be reduc'd to these three Heads. I. That he had taken into his own Hands the Estates and Effects of many Widows, Orphans, and Lunatics, and either had dispos'd of Part of them arbitrarily to his own Profit, or conniv'd at the Officers under him making Advantage of the same. II. That he had rais'd to an exorbitant Price the Offices and Places of the Masters of Chancery, and in order to enable them to pay to him those high Prices and Gratuities for their Admission, had trusted in their Hands large Sums of Money belonging to Suitors in Chancery. III. That in several Cases he had made divers irregular Orders. So that in his Opinion, that first Magistrate in the Kingdom was fallen from the Height of the Dignities and Honours, to which he had been rais'd by the King's royal Bounty and Favour, to the Depth of Infamy and Disgrace. And therefore he mov'd, That Thomas Earl of Macclesfield be impeached of High Crimes and Misdemeanors.'

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After the Consideration whereof, Sir G. Oxenden moves for impeaching Thomas Earl of Macclesfield of High Crimes and Misdemeanors.

Debate thereon.

Mr Strickland.
Mr Doddington,

Mr W. Pulteney,

This Motion was seconded by Mr Strickland, and Mr Doddington, who said, 'The Misdemeanors of the late Lord Chancellor were of the greatest and most dangerous Consequence, since most of the Estates in England, once in thirty Years, pass through the Court of Chancery.' Mr William Pulteney, who stood up next, said, 'That it was far from his Thoughts to endeavour to abate the just Resentment which the Gentlemen who spoke last, shew'd against the great Abuses that had been committed in the Court of Chancery: But that in his Opinion, they went a little too fast in so weighty and important an Affair, by which Means they might lose the very End they aim'd at, viz. the effectual punishing the Person by whose Neglect, at least, those Abuses had been committed; That whatever Deference they ought to pay on this Occasion, to the Capacity, Experience, Integrity, and Authority of the Persons who had drawn up the Reports that had been laid before them, yet it little became the Dignity, and was even derogatory to the Prerogative of that House, which is the grand Inquest of the Nation, to found an Impeachment upon those Reports, without a previous Inquiry, and Examination into the Proofs that were to support it; and therefore mov'd, that this Affair might be referred to the Con-

sideration

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Sir W. Wyndham.

Sir Wilf. Lawfon.
Sir T. Pengelly.
Mr Yonge.
Sir Clem. Wearg.

The House resolve
to impeach the
Earl of Maccles-
field of High
Crimes and Mis-
demeanours, and a
Committee appoint-
ed to draw up Ar-
ticles accordingly.

A Bill order'd to
indemnify Masters
of Chancery, on
Discovery of what
Sums they paid for
their Places,

Which is read
twice, and order'd
to be engross'd,

consideration of a select Committee.' He was back'd by Sir William Wyndham, who urg'd, ' That by proceeding by way of Impeachment upon Reports laid before them from above, the Commons would make a dangerous Precedent, and seem to give up the most valuable of their Privileges, viz. the Inquest after State Criminals.' Sir Wilfred Lawfon, and Sir Thomas Pengelly supported Mr Pulteney's Motion. But Mr Yonge*, and Sir Clement Wearg † answer'd those Objections, whereupon the previous Question was put, Whether the Question be now put upon Sir George Oxenden's Motion? Which after some Debate was carry'd in the Affirmative, by a Majority of 273 Voices against 164. Then the main Question being put, it was resolv'd by the same Majority, That Thomas Earl of Macclesfield be impeach'd of High Crimes and Misdemeanors; and it was order'd, that Sir George Oxenden do go up to the Lords, and at their Bar, in the Name of the House of Commons, and of all the Commons of Great Britain, impeach Thomas Earl of Macclesfield of High Crimes and Misdemeanors; and acquaint them, that this House would, in due Time, exhibit particular Articles against him, and make good the same. Then a Committee was appointed to draw up Articles of Impeachment against Thomas Earl of Macclesfield; to which Committee the several Reports referr'd to in his Majesty's Message, were referr'd. After this, upon a Motion made by Mr West, and seconded by Mr Edward Thompson, a Bill was order'd to be brought in, *To indemnify the Masters of Chancery from the Penalties of the Act of the 5th and 6th Years of King Edward VI, against buying and selling of Offices, upon their discovering what Consideration, Price, or Gratuity they paid, or agreed to pay, for the Purchase of, or for their Admission to, their Offices.*

February 13. Sir George Oxenden reported, That he had been at the Bar of the House of Lords, and in the Name of this House, and of all the Commons of Great Britain, had impeached Thomas Earl of Macclesfield of High Crimes and Misdemeanors, and acquainted the Lords, That the Commons would, in due Time, exhibit particular Articles against him, and make good the same. After this, Mr West presented to the House, a Bill, *For indemnifying the Masters in Chancery from the Penalties of the Act of the 5th and 6th Years of King Edward the VI, against buying and selling of Offices, upon their discovering what Consideration, Price, or Gratuity they paid, or agreed to pay, for the Purchase of, or for their Admission to, their respective Offices.* Which Bill

was

* One of the Lords of the Treasury.

† Appointed Solicitor General, Feb. 2d, 1723-24, in the Room of Sir Philip Yorke, made Attorney General.

was immediately read the first, and second Time, and without going through a Committee, order'd to be engrossed.

Feb. 15. The said engrossed Bill was read the third Time, pass'd and sent up to the Lords.

Feb. 24. Sir George Oxenden acquainted the House, that he was directed by the Committee appointed to draw up Articles of Impeachment against the Earl of Macclesfield, to move the House, That such Persons as the Committee should find it necessary to examine, be examined in the most solemn Manner; which was order'd accordingly.

March 17. A Bill, *For better effecting the pious Intention of building fifty New Churches, &c.* pursuant to a Message from the King, *Feb.* 10. recommending such a Bill to the Consideration of the House, was read a second Time, and committed to a Committee of the whole House, who were order'd to receive a Clause, to confirm Ministers and Curates in the Enjoyment of such poor Livings as are, or shall hereafter be, augmented by the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, for the Augmentation of the Maintenance of the poor Clergy; Hereupon a Motion was made by Mr Arthur Onslow, and the Question put, 'That the said Committee have Power to receive another Clause or Clauses, to disable or render incapable any Bodies Politick or Corporate, Brotherhoods or Societies, to purchase or take any Right of Advowson, Patronage, Presentation, Nomination, Collation, or Donation of, in, or to any Benefice with Cure of Souls; or of, in, or to any Donative, or any other Ecclesiastical Preferment whatsoever.' He was seconded by Serjeant Miller, and back'd by Mr Sandys, and some other Members, but being oppos'd by Mr Yonge, Mr Oglethorpe, Mr Hungerford, and Mr R. Walpole, the previous Question being put, that the Question be now put, it was carried in the Negative, by 144 Voices against 74. The Design of this Motion was to restrain the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, from purchasing new Advowsons and Presentations of Benefices.

March 18. Sir George Oxenden, from the Committee appointed to draw up Articles of Impeachment against Thomas Earl of Macclesfield, acquainted the House, that they had drawn up several Articles accordingly, which they had directed him to report to the House; and he farther acquainted the House, that they had other Matters depending before them, relating to their Inquiry: and he read the Report in his Place, and afterwards deliver'd the Articles in at the Table, where they were read by the Clerk. These Articles were one and twenty in Number, and the two first relating to Offences said to be committed before the Act of Indemnity passed in the Year 1721, Mr Conduit, Member for Whitchurch, mov'd, that the said Articles be recommitted.

Anno 11. Geo. I.
1724-25.

And passes the House.

A Bill relating to the Building 50 new Churches being read a second Time, Mr Onslow moves for a Clause to disable any Body Politick or Corporate from buying any Advowsons of Livings.

Debate thereon.

Serj. Miller.

Mr Sandys.

Mr Yonge.
Mr Oglethorpe.
Mr Hungerford.
Mr R. Walpole.

Sir George Oxenden reports the Articles from the Committee of Impeachment against the Earl of Macclesfield.

Debate thereon.

Mr Conduit.

Anno 11. Geo. I.
1724-25.

Mr Plomer.

Sir Phil. Yorke.

Sir Tho. Pengelly.

Mr Yonge.
Mr West.
Sir G. Heathcote.

Sir Clem. Wearg.

The said Articles
order'd to be en-
gross'd,

Hereupon Mr Walter Plomer, one of the Committee that had drawn up the Articles, said, ' That the Crimes, for which the Earl of Macclesfield was impeached, being complicated, and having a Relation to, and Dependence upon, one another, they could not mention one without the other.' He was answer'd by Sir Philip Yorke *, who spoke for the Motion for recommitting the Articles. To this, Sir Thomas Pengelly †, reply'd, ' That in the Case before them, they ought to distinguish between an Act of Oblivion, and an Act of Indemnity : That the first is begun in either House of Parliament, and being the Act of the three Estates, or of the whole Legislature, clears and purges Offenders of all Crimes therein specified : But that it is otherwise with an Act of Indemnity, which flows from the meer Grace and Clemency of the Sovereign, is sent down to the Parliament, who are at Liberty either to accept or refuse it, but not to alter any Thing ; and regards only Crimes committed against the King, his Predecessors, and Successors ; which was not the Case of the Earl of Macclesfield, who stood impeach'd for Crimes and Misdemeanors committed in a high Office and Trust, against his Fellow-Subjects.' This was answer'd by Mr Yonge, to whom Mr West reply'd ; and to the latter Sir Gilbert Heathcote. But Sir Clement Wearg having strenuously supported Sir Thomas Pengelly's Argument, the opposite Side drop'd the Motion without dividing. Then the Report being read, Paragraph by Paragraph, the several Articles were agreed to by the House, and order'd to be engrossed. It was also order'd, that a Clause be prepared, saving Liberty to the Commons to exhibit any farther Articles against the said Thomas Earl of Macclesfield, and that he might be put to answer the said Crimes and Misdemeanors.

March 19. Sir George Oxenden presented to the House a Clause saving Liberty to the Commons to exhibit farther Articles against the Earl of Macclesfield, which was agreed to, and order'd to be engross'd with the Articles of Impeachment against the said Earl.

March 20. The engrossed Articles of Impeachment of High Crimes and Misdemeanors against Thomas Earl of Macclesfield were read, and order'd to be carried to the Lords by Sir George Oxenden ; who being return'd reported, that he had been at the Bar of the House of Lords, and left with the Lords the said Articles of Impeachment.

April 8. Mr R. Walpole acquainted the House, That he had a Message from his Majesty to this House, sign'd by his Majesty,

* Appointed Attorney General, Jan. 31, 1723-24, in the Room of Sir Robert Raymond, made a Judge of the King's Bench.

† King's Serjeant at Law.

And carried up to
the Lords by Sir
George Oxenden.

Majesty, and he deliver'd the same to Mr Speaker, who read the same to the House, as follows, viz.

Anno 11. Geo. 1
1725.

GEORGE R.

“ **T**HE Necessities of his Majesty's Government having render'd it impracticable for his Majesty to make any considerable Retrenchments in the Expences of his Civil List; and having engag'd his Majesty in some extraordinary Expences, which, he is perswaded, his loyal Commons will believe have been employ'd, not only for the Honour and Dignity of the Crown, but for the Interest and Prosperity of his People; His Majesty hopes, from the known Zeal and Affection of this Parliament to His Person and Government, that he may be enabled to make use of the Funds, lately settled for the Payment of the Civil List Annuities, and for re-placing the same to his Majesty, in the most advantageous Manner, and upon the Credit thereof to raise a Sum of Money sufficient to redeem those Annuities, and to discharge the present Debts contracted in his Civil Government.”

King's Message relating to the Civil List Debts.

Hereupon it was resolv'd to take his Majesty's most gracious Message into Consideration, the next Day, in a Committee of the whole House; and, in the mean Time, Mr Scrope, by his Majesty's Command, presented to the House, An Account of the Debts upon the Civil List, at Michaelmas 1724, and also, An Account of the Payments into the Exchequer upon the Deductions of Six-Pence in the Pound, [See p. 259.] for the Year ending at Lady-day, 1725. And the said Accounts being read, were severally ordered to be referred to the Consideration of the said Committee.

Which is refer'd to a Committee of the whole House.

After the Reading of these Papers, Mr Pulteney took Notice, ‘ That it was not long since [*viz.* July, 1721.] a Fund was given to discharge the Debts of the Civil List; and therefore it was Matter of Surprize, that so many new ones had been contracted in so short a Time; that if Things were carried on at this Rate, there would be no End of it; that it was incumbent upon them to inquire into the Causes of this growing Evil; and therefore mov'd, That an Address be presented to his Majesty, that he would graciously be pleas'd to give Directions, that the proper Officer or Officers of the Exchequer, Excise, Customs, and Post-Office, do lay before the House an Account of all Monies which have been issued and paid out of the said Offices to any Person or Persons on Account, for the Privy-Purse, Secret-Service, Pensions, Bounties; or any Sum or Sums of Money to any Person or Persons whatsoever without Account, from March 25th, 1721, to March 25th, 1725.’ And being back'd by several Members, the said Address was voted accordingly.

Mr Pulteney's Motion for an Address for an Account of Pensions, &c. paid from the 25th of March, 1721, to the 25th of March, 1725.

Which is agreed to.

Anno 11. Geo. I.
1725.

The Earl of Macclesfield's Answer to the Articles of Impeachment refer'd to the Committee.

Debate on the King's Message relating to the Civil List Debts.

Mr Pulteney.

Mr Yonge.
Mr H. Pelham.
Mr R. Walpole.
Mr Pulteney.

The same Day the Earl of Macclesfield having given into the House of Lords his Answer to the Articles of Impeachment exhibited against him by the Commons; their Lordships sent, the next Day, a Copy to the House of Commons, who referred the Consideration thereof to the Committee appointed to draw up the said Articles of Impeachment.

April. 9. A Motion being made for the Speaker to leave the Chair, that the House might go into a Grand Committee, to consider of his Majesty's most Gracious Message about the Debts of the Civil List, Mr Pulteney represented, ' That the House having order'd an Address to be presented to his Majesty, for several Papers relating to the Civil List and other Expences, they ought, in his Opinion, to put off the Consideration of his Majesty's Message, till those Papers were laid before the House; it being natural to inquire into the Causes of a Disease, before one applies Remedies to it.' Mr Yonge, Mr H. Pelham*, and Mr R. Walpole, having oppos'd it, Mr Pulteney said, ' He wonder'd how so great a Debt [*viz.* 508,367 l. 19 s. 4 d.] could be contracted in three Years Time, but was not surprized some Persons were so eager to have those Deficiencies made good, since they and their Friends had so great a Share in it. And desired to know whether this was all that was due, or whether they were to expect another Reckoning?' To this no direct Answer was given; but in general, it was said, ' That there was, indeed, a heavy Debt on the Civil List, and a great many Pensions; but that most of these had been granted in King William's and Queen Anne's Reigns, some by King Charles the Second, and very few by his present Majesty. That since the Civil List was first settled for his Majesty, an Expence of about 90,000 l. *per Annum* had happen'd, which could not then be foreseen, and therefore was left unprovided for: That upon Examination of the Account given in of the Civil List Debts, it would appear, that most of those Expences were either for the necessary Support of the Dignity of the Crown and Government, or for the Publick Good: That there was, indeed, a Pension of 5000 l. of another Nature, *viz.* upon Account of the Cofferer's Place, but which could not well be avoided; for both the Lord Godolphin, who was in that Office, and his Father, had so well deserv'd of the Government, that they could not handsomely remove him without a Gratuity; and therefore they gave his Lordship a Pension of 5000 l. to make Room for the worthy Gentleman, [*meaning Mr W. Pulteney*] who now enjoys † that Post.' Then the Commons, in a Grand Committee,

* One of the Lords of the Treasury.

† Remov'd from his Place of Cofferer of the Household at the latter End of this Session.

nittee, took his Majesty's Message into Consideration, and a Motion was made, 'That for the Redeeming the Annuities of 25,000 l. *per Annum*, charged on the Civil List Revenues, by an Act of Parliament of the Seventh Year of his Majesty, and for discharging the Debts and Arrears due from his Majesty to his Servants, Tradesmen, and others, his Majesty be enabled to raise any Sum, not exceeding one Million, by Exchequer-Bills, Loans, or otherwise, on the Credit of the Deductions of Six-pence *per Pound*, directed by the said Act of the Seventh Year of his Majesty's Reign, and of the said Civil List Revenues, at an Interest or Rate not exceeding 3 l. *per Cent. per Annum*, till Repayment of the Principal.' This Motion occasion'd a farther Debate; but the Question being put, it was resolv'd in the Affirmative, by 239 Votes against 119. This Resolution being the next Day reported, was agreed to by the House, and a Bill was ordered to be brought in thereupon.

April 10. It was resolv'd to address his Majesty, for an Account of the gross and clear Produce of the Branches of the Revenue of the Civil List Funds, from Christmas 1699, to Lady-day 1715. Which Address was readily complied with.

April 20. The Lord Finch *, Knight of the Shire for Rutland, having offered a Petition of Henry St. John, late Viscount Bolingbroke, to be presented to the House: Mr R. Walpole acquainted the House, that he had received his Majesty's Commands to acquaint the House, That the Petitioner had, seven Years since, made his humble Application and Submission to his Majesty, with Assurances of Duty, Allegiance, and Fidelity, which his Majesty so far accepted, as to give him Encouragement to hope for some future Marks of his Majesty's Grace and Goodness; and that his Majesty is satisfied that the Petitioner's Behaviour has been such, as convinces his Majesty that he is an Object of his Majesty's Mercy; and his Majesty consents that this Petition be presented to the House.

Then the said Petition was brought up and read, setting forth, That the Petitioner is truly concerned for his Offence, in not having surrendered himself, pursuant to the Directions of an Act of the first Year of his Majesty's Reign, whereby the Petitioner was attainted of High Treason, and forfeited all his Real and Personal Estate, [See p. 39.] and by Reason thereof hath suffered very great Losses: That upon the Petitioner's Marriage in 1700, Sir Walter St. John, Bart.

Anno 11. Geo. 1.
1725.

Motion for raising a Million for redeeming the Annuities of 25,000 l. *per Annum*, charg'd on the Civil List; and for paying the King's Debts.

Address for an Account of the Produce of the Civil List from 1699, to 1715.

Lord Finch offers to the House a Petition of Henry late Lord Viscount Bolingbroke.

* Gentleman of the Bedchamber to the Prince. Appointed Comptroller of the Household at the End of this Session.

Anno 11. Geo. I.
1725.

Bart. and the Lord Viscount St. John, the Petitioner's Grandfather and Father, together with the Petitioner, made a Settlement of their Family-Estates in the Counties of Wilts, Surrey, and Middlesex, all which Premises, except a very small Part thereof, are now in the Possession of the Petitioner's Father, and the Petitioner cannot become intitled thereto for his Life, until after his Father's Decease: That the Petitioner hath, in most humble and dutiful Manner, made his Submission to his Majesty, and given his Majesty the strongest Assurances of his inviolable Fidelity, and of his Zeal for his Majesty's Service, and for the Support of the present happy Establishment, which his Majesty hath been most graciously pleased to accept; and praying, that Leave may be given to bring in a Bill for enabling the Petitioner, and the Heirs Male of his Body, notwithstanding his said Attainder, to take and enjoy the said settled Estate, according to the Limitations of the said Settlement, or other Assurances therein mentioned; and for enabling the Petitioner to hold and enjoy any Personal Estate or Effects whereof he now is, or hereafter shall be possessed, and to invest the same in the Purchase of any Real or Personal Estate within this Kingdom.

And moves for a Bill to be brought in according to the Prayer of the said Petition.

Debate thereon.
Mr R. Walpole.

After the Reading of this Petition, the Lord Finch mov'd, that a Bill be brought in, according to the Prayer of the late Viscount Bolingbroke's Petition. This Motion was seconded by Mr R. Walpole, who, having repeated Part of what he had before laid before the House, by the King's Command, in the Petitioner's Behalf, added, 'That he was fully satisfied, that he had sufficiently attoned for his past Offences, and therefore deserv'd the Favour of that House so far, as to enable him to enjoy the Family Inheritance that was settled upon him; which, according to the Opinion of the best Lawyers, he could not do by Virtue of his Majesty's most Gracious Pardon, without an Act of Parliament.' This was confirm'd by Sir Philip Yorke and Sir Clement Wearg. Then Mr Methuen † stood up, and strenuously opposed the Lord Finch's Motion; he said, 'That as he had the Honour to be one of the King's immediate Servants, it might, perhaps, by some be thought unbecoming his Station, to appear against a Petition, to the presenting of which his Majesty, in his Royal Clemency and Goodness, had graciously been pleased to give his Consent: But that being at Liberty to follow the Dictates of his Conscience in this Matter, he would freely declare his Opinion, that the Publick Crimes for which this Petitioner stood attainted, were so heinous, so flagrant, and

Sir P. Yorke.
Sir Clem. Wearg.
Mr Methuen.

† Comptroller of the Household. Made Treasurer of the Household at the latter End of this Session.

of so deep a Dye, as not to admit of any Expiation or Attonement; and whatever he might have done to deserve his Majesty's Private Grace and Pardon, yet he thought him altogether unworthy of any National Favour.' Hereupon Mr Methuen instanc'd the late Lord Bolingbroke's scandalous and villainous Conduct, while he had a Share in the Administration of Affairs in the last Reign. How he was the principal Adviser of, and Actor in, the wicked Measures that were then pursued; his clandestine Negotiation of Peace without the Privity of the Queen's Allies, contrary to the express Tenor of the Grand Alliance; his insolent Behaviour towards all the Confederates in general, and the Dutch in particular; his sacrificing the Interest of the whole Confederacy, and the Honour of his own Country, particularly in the base abandoning of the poor and brave Catalans: A Transaction with which he had an Opportunity to be intimately acquainted, as having had the Honour, at that Juncture, to serve the Nation as the Queen's Minister in Portugal; and to sum up all his Crimes in one, his traiterous Design of defeating the Protestant Succession, the Foundation of both our present and future Happiness; and of advancing a Popish Pretender to the Throne, which would have involv'd his Native Country in endless Misery. Mr Arthur Onslow, Lord William Paulet*, Sir Thomas Pengelly, and Mr Gybbon† supported Mr Methuen; Serjeant Miller hereupon said, 'That he was against the Motion for three Reasons, I. Because he thought it against the Interest of the King. II. Against the Interest of his Country. III. Against the Interest of the present Ministry. That he loved the King better than he loved himself; and hated his Enemies more than he did. That he loved his Country as he loved himself; and as he thought its Interest inseparable from the King's, so he would not have any publick Favour shewn to one, who had acted in so notorious a Manner against both. And as for the present Ministers, he was so well satisfied with their just, prudent, and successful Management, that he would not see them expos'd to the Cabals and Intrigues of their inveterate, though seemingly reconciled Enemies.' On the other Hand Sir Thomas Hanmer and Dr Friend spoke for the Motion, and took that Occasion to extol his Majesty's Royal Clemency; and then the Question being put, on the Lord Finch's Motion, it was carried in the Affirmative by 231 Votes against 113, and his Lordship and Mr R. Walpole were ordered to bring in a Bill according to the Prayer of the late Lord Bolingbroke's Petition.

Anno. 11. Geo. 1.
1725.

Mr Arthur Onslow.
Ld Will. Paulet.
Sir Tho. Pengelly.
Mr Gybbon.
Serjeant Miller.

Sir Tho. Hanmer.
Dr. Friend.

A Bill order'd to
be brought in ac-
cordingly.

April

* One of the Tellers of the Exchequer.

† One of the Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland.

Anno 17. Geo. 1.
1725.

Sir George Oxenden reports the Committee's Replication to the Earl of Macclesfield's Answer to the Articles of Impeachment,

April 23. Sir George Oxenden reported from the Committee, to whom it was referred to consider of the Answer of Thomas Earl of Macclesfield to the Articles of Impeachment exhibited against him, ' That the said Earl had industriously avoided giving a direct Answer to several Matters positively alledg'd against him, and had endeavour'd to disguise the Crimes laid to his Charge ; and that many Parts of the said Earl's Answer are contradictory and inconsistent ; and the Committee did humbly submit to the Judgment of the House their Opinion, that for avoiding any Imputation of Delay in the Commons, in a Case of so great Moment, a Replication be forthwith sent up to the Lords, maintaining the Charge of the Commons ; and that the Committee had prepared a Replication accordingly, which he read in his Place ; and the said Replication being read a second Time, it was resolv'd to be the Replication of the Commons to the Answer of Thomas Earl of Macclesfield ; and order'd that the said Replication be engrossed.

Which is order'd to be engross'd,

And sent to the Lords.

The Bill in Favour of Lord Bolingbroke, read the first Time,

April 24. The Commons read the engrossed Replication to the Answer of Thomas Earl of Macclesfield, which was order'd to be sent to the Lords.

April 27. Lord Finch presented to the House a Bill, *For enabling Henry St John, late Viscount Bolingbroke, to take and enjoy several Manors, Lands, &c.* which was receiv'd; read the first, and order'd to be read a second Time.

And a second Time, and committed.

April 30. The late Lord Bolingbroke's Bill was read a second Time and committed to a Committee of the whole House, who were ordered to receive a Clause or Clauses, ' For preserving the Inheritance of all the Family Estate in the said Bill mentioned, to the Issue Male of the Lord Viscount St John, on Failure of Issue Male of the said Henry St John, late Viscount Bolingbroke, with Proviso to the said late Viscount Bolingbroke to charge the said Estate with a Sum of Money, and to make Leases in like Manner, as he was enabled to do by the Marriage Settlement in the said Bill mentioned, and to make a Jointure, and Provision for younger Children.'

Lord W. Paulet moves for a Clause to disable Henry late Lord Bolingbroke from Sitting in Parliament, or holding any Place.

Debate thereon.

May 3. The Order being read for the House to resolve itself into a Grand Committee upon the late Lord Viscount Bolingbroke's Bill, the Lord William Paulet mov'd, That it be an Instruction to the said Committee, That they have Power to receive a Clause to disable the said Henry St John, late Viscount Bolingbroke, to be a Member of either House of Parliament, or to have or enjoy any Office or Place of Profit or Trust under his Majesty. This Motion was back'd by several Members, but was oppos'd by Mr Robert Walpole, and the Question being put thereupon, it was carry'd in the Negative by 154 Voices against 84. After this the Commons

mons in a Committee of the whole House, went through the said Bill, and made several Amendments thereto, which being the next Day reported by the Lord Finch, were, with an Amendment to one of them, agreed to, and the Bill so amended, order'd to be engros'd.

May 5. The engros'd Bill, *For enabling Henry St. John, late Viscount Bolingbroke, and the Heirs Male of his Body, notwithstanding his Attainder, to take and enjoy several Mannors, Lands, and Hereditaments, &c.* was read the third Time, pass'd, and sent up to the Lords.

Ann'd 11. Geo. I.
1725.

Lord Bolingbroke's
Bill pass'd and
sent up to the
Lords.

May 6. The Commons order'd, That the Committee appointed to manage the Evidence against Thomas Earl of Macclesfield, be at Liberty to proceed in such Manner as they shall think most important for the speediest expediting of the said Trial. Then upon a Message from the Lords, importing, That their Lordships were ready to proceed on the Trial of Thomas Earl of Macclesfield, the Names of the Managers were called over by the Clerk, viz. Sir George Oxenden, Bart. * Sir Clement Wearg, Sir Thomas Pengelly, Sir William Strickland, Bart. † Mr Doddington, Lord Morpeth, Mr Arthur Onslow, Mr Palmer, Mr Walter Plomer, Sir John Rushout, Bart. Mr Edward Thompson ††, Mr Philips Gybbon, Mr Hedges, Mr Sandys, Mr West **, Mr Snell, Mr Lutwyche, Hon. Mr Thomas Gower, and Mr. Cary ††. Accordingly the said Managers went up to the Bar of the House of Lords, to proceed on the Trial, which held till the 26th of this Month, and being printed by Authority, may be found at large in the 6th Volume of the *STATE TRIALS*.

Names of the Ma-
nagers at the Earl
of Macclesfield's
Trial.

May 27. The Lords sent a Message to the Commons, acquainting them, that their Lordships were ready to give Judgment against Thomas Earl of Macclesfield, if the Commons, with their Speaker, would come and demand the same. Hereupon a Motion was made, and the Question proposed, That this House will demand Judgment of the Lords against Thomas Earl of Macclesfield; which occasioned a warm Debate, that lasted till Five in the Afternoon, when the previous Question being put, That the Question be now put, it was carried in the Affirmative, by a Majority of 136 Voices against 65; and then the main Question being put, it was resolv'd, That this House will demand Judgment against Thomas Earl of Macclesfield. This done, the Com-

The Lords send a
Message to the
House, that they
were ready to give
Judgment against
the Earl of Mac-
clesfield.

Debate thereon.

V o L. I.

X x

mons

* Appointed one of the Lords of the Admiralty.

† Made one of the Lords of the Treasury.

†† Appointed one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland.

** Made Lord High Chancellor of Ireland.

†† Appointed Warden of the Mint.

All these Preferments conferr'd at the latter End of this Session.

Anno 11. Geo. I.

1725.

The Thanks of
the House order'd
to be given to the
Managers, by Mr
Speaker.

mons resolv'd, *Nem. Con.* That the Thanks of this House be given to the Members, who were appointed the Managers of the Impeachment against Thomas Earl of Macclesfield, for their faithful Management in their Discharge of the Trust reposed in them. Hereupon Mr Speaker gave them, they standing up severally in their Places, the Thanks of the House, as follows :

Gentlemen,

I *T* is with the greatest Chearfulness, that I obey the Commands of the House on this Occasion ; and yet I was never, on any Occasion, more sensible of the Difficulties of performing them as I ought ; but I have this Satisfaction in this Motion's being made when I least expected it, that my not being prepared may be some Excuse for those Defects, which I should not have been able to have supply'd, had I had never so long a Time for Consideration.

Gentlemen,

You have maintained the Charge of the Commons, with that Force of Argument, Beauty of Expression, and Strength of Reason, as would have gained you the highest Applause in the most flourishing of the Grecian Commonwealths ; and I may add,

Nec dignius unquam
Majestas meminit sese Romana locutam.

But I shall not enlarge farther on this Part of your Praise, being sensible that I am not able to express myself in a Manner suitable to the Dignity of the Subject ; your own Tongues are only equal to such an Undertaking ; and were I able to do it, your Modesty would not permit it : I shall therefore proceed in obeying the Commands of the House, in such a Manner, as you yourselves may hear it, not only without Offence, but I hope with Satisfaction ; by endeavouring to set in their proper Lights the great and lasting Benefits your Country will receive by your faithful Discharge of your Duty.

You have stopp'd the Cries of Orphans, and dried up the Tears of the Widow ; even those who must ever be insensible of the Benefits they receive, Idiots and Lunatics, and such only can be insensible of them, will be Partakers of the Fruits of your Labours.

But you are more particularly intitled to the Thanks of this House, by having made the Prosecutions of the Commons against great Offenders, practicable ; The Power of Impeachment, that Sword of Vengeance, which the Constitution has put into the Hand of the Commons, and which, when drawn by Party-Rage, when directed by the Malice of Faction, or wielded by unskilful Hands, has too often wounded that Con-
stitution,

Pitiation it was intended to preserve, has now, by your able Management, turn'd its Edge to its proper Object, a Great Offender; and if the Wound it has given should not be so deep, as many expect; yet you may be very sure, it never can be imputed to the Want of Strength in your Arm; And I hope and trust, from your prudent Conduct through the whole Progress of the Trial, that this great Privilege of the Commons will ever remain a Terror to evil Doers; and that it may be a Praise to them that do well, the House has unanimously come to this Resolution,

Anno 11. Geo. 1.
1725.

Resolv'd, *Nemine Contradicente*, ' That the Thanks of this House be given to the Members, who were appointed the Managers of the Impeachment against Thomas Earl of Macclesfield, for their faithful Management in their Discharge of the Trust reposed in them.'

The Commons unanimously resolv'd, That Mr Speaker be desired to print the above Speech, and sent Sir William Gage with a Message to the Lords, to acquaint them, That the Commons, with their Speaker, intended immediately to come to the House of Lords, to demand Judgment against Thomas Earl of Macclesfield.

Which is ordered to be printed.

Though it is not properly within the Compass of our Design, to take Notice of any Proceedings of the Commons at the Bar of the House of Lords, yet, as the Judgment of their Lordships against the Earl of Macclesfield gave Occasion to an Address from the House of Commons to the King, it will be necessary here to add, That the Commons with their Speaker went up to the House of Peers; where Mr Speaker having demanded Judgment against Thomas Earl of Macclesfield, for the High Crimes and Misdemeanors of which he was impeached by the Commons, the Lords, by the Mouth of Sir Peter King *, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common-Pleas, their Speaker, *pro Tempore*, gave the following Judgment, viz. ' That Thomas Earl of Macclesfield be fined in the Sum of Thirty Thousand Pounds unto our Sovereign Lord the King; and that he be imprisoned in the Tower of London, and there kept in safe Custody, until he shall pay the said Fine.'

The Commons demand Judgment against the Earl of Macclesfield, who is fin'd 30,000 L.

May 31. It was resolved, *Nem. Con.* That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, ' That he would be graciously pleased to order, That the Fine imposed by the House of Lords, on Thomas Earl of Macclesfield, or any

X x z

Part

The House address the King that the Earl of Macclesfield's Fine may be applied towards making good the Deficiencies of the Masters in Chancery.

* Created an English Baron; May 28, 1725. and appointed Lord High Chancellor of Great-Britain; the 1st of June following.

Anno 11. Geo. I.
1725.

Part thereof, as the same shall be paid into the Exchequer, be issued and paid into the Court of Chancery, to be applied towards making good any of the Losses of the Suitors occasioned by the Deficiencies of the Masters of the said Court, as that Court shall think fit to direct.' And it was order'd, that the said Address be presented to his Majesty by such Members of the House as are of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council. About half an Hour after, Mr Robert Walpole reported to the House, That the said Address had been presented to his Majesty; and that his Majesty had commanded him to acquaint the House, That he would give the necessary Orders according to the Desire of the House.

Which his Majesty consents to.

The same Day the King being come to the House of Lords, with the usual State, and the Commons being sent for up and attending, his Majesty gave the Royal Assent to the Bill in Favour of the late Lord Viscount Bolingbroke, and to several other Bills.

After which the Lord King, Speaker of the House of Lords, read his Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, as follows :

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King's Speech at concluding the Third Session.

" I Am come to put an End to this Session of Parliament, which, though it has been extended to an unexpected Length, has been so well employed for the Service and Interest of the Publick, that I assure myself it will be to the general Satisfaction of the Nation.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

" The prudent Use you have made of the present flourishing State of Credit, by a certain Reduction of more than three Millions seven hundred Thousand Pounds to an Interest of Four *per Cent.* and by a wise Provision for the Redemption thereof by Parliament, without farther Notice, on Payment of such Sums as the Circumstances of the Government will from Time to Time admit, has secured a considerable Addition to the Sinking Fund, not subject to the Hazard of future Events.

" You have not only raised the Supply for the Service of the current Year, at the lowest Rate of Interest that has been ever known, but without laying any new Burthen on my People, you have enabled me to discharge the Debts of my Civil Government: Debts contracted by necessary and unavoidable Expences, and in Support of such Measures of Government as have greatly increased the Happiness of my People: You have thereby shewn your just Regard to my Honour, and the Dignity of the Crown.

My

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ As all our publick Blessings are the happy Effects of the general Tranquility we now enjoy, I cannot but express my Satisfaction in the Provision you have made, for suppressing and preventing Disturbances and Commotions in those Parts where the Peace of the Kingdom might have been most endanger’d.

“ Nothing more remains necessary, than to tell you, that I entirely depend on the faithful Discharge of your Duties in your several Stations, and on your constant Care in your respective Countries, to preserve the Peace and Quiet of the Publick; but I know not how to part with you without first returning you my very hearty Thanks for the many repeated Instances you have, in this Session, given me of your Duty and Affection; all such Returns may be expected from me, as can be made by the most indulgent Prince to an affectionate and loyal People.”

Anno 11. Geo. I.
1725.

Then the Lord King, by his Majesty’s Command, prorogued the Parliament to the first of July; They were afterwards farther prorogued to the 20th of January.

The Parliament
prorogued.

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## SPEECHES and DEBATES

In the FOURTH SESSION of the

### Second Parliament of King GEORGE I.

THE Parliament being met at Westminster on the 20th of January, pursuant to their last Prorogation, the King went to the House of Peers with the usual State, and the Commons being come thither, the King, by the Mouth of the Lord High Chancellor, made the following Speech to both Houses:

Anno 12. Geo. I.  
1725-26.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I Have had such frequent Experience, of the Wisdom and Zeal of this Parliament, on many important Occasions, that it is with Pleasure I now meet you again, and I make no Doubt but that your Endeavours for the Good and Service of your Country will be as successful as they have hitherto been.

The King’s Speech  
at opening the  
Fourth Session.

“ The distress’d Condition of some of our Protestant Brethren abroad, and the Negotiations and Engagements entered into by some Foreign Powers, which seem to have laid the Foundation of new Troubles and Disturbances in

“ Europe,

Ann. 12. Geo. 1.  
1745-46.

“ Europe, and to threaten my Subjects with the Loss of  
“ several of the most advantageous Branches of their Trade,  
“ obliged me without any Loss of Time, to concert with  
“ other Powers, such Measures, as might give a Check to the  
“ ambitious Views of those, who are endeavouring to render  
“ themselves formidable, and put a Stop to the farther Pro-  
“ gress of such dangerous Designs. For these Ends I have  
“ entered into a defensive Alliance with the most Christian  
“ King and the King of Prussia, to which several other  
“ Powers, and particularly the States-General, have been in-  
“ vited to accede, and I have not the least Reason to doubt  
“ of their Concurrence. This Treaty shall in a short Time  
“ be laid before you.

“ By these Means, and by your Support and Assistance, I  
“ trust in God, I shall be able not only to secure to my  
“ own Subjects the Enjoyment of many valuable Rights and  
“ Privileges long since acquir'd for them by the most solemn  
“ Treaties, but effectually to preserve the Peace and Balance  
“ of Europe, the only View and End of all my Endeavours.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ I have order'd the Estimates for the Service of this  
“ Year to be prepar'd and laid before you, which, from  
“ an Unwillingness I always have to put my Subjects to an  
“ extraordinary Expence by any unnecessary Precautions, are  
“ form'd upon the Foot of employing no greater Number  
“ of Forces, than was thought necessary the last Year; for  
“ which, if the Supplies you give shall be fully and effec-  
“ tually rais'd, I shall be enabled to have a strong Fleet at  
“ Sea early in the Spring. If the Posture of Affairs shall at  
“ any Time make it necessary to augment our Maritime  
“ Force, I confide so entirely in the Zeal and Affection of  
“ my Parliament, that I assure myself you will enable me  
“ to make such an Addition to the Number of Seamen, as  
“ shall be found requisite.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ It is not to be doubted, but the Enemies to my Go-  
“ vernment will conceive Hopes, that some favourable Op-  
“ portunity for renewing their Attempts may offer, from  
“ the Prospect of new Troubles and Commotions: They are  
“ already very busy by their Instruments and Emiffaries in  
“ those Courts, whose Measures seem most to favour their  
“ Purposes, in soliciting and promoting the Cause of the  
“ Pretender; but I persuade myself, notwithstanding the  
“ Countenance and Encouragement they may have receiv'd,  
“ or flatter themselves with, the Provision you shall make  
“ for the Safety and Defence of the Kingdom will effectually  
“ secure us from any Attempts from Abroad, and render all  
“ such Projects vain and abortive.

“ When

“ When the World shall see that you will not suffer the  
 “ British Crown and Nation to be menaced and insulted,  
 “ those, who most envy the present Happiness and Tran-  
 “ quillity of this Kingdom, and are endeavouring to make  
 “ us subservient to their Ambition, will consider their own  
 “ Interest and Circumstances, before they make any Attempt  
 “ upon so brave a People, strengthened and supported by  
 “ prudent and powerful Alliances, and though desirous to  
 “ preserve the Peace, able and ready to defend themselves  
 “ against the Efforts of all Aggressors. Such Resolutions  
 “ and such Measures timely taken, I am satisfy’d, are the  
 “ most effectual Means of preventing a War, and continuing  
 “ to us the Blessings of Peace and Prosperity.”

Jan. 20. The Commons being return’d to their House, and  
 Mr Speaker having reported his Majesty’s Speech, Sir Ro-  
 bert Sutton \*, Knight of the Shire for Nottingham, mov’d,  
 and being seconded, it was resolv’d, That an humble Ad-  
 dress be presented to his Majesty for his gracious Speech ; and  
 a Committee was appointed to draw up an Address upon the  
 said Resolution ; which was accordingly the next Day re-  
 ported to the House by Sir Robert Sutton, and agreed to.

Sir Robert Sutton  
 moves for an Ad-  
 dress of Thanks.

Jan. 22. The same was presented to his Majesty by the  
 whole House as follows :

Which is agreed  
 to, and presented.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the  
 Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled,  
 beg Leave most unfeignedly to congratulate your Majesty’s  
 safe and happy Arrival in this Kingdom. Nothing can equal  
 the Dread and Anxiety which filled the Breasts of your good  
 People, whilst your Majesty’s sacred Person was expos’d to  
 the Perils of tempestuous Seas ; but the universal Joy that  
 was instantly diffus’d throughout the Kingdom, upon the  
 welcome News of your Majesty’s being safely landed on the  
 British Shore.

The Address.

“ We return your Majesty our humblest Thanks for your  
 “ most gracious Speech from the Throne ; and cannot suffici-  
 “ ently acknowledge your Majesty’s great Attention and Care  
 “ for the Preservation of the Peace and Prosperity of this Na-  
 “ tion, and the general Tranquillity of Europe.

“ The tender Regard and Compassion, which your Majesty  
 “ has express’d for the distressed Protestants abroad, will give  
 “ great Satisfaction to all, whose Profession of the same Reli-  
 “ gion must inspire them with a just Resentment of the Injuries  
 “ and Persecutions which they suffer for the Sake of it.

Yours

\* Made a Knight of the Bath, June 17. 1725.



‘ Your Majesty’s Vigilance in watching over and disconcerting the ambitious Views and Designs of those, that are endeavouring to render themselves formidable ; your Wisdom in early forming and entering into Alliances with Powers best able to withstand the common Danger, and to put a Stop to the farther Progress of the Negotiations carrying on by other Powers, and your particular Concern for the Trade and Commerce of these Nations, call upon us for all possible Returns of Duty and Gratitude.

‘ And that your Majesty’s unwearied Endeavours for the particular Interests of your own Subjects of these Kingdoms, and for preventing a War, may have their desir’d Effect, we, your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal Commons, promise and assure your Majesty, that we will with the greatest Chearfulness, Unanimity and Dispatch, so effectually raise the Supplies for this Year, that your Majesty may be enabled to have a strong Fleet at Sea early in the Spring, sufficient to protect and defend the Kingdom, to disappoint the Hopes of the Enemies to your Majesty’s Government, and resent any Insults and Attempts that may be vainly projected and undertaken.

‘ It is not to be wonder’d at, that in the low State to which the Affairs of the Pretender are reduced, his Emissaries and Instruments should be waiting for every Opportunity, that has the Appearance of being favourable to their languishing Cause ; and as they have been very busy in foreign Courts, the Disaffected and Discontented here have not been less industrious, by false Rumours and Suggestions to fill the Minds of the People with groundless Fears and Alarms, in order to affect the Publick Credit, and, by distressing the Government, give Encouragement to the Enemies of our Peace.

‘ But we promise ourselves that the Prudence, Temper, and Resolution of those that truly consult their own Interest, and wish well to their Country, will, on the one Hand, prevent and obviate the Mischiefs that, by too great Credulity and vain Fears, they may bring upon themselves ; and, on the other Hand, we are determin’d to convince the World, that if those who most envy our present Happiness and Tranquility, shall so far presume upon the just Sense and Value we have for these inestimable Blessings, as still to pursue their desperate Measures ; how desirous soever we may be of Peace, we will not suffer your Majesty and the British Nation to be insulted ; but that we will, to the utmost of our Power, as the Exigency and Necessity of Affairs shall require, stand by, and support your Majesty against all Attempts to disturb the publick Repose.’

To

To this Address his Majesty return'd the following Answer.

Anno 12. Geo. I.  
1725-26.

Gentlemen,

**I** Return you my Thanks for this dutiful and loyal Address. I make no Doubt but you will soon be sensible of the good Effect of this seasonable Vigour and Resolution. You may be assured, that I will make no Use of the Confidence you repose in me, but for preserving to us the Blessings of Peace, and for promoting the Honour and Interest of this Kingdom."

The King's Answer  
thereto.

*Jan. 22.* The Commons took into Consideration his Majesty's Speech to both Houses, and a Motion being made for a Supply, the same was referred to the Grand Committee on the 24th Instant.

A Supply voted.

*Jan. 24.* The Commons went into a Grand Committee, to consider of the Motion for granting a Supply to his Majesty, which was unanimously resolv'd upon.

*Jan. 28.* The House having resolv'd itself into a Grand Committee, consider'd farther of the Supply, and in particular of the Charge of the Guards, Garrisons, and other his Majesty's Land Forces in Great-Britain for the Year 1726. Mr Henry Pelham open'd the Debate, and mov'd, That Provision be made for the same Number of Men, for Guards, Garrisons, and Land Forces, for the Year 1726, as were provided for the last Year. This was oppos'd by Mr Shippen, who thereupon stood up, and spoke as follows:

Debate concerning  
the Number of  
Land-Forces for  
the Year 1726.

Mr H. Pelham.

Mr Shippen.

Mr Speaker,

' My Sentiments concerning a Standing Army in Time of Peace are well known here, and it may seem unnecessary, perhaps be thought impertinent, in me to debate anew on a worn and exhausted Topic, when other Gentlemen, who entertain the same Sentiments, are pleas'd to be silent. But surely the Question before you is not become a Motion of Course; surely as long as the Grievance is continued on one hand, so long there is a Right of Complaint on the other; and that Complaint, I should think, may without Offence be continued, till it can be proved, that the British Government is in its nature Military, or ought to be made so.

' I do not intend to trouble you with what I have formerly urg'd, or to use any Argument drawn from the Expence and Burthen, or from the Terror and Oppression, which have been brought upon this and other Nations, by raising and keeping up a greater Number of Forces, than were absolutely necessary in Time of Peace: Not but that the Gradations, by which Armies, with all their Inconveniences,

V o L. I.

Y y

have

have been first introduced into Free States, and afterwards imposed upon them, ought to be had in perpetual Remembrance. We ought never to forget, that such Steps have been usually taken, to gratify the Views of ambitious Princes, to carry on the Schemes of evil Ministers, to terrify Parliaments into Obedience, and to make the Members of them dumb Spectators of the Miseries of their Country.

‘ I will not insist on these Arguments, however just in themselves, however proper on other Occasions, because they would be unapplicable to the present Situation of our Affairs. For we have a Prince, whose only Aim is to continue to us the Blessings of Peace and Plenty ; We have a Ministry, whose Merits are above my Commendations ; We have a Parliament, which acts with a Spirit superior to all Influences, and to all Temptations. Besides, every Year has its particular Circumstances, and those particular Circumstances ought to guide our Resolutions, when we are making our annual Parliamentary Provisions for the Publick Service. I thought our Circumstances both at Home and Abroad, were so prosperous the last Session, that we might without Hazard have disbanded at least the Four Thousand Augmentation-Troops. [See p. 326] But the Majority of the House was of another Opinion. There was then indeed a Rendezvous, though not a formed Congress, of Plenipotentiaries, vying with each other in the Splendor of their Equipages and the Magnificence of their Entertainments at Cambray, which had for some time employed our Speculations, and promised great Events to the World. And it was thought good Policy to shew the Negotiating Powers, by continuing our Army, that, if they would not accept his Majesty’s Plan for settling the Balance of Power, and for establishing the Tranquility of Europe, Great Britain was ready to do her Part towards compelling them to a Compliance. But that Policy proved ineffectual, and that Negotiation appears at last to have wanted Substance, as well as Form, and to have produc’d nothing to Great Britain, but an Increase of the Civil List Debt, as we were given to understand the last Session, in a Debate on that Subject, by one that knew the Secret.

‘ But we are now told, that prudent and powerful Alliances are actually made, and that what was only attempted at Cambray, has been fully accomplished at Herenhausen. Nor can there be any doubt, but that his Majesty’s extensive Care over all his Foreign and Domestick Concerns, but that his alternate Residence here and abroad, as it hath procured, so it would, with the Advice of a good Ministry, and without the Aid of a great Army, preserve to us, thro’ the whole Course of his Reign, that Security and those

Blessings

Blessings we now enjoy. For, whether at home or abroad, his Influence is irresistible, because his Counsels are wise, and his Designs are just. Nor am I altered in this Opinion by what has happened at Glasgow in Scotland, or at Thorn in Poland.

Anno 12. Geo. I.  
1725 26.

‘ For, if I am rightly informed, the Tumult at Glasgow was no more than a Mob, composed chiefly of Women, a mere Mock-Resemblance of an Amazonian Army, that might have been quelled by the Interposition of the Civil Authority, without Recourse to that Military Vengeance, which was executed there. Such Commotions we see arise almost in every Nation, when the Occasions of the Publick call for new and extraordinary Taxes; and yet they are generally despised, as impotent Efforts against Established Governments, and left to be punished by the Laws of the Country. But, now all is quiet, now all is safe in Scotland; not the least Murmur is heard against the Administration: The Highland Clans have been disarmed without any Disturbance; they rejoice, we are told, in their Submission, and are brought to a perfect Sense of their Duty to his Majesty, by the obliging Behaviour and prudent Conduct of the General, whose Province it was to enforce the Act of Parliament against them.

‘ As to the important Affair of Thorn; which, by the way, was no Act of Retaliation, as some, who neither consider the Circumstance of Time nor Things, would insinuate, but the Effect of a Spirit of Persecution; we are assured that his Majesty has done more towards obtaining the desired Satisfaction for the barbarous and unchristian Cruelties committed there, and gained greater Concessions from the Catholick Princes, by his Pacifick Mediation, and by his Personal Interest, than he could probably have done by rougher Resorts, by threatening, or even by entering into, a Religious War. Nor can Malice itself suppose, that, whilst he is resenting the Violation of Treaties; he would do any thing, that would but look like an Infraction of the Limitation in the Act of Succession, which restrains the Crown from involving Great Britain in any Foreign Disputes, except where her own immediate Interests and Alliances are concerned.

‘ I hope we conceive no ill Omens, I hope we have no Apprehensions, from the French King’s Marriage to the Daughter of the Pretender to the Crown of Poland; no Distrust, that such an Alliance can shake our late Protestant Treaty with that young Prince; no Jealousy, that he will follow the Example of the Emperor and the King of Spain, by engaging in a clandestine League, without our Knowledge, and to our Prejudice. I must own, that would be a melancholy

Anno 12. Geo. 1.  
1725-26.

melancholy Consideration. For then an Army of twice Eighteen thousand Men would not be sufficient to defend that Cause, which his Majesty has hitherto asserted, with so much Glory to himself, with so much Advantage to the Protestant Part of Europe.

'Twas a notorious Saying, and the avowed Policy of one of our late famous Statesmen, who lived till after the Revolution, and was thought a secret Instrument in it, that, notwithstanding the Noise and Clamour of the People against Soldiers in Time of Peace, the easiest and best Way of governing England was by an Army; and that a Minister so guarded might prosecute his own Measures with Safety and Success, and soon make the boasting Assertors of Liberty and Property, as tame as a Flock of Turkeys, and drive them which Way he pleased. This gives us a true Idea of some sorts of modern Policy, and of the Insolence of that Man in Authority, who ruined his Prince by the very Methods he would have enslaved his Fellow-Subjects; but not of the Genius of the People of England. For he found another Spirit in them; he found, they perpetually struggled with him in Defence of the Church and State, when he was endeavouring to sacrifice both, as he did his own Honour and Conscience, in order to erect an arbitrary and unlimited Dominion in these Kingdoms. Nor could they endure his Return into Power after the Revolution, tho' he was countenanced by King William himself, and tho' his meritorious Perfidy was strongly pleaded in his Favour. But they continued their Opposition to him, till they had accomplished his Disgrace; and still his Memory is as detestable, as his Administration was wicked, tho' he neither aggrandized his Family, nor augmented his Estate by the Spoils of the Publick.

\* Now we are to hope the military Principles of this Statesman are dead with him, and we are sure good Ministers can never pursue the Maxims of bad ones, because the Means of their Actions must necessarily be as different, as the Ends are. 'Tis therefore unintelligible to me, how the keeping up an Army in Time of Peace, which has formerly been thought criminal Advice in Ministers, as being incompatible with our Constitution, should now be annually recommended to Parliament by our modern Patriots, as the only Method of securing us in the Possession of our Laws and Liberties. I say, this is unintelligible to me, and till the seeming Paradox can be reconciled to Reason, I must beg Leave constantly to oppose Questions of this Nature.

Mr Shippen was supported by Mr. Heysham, Mr Hungerford, and others, who insisted on the reducing the Four Thousand Men that were rais'd some Years ago, [See p. 291] upon an

Mr Heysham.  
Mr Hungerford.

an extraordinary Occasion, and which were now become altogether unnecessary, since on the one Hand Great Britain enjoy'd at present a happy and perfect Tranquility, which seem'd firmly secur'd by the late disarming of the Highlands of Scotland ; and, on the other Hand, it having already been unanimously resolv'd, to enable his Majesty to have a strong Fleet at Sea early in the Spring, this they thought sufficient for the Safety and Defence of the Kingdom, effectually to secure us from any Attempts from abroad, and to render all Projects of the Pretender's Instruments and Emissaries vain and abortive.' To this it was answer'd by Mr Henry Pelham \* and Hon. Mr Verney, ' That it would be highly imprudent to lessen the Number of our Land Forces, at a Time when some foreign Powers who endeavour'd to make themselves formidable, and threaten us with the Loss of our most advantageous Branches of our Trade, were augmenting theirs. That the Alliances his Majesty was lately enter'd into, to check such ambitious Views, and put a Stop to the farther Progress of such dangerous Designs, might make it necessary to send some Land Forces abroad, in Support of those Alliances ; and that in such a Case, the leaving the Kingdom without a sufficient Number of Men for Guards and Garrisons, would be too great a Temptation to the Enemies of the Government, who are continually watching for favourable Opportunities for renewing their Attempts, and disturbing the happy Repose we enjoy.' Sir Joseph Jekyl, having hereupon declar'd, ' That he was indeed the last Year for reducing Part of the Army ; but that the Face and Posture of Affairs in Europe being since changed, he thought it now unsafe ; His Opinion had so great Weight, that, without any farther Debate, it was resolv'd, I. That the Number of effective Men to be provided for Guards and Garrisons in Great Britain, and for Guernsey and Jersey, for the Year 1726, be, including 1815 Invalids, and 324 Men, which the six Independent Companies consist of for the Service of the Highlands, 18,264 Men, Commission and Non-Commission Officers included. II. That a Sum not exceeding 655,178 l. be granted to his Majesty for defraying the Charge of the said 18,226 effective Men, for the Year 1726.

Jan. 29. These Resolutions were reported to the House by Mr Farrer, and agreed to ; after which it was resolv'd, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, That the late Treaties of Peace and Commerce concluded between the Emperor and the King of Spain might be laid before the House.

February

\* Secretary at War.

Ann'o 12. Geo. I.  
1725-26.

Mr H. Pelham.  
Mr Verney.

Sir J. Jekyl.

An Address for  
Copies of the  
Treaties between  
the Emperor and  
King of Spain to  
be laid before the  
House.

Anno 12. Geo. I.  
1725-26.

Mr W. Pulteney  
moves for appoint-  
ing a Committee  
to state the pub-  
lick Debts from  
Dec. 25. 1714 to  
Dec. 25. 1725.

Debate thereon.

Mr D. Pulteney.  
Sir J. Jekyll.  
Sir R. Walpole.

Mr Barnard.

Sir T. Pengelly.  
Sir R. Walpole.

Mr W. Pulteney.

Sir R. Walpole.

*February 9.* Mr William Pulteney mov'd, ' That a Committee be appointed to state the publick Debts as they stood on the 25<sup>th</sup> of December, 1714, with what Debts have been incurr'd since that Time, 'till the 25<sup>th</sup> of December 1725, distinguishing how much of the said Debts have been provided for, and how much remain unprovided for by Parliament.' He was seconded by Mr Daniel Pulteney, and back'd by Sir Joseph Jekyl; Hereupon Sir Robert Walpole stood up and endeavour'd to shew, ' That such an Inquiry was unseasonable and preposterous, and that it might give a dangerous Wound to publick Credit at this critical Juncture, when Money'd-Men were already but too much alarmed by the Appearances of an approaching War; urging, That in the present Posture of Affairs, they could not better express their Love to their Country, than by making good their Promises and Assurances to his Majesty at the Beginning of this Session, and with the greatest Dispatch raising the necessary Supplies, to enable his Majesty to make good his late Engagements, for the Welfare of his Subjects, to disappoint the Hopes of the Enemies to his Government, and to resent any Insults that may be offer'd to his Crown and Dignity.' Mr Barnard, Member for the City of London, confirm'd what Sir Robert Walpole had said, as to the Danger of increasing the Alarm of Money'd-Men, which had already so much affected publick Credit, that the Stocks were within a few Weeks fallen 12 l. or 14 l. *per Cent.* But Sir Thomas Pengelly, having spoken for the Motion, Sir Robert Walpole reply'd to him. Hereupon Mr William Pulteney stood up and declar'd, ' That he made this Motion with no other View, than to give that Great Man an Opportunity to shew his Integrity to the whole World, which would finish his sublime Character: ' To which Sir Robert Walpole answer'd, ' That this Compliment would have come out with a better Grace, and appear'd more sincere, when that fine Gentleman had himself a Share in the Management of the Publick Money, than now he was out of Place.' Then the Question being put upon Mr Pulteney's Motion, it was carry'd in the Negative, by 262 Votes against 89.

The same Day Sir Robert Walpole acquainted the House, That he had received his Majesty's Commands to lay before the House the Treaty between his Majesty, the most Christian King, and the King of Prussia, made at Hanover the 3d of September 1725; and that his Majesty had likewise commanded him to lay before the House, pursuant to their Address to his Majesty, the late Treaties of Peace and Commerce concluded between the Emperor and the King of Spain. And he presented Copies of the said Treaties, with Translations of them, to the House: together with a List of the

Copies of the Han-  
over Treaty, and  
the Treaty be-  
tween the Empe-  
ror and King of  
Spain laid before  
the House.

the said Treaties; which List being read, it was Resolv'd to take the said Treaties into Consideration on the 15th Instant.

*Feb. 16.* The House proceeded to take into Consideration the above-recited Treaties, which, by his Majesty's Command, had been laid before the House. After the reading thereof Mr Horatio Walpole \* open'd the Debate with a Speech, wherein he laid before the House the State and Posture of Affairs in Europe, from the Peace of Utrecht to this present Time, and took Notice, 'That since his Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne of this Realm, his constant Care and Endeavours had been to settle the Balance of Power on a solid Foundation, and to preserve and secure the Tranquility of Christendom; to protect and defend the Protestant Cause, and promote the Honour and Interest of his British Subjects. That with these great Views, his Majesty was become Mediator and Guarantee both of the Barrier Treaty concluded in 1715, and of the Convention made in 1718, for the Execution of that Treaty, between the Emperor and the States General of the United Provinces. That in the Year 1716, his Majesty concluded a Defensive Alliance with the Emperor; and in 1717, another with the most Christian King and the States General; the genuine Design of both which Treaties was only to preserve the publick Repose of Christendom, establish'd by the Peace of Utrecht, and to guaranty the Succession to the Crown of Great Britain in the Protestant Line. That in order to fortify all the said Treaties, and to extinguish the War which the Spaniards had kindled in Italy, his Majesty in 1718, made a Convention with the most Christian King, for proposing Ultimate Conditions of Peace between the Emperor and the King of Spain, and between his Imperial Majesty and the then King of Sicily. That this Convention was, a few Days after, follow'd by a Treaty of Alliance between the Emperor, the King of Great Britain, and the most Christian King, which, by their Ministers, was concluded at London, and sign'd on the 22d of July 1718, and in which the States General were named as one of the Contracting Parties, upon a Supposition, that their High Mightinesses would come into it, from whence this Treaty was named the Quadruple Alliance. That a few Months after the King of Sicily was admitted into this Treaty, and at length the King of Spain himself was forced to accede to it, which was mainly owing to the generous Assistance his Britannick Majesty gave the Emperor in the Mediterranean. That there remaining some Points still controverted between the Emperor and King of Spain, the same were referr'd to be

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Debate thereon.

Mr H. Walpole.

\* His Majesty's Ambassador Plenipotentiary at the Court of France.



be amicably determined in a Congress, which was afterwards open'd at Cambray, under the Mediation of his Britannick Majesty and the most Christian King. That by Reason of several Difficulties, industriously rais'd by the Courts of Vienna and Madrid, the great Pains taken for three Years by the Ministers Mediators, proved unsuccessful; and, at last, the Congress was suddenly dissolv'd, upon Advice that the Emperor and the King of Spain secretly had adjust'd the Differences between them, and concluded a Treaty of Peace at Vienna. That this unexpected Event occasion'd no small Surmize, and rais'd Jealousies, which appear'd to be the better ground'd, when it was known. That the said Treaty of Peace was soon follow'd by a Treaty of Commerce, the main Design of which was to support and countenance the East-India Company some Years before establish'd at Ostend, by granting to the Inhabitants of the Austrian Netherlands greater Privileges, both in the East and West-Indies, than were ever granted either to the English or Dutch, which visibly tended to the entire Ruin of many valuable Branches of our Trade, and was contrary to several solemn Treaties still in Force. That thereupon his Majesty, ever watchful for the Interest of his British Subjects, had caus'd lively Representations to be made against the said Treaty of Commerce, both to the Emperor and King of Spain. That at the Court of Madrid these Complaints were receiv'd with Coldness, and at that of Vienna with Stiffness and Haughtiness, even to such a Degree, that the Imperial Ministers did not stick to insinuate, that if his Britannick Majesty persisted in his Resolution to take Measures in Opposition to the Treaties of Vienna, his Imperial Majesty would not only think himself disengag'd from the Guarantuy of the Protestant Succession to the Crown of Great-Britain; but that the same might be attended with Consequences in relation to his Majesty's Dominions in Germany. That these insulting Menaces made no Impression on his Majesty's Firmness, nor deterr'd him from his fix'd Resolution of concerting, with other Powers, such Measures as might give a Check to the ambitious Views of those who endeavour'd to render themselves formidable: That these Measures seem'd to be the more necessary, because there were just Grounds to believe, that the unforeseen Reconciliation of the Emperor and King of Spain was owing to the constant View of the House of Austria, of rendering the Imperial Dignity Hereditary in their Family. That in order to that, it might be reasonably suppos'd, That the Treaties of Vienna were to be cemented by a Match between the Emperor's eldest Daughter and the Infante Don Carlos. That it was easy to foresee the Consequences of such a Marriage. For the Issue-Male that might

come

come from it, might, in Time, be possess'd not only of all the Hereditary Dominions belonging to the House of Austria, and of the Imperial Dignity, but also of all the Dominions of the Spanish Monarchy; which would entirely overthrow the Balance of Power, and render the Liberties of all the rest of Europe very precarious. That this Supposition would appear more than probable to any one who consider'd, that there was scarce any other Way of Accounting, either for the King of Spain's breaking through solemn Treaties with Great Britain, in favour of the Emperor's Subjects in the Netherlands; or for the Emperor's forgetting so far the Obligations he had to Great Britain and Holland, as to enter into Engagements to assist Spain, towards the Recovery of Gibraltar and Minorca, and to persist in supporting and countenancing the Ostend Company, establish'd with no other View than to deprive the Subjects of the Maritime Powers of several of the most advantageous Branches of their Trade. That in order to give a timely Check to the farther Progress of such dangerous Designs, his Majesty, in his great Wisdom, had entred into a Defensive Alliance with the most Christian King and the King of Prussia, to which several other Powers, and particularly the States General, had been invited to accede; that the States of Holland had already done it, and it was not to be doubted, but their Example would soon be followed by the other United Provinces. That the main View of this Alliance was to maintain and preserve the publick Repose and Tranquility of Christendom, and to secure to each contracting Party the Possession of their respective Dominions and Territories, with the Rights, Immunities and Advantages, particularly those relating to Trade, which their Subjects enjoy'd, or ought, by Treaties, to enjoy. And that as his Majesty ever had a particular Concern for the Protestant Interest, so out of his royal and tender Compassion for the distressed Condition of some of our Protestant Brethren in Poland, his Majesty had not only interposed his good Offices, in the most pressing Manner, in their Favour, but had taken the Occasion of the Defensive Alliance made at Hanover, to engage, by a separate Article, the most Christian King and the King of Prussia, who, together with his Majesty, are Guarantees of the Treaty of Oliva, to see it maintained and observed in its full Extent, and to cause Reparation to be made for what may have been done at Thorn, contrary to the said Treaty of Oliva. Concluding, with an Encomium upon his Majesty's Wisdom, Care, Vigilance, Steadiness and Resolution in the Conduct of all these weighty and important Affairs.

Mr Walpole having done Speaking, Mr D. Pulteney stood up, and made his Observations on most of the Points mention'd

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Mr D. Pulteney.

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by Mr Walpole, and insinuated, 'That the Subject Matter of this Day's Debate was of a very nice Nature, and of the greatest Importance, and therefore they ought maturely to consider of it, before they came to any Resolution upon it.' Another Member having suggested, 'That it was to be supposed, that the King of Spain did not seem to grant any farther Privileges to the Emperor's Subjects in the Netherlands, than what had been granted to the English, and other most favour'd Nations;' He was answer'd by Colonel Bladen, who pointed to the very Articles of the Treaty of Commerce of Vienna, whereby it was expressly stipulated, in the Second Article, "That the Ships of War and Merchant Ships belonging to the Contracting Parties, or their Subjects, should be allowed full Liberty to frequent the Harbours, Coasts, and Provinces of each other; naming particularly the East-Indies, and without any Exception as to the Spanish West-Indies, or any other Restraint on the Ships of War and Merchant Ships, than not to buy any Thing besides Victuals and Materials for repairing their Ships:" which implied a Permission to vend their Merchandizes for ready Money; so that it was manifest, that the Subjects of the Austrian Low-Countries were allowed more extensive Privileges than ever had been granted to any other Nation, contrary to several Treaties in Force between the Crowns of Great Britain and Spain.'

Col. Bladen.

Mr Shippen.

Then Mr Shippen raised an Objection to the Treaty of Hanover, viz. 'That it would engage the British Nation in a War, for the Defence of his Majesty's Dominions in Germany, contrary to an express Provision made for the securing our Religion, Laws and Liberties, in the Act, *For farther Limitation and Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line*; which, being the Basis and Foundation of the present Settlement, was become Part of our Constitution, and therefore ought to be sacred and inviolable.' He was answer'd by Mr Henry Pelham, who urged, 'That the true Meaning and Intent of that Limitation was not wholly and for ever to deprive his Majesty's foreign Dominions of any Assistance from this Nation; for if so, his Majesty in that respect would be in a worse Condition upon his Accession to the British Throne than he was before; but only to restrain the Sovereign, for the future, from engaging the Nation, at his Pleasure, in a War for the Defence of any Dominions not belonging to the Crown of England, without the Consent of Parliament, to whom the Legislature wisely left to judge and determine, whether such a War was just and necessary or no? That for his own Part, he was fully of Opinion, That if in the present Juncture and Circumstances of Affairs, his Majesty's foreign Dominions should be attacked or insulted, this Nation ought to stand by and support his Majesty against all

Mr H. Pelham.

all his Enemies whatsoever. And therefore he moved, 'That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the Thanks of this House for his great Goodness in communicating the Treaties of Peace and Commerce concluded between the Emperor and the King of Spain, and the Defensive Alliance between his Majesty, the most Christian King, and the King of Prussia. To express our just Sense of his Majesty's Concern for the Balance and Peace of Europe, and the Protestant Religion; and, above all, our unfeigned Gratitude for his earnest and seasonable Care of the particular Interests of his British Subjects, by forming and entering into the said Defensive Alliance with the most Christian King and the King of Prussia, in order to obviate and disappoint the dangerous Views and Consequences of the Treaty of Peace betwixt the Emperor and the King of Spain; and to preserve the many valuable Rights and Privileges of this Nation, against the fatal Tendency of the said Treaty of Commerce, calculated for the entire Destruction of the British Trade, in Breach of several solemn Treaties now in Force. To acknowledge his Majesty's Prudence and Resolution, in not letting any Attempts or Insinuations whatsoever divert his Majesty from consulting and steadily pursuing the true Interest of these his Kingdoms; and to assure his Majesty, that in Justice to and Vindication of the Honour and Dignity of the British Crown, this House will effectually stand by and support his Majesty against all Insults and Attacks, that any Prince or Power, in Resentment of the just Measures which his Majesty has so wisely taken, shall make upon any of his Majesty's Territories or Dominions, tho' not belonging to the Crown of Great Britain.'

This Motion was seconded by Mr Doddington; but Dr Friend and Mr Foley raised some Objections to it. They were answer'd by Sir Joseph Jekyll, who was reply'd to by Sir Thomas Pengelly. After him the Lord Finch stood up, and made a short Panegyrick on his Majesty's illustrious Family; 'Which his Lordship observ'd had ever been the Bulwark of the Reformation; and took Notice of the great Sufferings of the excellent Princess Elizabeth, Daughter to King James I, Queen of Bohemia, and his Majesty's Grand-Mother, upon Account of the Protestant Religion. Concluding, that his Majesty seem'd to have been led to the British Throne by the Hands of Providence, as a Reward for the Piety of his Ancestors.' After this, Mr William Pulteney spoke against the Motion and suggested, 'That the Imperial Court's Backwardness in granting the Investiture for Bremen and Verden, might have been one of the Motives to some late Measures.' Upon this Sir Robert Walpole stood up and assur'd the House, 'That his Majesty might long ago have

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Mr H. Pelham moves for an Address of Thanks to the King, for communicating the above Treaties to the House, &c.

Debate upon that Motion.  
Mr Doddington.  
Dr Friend.  
Mr Foley.  
Sir J. Jekyll.  
Sir T. Pengelly.  
Lord Finch.

Mr W. Pulteney.

Sir R. Walpole.

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An Address voted

And presented to  
the King.

The Address.

had the same Investiture, if he would have paid the exorbitant Fees that were demanded for it.' Upon the whole Matter, the Question being put on Mr Pelham's Motion, it was carry'd in the Affirmative by 285 Voices against 107. and a Committee was appointed to draw up an Address according to the said Resolution. The next Day, Mr Pelham reported the said Address, which was agreed to.

*Feb.* 19. The House presented the said Address to his Majesty as follows.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

**W**E your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, beg Leave to return your Majesty our most humble Thanks for your great Goodness, in communicating to us the Treaties of Peace and Commerce concluded between the Emperor and the King of Spain, and the Defensive Alliance between your Majesty, the most Christian King, and the King of Prussia.

' The Engagements which your Majesty has entered into by the said Defensive Alliance with the most Christian King and the King of Prussia, in order to obviate and disappoint the dangerous Views and Consequences of the Treaty of Peace between the Emperor and the King of Spain, and to preserve the many valuable Rights and Privileges of this Nation against the fatal Tendency of the said Treaty of Commerce, calculated for the entire Destruction of the chief Branches of the British Trade, and in Breach of the several solemn Treaties now in Force, call upon us to express our most unfeigned and grateful Sense of your Majesty's Concern for the Preservation of the Balance and Peace of Europe, the Protestant Religion, and the particular Interest of your British Subjects.

' And when we reflect upon your Majesty's Prudence and Resolution, in not letting any Attempts or Insinuations whatsoever divert you from consulting and steadily pursuing the Good and Welfare of these your Kingdoms; we think ourselves obliged, by the strongest Ties of Duty and Affection, to assure your Majesty, that we will, in Justice to and Vindication of the Honour and Dignity of the British Crown, stand by and support your Majesty against all Insults and Attacks, that any Prince or Power, in Resentment of the just Measures which your Majesty has so wisely taken, shall make upon any of your Majesty's Territories or Dominions, tho' not belonging to the Crown of Great Britain.

To

To this the King return'd the following Answer.

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1725-26.

Gentlemen,

**I** Return you my Thanks for this particular Mark of your Duty, Affection and Confidence in me. Your Assurances not to suffer my Foreign Dominions to be exposed or insulted, on account of the Measures I have taken for the Interest of these Kingdoms, will, I hope, be a Means to preserve the Peace and Tranquility of Europe. I have no Views of Ambition to gratify; I have no Thought of aggrandizing myself, or extending any Parts of my Dominions, at the Hazard and Expence of the other; and as my Honour is the Common Cause and Concern of my Subjects, their particular Interests shall, upon all Occasions, be my constant Care."

The King's Answer thereto.

*March 2.* A Petition of Richard Hampden, \* Esq; Member for Wendover, was presented to the House, and read, praying, That Leave might be given to bring in a Bill, *To empower the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury to compound with the Petitioner, for the Debt due from him to the Crown.* Sir Robert Walpole having acquainted the House, that the Petitioner had apply'd to the King, and that his Majesty had commanded him to acquaint the House, that his Majesty gave his Consent, that the House might do therein as they thought fit; the said Petition was thereupon refer'd to the Consideration of a Committee of the whole House, on the 11th Instant.

Petition of R. Hampden, Esq; for a Bill to empower the Lords of the Treasury to compound with him for the Debt he ow'd to the Crown; which is refer'd to the Grand Committee.

*March 4.* A Petition of Sir Tho. Lowther, Bart. Member for Lancaster, was presented to the House and read; setting forth, 'That the Site of the dissolv'd Monastery of Furneis in Lancashire and Lands thereto belonging were formerly the Estate of the Preston Family. That in 1674, this Estate was enjoyed by Sir Thomas Preston, a Papist, who, to prevent its descending to the Petitioner's Grandfather, conveyed the same to Trustees for superstitious Uses. That the Petitioner and his Ancestors have been at considerable Charges, in maintaining their own and in recovering the Crown's Title to the said Estate: That the Petitioner now enjoys the said Estate by a Lease, for 31 Years, of which 22 are yet to come; and praying, That as this Estate was the Family Estate, of which they were depriv'd for the Adherence of the Petitioner's Grandfather to the Protestant Religion; and in regard of the great Expence the Petitioner's Family have been at in recovering and maintaining the Right of the Crown, That

Petition of Sir T. Lowther, for purchasing the Reversion, in Fee, of his Estate held by Grant from the Crown.

\* One of the Tellers of the Exchequer, and Treasurer of the Navy in the last Parliament.

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A Bill order'd accordingly.

A Petition of Sir Orlando Bridgman to the same Purpose.

A Bill order'd accordingly.

Hereupon Mr Hungerford moves for a Resolution against receiving any more Petitions for purchasing the Reversion of Crown Lands, which is agreed to.

The Commons in a grand Committee consider of Mr Hampden's Petition.

Debate thereon.

Sir W. Yonge.  
Sir T. Hanmer.  
Mr Bromley.  
Mr Shippen.  
Mr Hungerford.  
Sir J. Eyles.

Mr Ar. Onslow.

That Leave might be given to bring in a Bill to enable his Majesty to grant the Inheritance of the said Estate to the Petitioner, upon his paying such Consideration as, according to the Nature of the Case, should be reasonable.' Hereupon Sir Robert Walpole having inform'd the House that his Majesty gave his Consent to the bringing in such a Bill as was desir'd by the Petition; a Bill was order'd to be brought in accordingly.

*March 7.* A Petition of Sir Orlando Bridgman, Bart. Member for Blechingly, was presented to the House and read; praying, 'That Leave may be given to bring in a Bill to enable him to purchase the Reversion in Fee of Bowood-Park in Wiltshire, which had been granted for a Term of Years to his Grandfather Sir Orlando Bridgman, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, by King Charles II. on Payment of such Consideration for the same, as shall be set by his Majesty's Surveyor-General.' Sir Robert Walpole having thereupon acquainted the House, that his Majesty gave his Consent to the bringing in such a Bill, as was desir'd by the Petition, the said Bill was order'd to be brought in accordingly. Upon Occasion of Sir Orlando Bridgman and Sir Thomas Lowther's Petitions, Mr Hungerford represented, 'That through the Generosity and Bounty of his Majesty's Royal Predecessors, the ancient Demesne of the Crown had been so curtail'd and diminished, that little was left of it; that therefore 'twas high Time to think of some Means or other to recover, at least, so much of it as reverted to the Crown, by the Determination of former Grants; that 'twas well known how apt the best of Princes are to yield to the Importunities of Courtiers, even to the Detriment of their own Families and Successors; and therefore he mov'd, That the House would receive no more Petitions for enabling his Majesty to sell the Reversion of Lands held of the Crown. He was seconded by Mr Freeman; and nobody opposing that Motion, it pass'd into a Resolution.

*March 11.* The Commons went into a Committee of the whole House, to consider of the Petition of Richard Hampden, Esq; After the Reading of which Sir William Yonge, who had brought it in, spoke in his Behalf, but was oppos'd by Sir Thomas Hanmer, Mr Bromley, Mr Shippen, Mr Hungerford, and others; who made just Reflections on the Crime of mismanaging and imbezzelling publick Money. This Charge was much aggravated by what Sir John Eyles, Sub-Governor of the South-Sea Company, declar'd, 'That it appear'd by the balanc'd Accounts of Mr Hawes, one of the late Directors, that Mr Hampden was so far from being a Sufferer in the South-Sea Project, that he was rather upwards of 9000 l. Gainer.' Hereupon Mr Arthur Onslow said

said, 'That out of Regard to his ancient Family, and, in particular, in Consideration of his Great Grandfather, [*John Hampden, Esq;*] who made a most noble and courageous Stand against Arbitrary Power in opposing Ship-Money and fell the first Victim in the glorious Cause of Liberty, he was for having something done for his Relations:.' To which Mr Shippen replied, 'That he would not enter upon the Merits of the Great Grandfather; but this he was sure of, That his Great Grandson had wasted more Ship-Money than ever himself sav'd to the Nation, or King Charles I. intended to raise.' Other Members spoke against the granting Mr Hampden's Petition, because it would be a dangerous Precedent; and 'twas to be fear'd, that several others in the like Circumstances might expect the same Favour. Upon this Sir Robert Walpole declar'd, 'That he would never give his Vote in Favour of any Body that embezzelled publick Money: But took Notice, that they could not come to any Determination in this Affair, before they had look'd into some Papers, particularly the State of Mr Hampden's final Account.' Hereupon Mr Speaker resum'd the Chair, and then the farther Consideration of Mr Hampden's Petition was put off to the 16th Instant.

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Mr Shippen.

Sir R. Walpole.

*March 15.* A Petition of Isabella Hampden, Wife of Richard Hampden, Esq; was presented to the House and read; setting forth, 'That she brought in Marriage to her said Husband upwards of 10,500*l.* And that the Petitioner is necessarily involv'd in the Misfortune of her said Husband, though having no ways conduced thereunto, &c. therefore praying the compassionate Regard of the House to the Hardship of her Case, by securing to her, 'till she shall come to the Possession of her Joynture, such a Provision for her Support as the House shall think fit.' This Petition was referr'd to the Consideration of the Committee of the whole House, to whom Mr Hampden's Petition was referr'd.

Petition of Isabella  
Wife of R. Hamp-  
den, Esq;

*March 16.* A Petition of John Hampden, Esq; was presented to the House, and read; setting forth, 'That the Petitioner is the only Brother of Richard Hampden, Esq; and the sole Male-Heir of that ancient Family; that in Case his said Brother shall not have any Children, the Fee of the Estate, being in his said Brother, may devolve to the Crown, unless the House shall otherwise direct; that there is not the least Provision made out of the Family-Estate for the Petitioner, in Case his Brother should die without Children, so that the Petitioner may probably be left Heir to that ancient Family, without the least Support; and praying the Consideration of the House, and such Relief as the House shall think fit.' This Petition was likewise referr'd to the Consideration of the Grand Committee, into which the House resolv'd it-  
self,

And of Jo. Hamp-  
den, Esq; his Bro-  
ther.



Anno 12. Geo. 1.  
1725-26.

self, and took into Consideration the Petitions of Richard Hampden, Esq; his Wife, and his Brother. After a Debate, in which many severe Reflections were made upon the first, the farther Consideration of that Affair was again put off to the 23d Instant.

*March 19.* The Commons order'd the Auditor of the Imprest to lay before the House the State of the final Account of Richard Hampden, Esq; when Treasurer of the Navy; which Mr Harley \* laid before the House accordingly on the 21st of March.

Farther Debate  
on Mr Hampden's  
Petition.

Sir W. Yonge.

*March 23.* The Commons went into a Committee of the whole House, to consider farther of the Petitions of Richard Hampden, Esq; his Wife, and his Brother, which occasion'd a very high Debate. After the reading of several Papers, Sir William Yonge took Notice, ' That Mr Hampden's Deficiency had, in some Measure, been occasion'd by a general Calamity; that he had already done all that lay in his Power to make it up; that however, since neither his Wife nor his Brother, had any ways been accessary to his Misfortunes, it were unreasonable and unjust to involve them in his Offence and its Punishment; that his real and Patrimonial Estate amounted to about 2,200*l. per Annum*, one full half of which was settled for a Joynture to his Wife, who brought him near 11,000*l.* in Marriage, besides an Annuity of 200*l. per Annum*, during her Life, for her separate Use, all which Settlements ought to be secur'd to her; that either Mr Richard Hampden, or his Brother may have Issue Male; and in Consideration of the signal Services, at divers Times, perform'd by their illustrious Ancestors, some Provision should be made for their Posterity out of the Family Estate: And therefore he mov'd, That a Bill be brought in, *For vesting the real and Personal Estates of Richard Hampden, Esq; in Trustees for making some Provision for his Wife and Family, and for the better securing the Debt due from him to the Crown.* This Motion was seconded by Sir John Hobart †, and back'd by Mr William-Peer Williams; but Mr Clayton represented, ' That, if this Affair went through the usual tedious Course of Extents in the Exchequer, great Part of Mr Hampden's Estate would be consum'd in Law Expences, so that the Crown would never get 200*l.* a Year out of it: And therefore he propos'd that the said Estate should be divided into two equal Parts, one of which should be allotted as a Provision for his Wife and Family; and the other Half immediately sold off, towards satisfying the Debt due from him to the Crown.' Many Members shew'd their Approbation

Sir John Hobart.  
Mr William-Peer  
Williams.  
Mr Clayton.

\* Auditor of the Imprest.

† Created Knight of the Bath, June 17, 1725.

bation of this Proposal : But the Majority were for Sir William Yonge's Motion ; and the Speaker having resum'd the Chair, a Bill was order'd to be brought in accordingly ; which afterwards pass'd into a Law.

Anno 12. Geo. I.  
1725-26.

A Bill order'd to be brought in, in favour of Mr Hampden.

March 24. Mr Methuen acquainted the Commons, That he had a Message from his Majesty to the House, sign'd by his Majesty, and he deliver'd the same to Mr Speaker, who read it, as follows :

### G E O R G E R.

“ **H**IS Majesty having nothing more at Heart, than an earnest Desire to secure to his own Subjects the full and free Enjoyment of their Trade and Navigation, and in the best Manner, to prevent and frustrate such Designs as have been form'd against the particular Interest of this Nation, and the general Peace of Europe, has found it necessary, not only to augment his Maritime Force, but to concert such other Measures, as may most effectually conduce to these desirable Ends ; and as these Services will require some extraordinary Expence, his Majesty hopes he shall be enabled, by the Assistance of Parliament, to increase the Number of Seamen already voted and granted for the Service of this Year, and to enter into, and make good, such Engagements as the Circumstances and Exigency of Affairs may require.”

The King's Message for an additional Number of Seamen, &c.

After the reading of this Message, Mr Shippen took Notice, ‘ That this Message had all the Air of another sent to them about the Beginning of April, 1717, [See p. 115.] importing in Substance, “ That his Majesty being desirous, not only to secure his Kingdom against the present Danger from Sweden, but likewise to prevent the like Apprehensions for the future, had thought it necessary early to concert Measures with other Princes and States ; and as this might require some Expence, his Majesty hop'd, that the Commons, by their Assistance at this Juncture, would enable him to make good such Engagements as might ease his People of all future Charge and Apprehensions upon that Account.” ‘ That he remember'd, so unexpected and so unprecedented a Message was receiv'd with great Surprise, and occasioned very high and long Debates in that House ; that he himself represented and urg'd the Unparliamentariness of asking and granting Supplies, without an Estimate of the Expence ; and had the Honour to be then supported by a great many worthy Gentlemen, and by some in particular, who seem'd now to be of another Opinion. That after much Opposition, it was at last carried, by a Majority of four Voices only, [See p. 120.] to grant his Majesty a Supply,

Debate thereon.  
Mr Shippen.

Anno 1. Geo. I.  
1726.

Mr Shippen moves  
for an Account of  
the 250,000l.  
granted against  
Sweden, Anno  
1717.

Mr Snell.

Sir W. Yonge  
moves for an Ad-  
dress to the King  
on his Message,  
with a Vote of  
Credit.

Debate thereon.

Mr H. Pelham.

Sir Wilfrid Lawson.  
Mr Shippen.  
Mr Snell.  
Mr W. Pulteney.  
Sir W. Wyndham.  
Sir Joseph Jekyll.  
Mr Hungerford.  
Mr D. Pulteney.  
Mr Freeman.  
Mr Sandys.  
Mr Lutwyche.  
Sir John Rushout.  
Sir R. Walpole.  
Mr E. Thompson.  
Mr Onslow.  
Lord Finch.  
Sir W. Strickland.  
Mr Doddington.  
Mr Tho. Lewis.

Which is agreed  
to.

which was afterwards fix'd at 250,000l. But that they could never know how that Money had been laid out; and therefore he mov'd, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, That he would be graciously pleased to direct the proper Officers to lay before the House an Account of the Disposition of the 250,000l. granted to his Majesty, on the 13th of April, 1717. to enable his Majesty to concert such Measures with Foreign Princes and States, as might prevent any Charge or Apprehensions from the Designs of Sweden.' This Motion was seconded by Mr Snell; but the previous Question being put, that the Question be now put upon the said Motion, it was carried in the Negative.

*March 25.* The Commons proceeded to take into Consideration his Majesty's most gracious Message of the Day before, which being read again by Mr Speaker, Sir William Yonge open'd the Debate, and having shew'd the Necessity of an extraordinary Supply, mov'd, 'That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be pleased to make such an Addition to the Number of Seamen already voted, and to concert such other Measures, as his Majesty shall in his great Wisdom think will best conduce to the Security of the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom, and to the Preservation of the Peace of Europe; and to assure his Majesty, that this House will effectually provide for, and make good, all such Expences and Engagements as shall be made for obtaining these great and desirable Ends.' This Motion was seconded by Mr Henry Pelham, but was oppos'd by Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr Shippen, Mr Snell, Mr William Pulteney, Sir William Wyndham, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr Hungerford, Mr Daniel Pulteney, Mr Freeman, Mr Sandys, Mr Lutwyche, and Sir John Rushout. Sir William Yonge's Motion being on the other Hand supported by Sir Robert Walpole, Mr Edward Thompson, Mr Onslow, Lord Finch, Sir William Strickland, Mr Doddington, and Mr Thomas Lewis, Member for Southampton; the Question was put upon Sir William Yonge's Motion, which was carried in the Affirmative, by 270 Votes against 89, and then it was resolv'd, That the said Resolution, by way of Address, be presented to his Majesty by the whole House; which being done accordingly the next Day, his Majesty was pleased to return the following Answer:

Gentlemen,

" I Return you my Thanks for this loyal and affectionate Address; and you may be assur'd, I shall make no other Use of the Confidence you repose in me, but for preserving the general Tranquility, and in Support of the Trade, Honour, and Interest of my People."

*April*

King's Answer of  
Thanks to the  
House for their  
Vote of Credit.

April 27. Upon a Motion made by Sir John Rushout, and seconded by Sir Thomas Coke \* and Mr Arthur Onslow, a Bill was order'd to be brought in, *For the more effectual preventing Bribery and Corruption in the Election of Members to serve in Parliament.*

Anno 12. Geo. I.  
1726.

A Bill order'd to be brought in, to prevent Bribery in Elections.

April 29. The said Bill was read the first Time, and order'd to be read a second Time the next Day; when it was committed to a Committee of the whole House.

May 7. Sir John Rushout reported the Amendments made in the Committee of the whole House to the Bribery-Bill, which was order'd to be engross'd.

May 9. The said Bill was read the third Time, pass'd, and sent up to the Lords, where it was lost.

May 24. The King came to the House of Peers, with the usual State, and the Commons being sent for up and attending, his Majesty gave the Royal Assent to several publick and private Bills.

After which, the Lord Chancellor read his Majesty Speech to both Houses :

My Lords and Gentlemen,

" I Cannot in Justice to you put an End to this Session, without returning you my hearty Thanks for the many Instances you have given me of your Duty and Affection to my Person and Government, and of your Zeal to maintain the Honour and true Interest of this Kingdom.

The King's Speech at the Conclusion of the Fourth Session.

" The Spirit and Resolution you have shewn on this important Occasion, when our most valuable Rights and Privileges have been struck at, are highly becoming the Weight and Authority of a British Parliament; and the Steps that have been taken Abroad, in Support of the Measures enter'd into against this Nation, must convince every Body of your Wisdom and Prudence in endeavouring to put an early Stop to the farther Progress of them. I hope the Precautions you have enabled me to take, will be sufficient, in Conjunction with my Allies, to defeat the Designs which have been form'd against us; and that the Promoters of them, when they have fully weigh'd their own Circumstances, and better consider'd those of the several Powers united in Defence of the Tranquility and Liberties of Europe, will find it their own Interest to preserve the Peace, and think it most safe and prudent to desist from their dangerous Schemes.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons.

" I return you my particular Thanks for the Supplies which you have so chearfully and effectually rais'd; and

A a a 2

" you

\* Created a Knight of the Bath, June 17, 1725.

Anno 12. Geo. I.  
1726.

“ you may be assured, that they shall be faithfully apply'd  
“ to the Uses for which you intended them.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ The constant Employment of my Thoughts, and the  
“ most earnest Wishes of my Heart, tend wholly to the se-  
“ curing to my Subjects their just Rights and Advantages,  
“ and to the preserving to them and to all Europe the  
“ Enjoyment of a safe and honourable Peace: And I must  
“ not conclude without giving you the strongest Assurances,  
“ that the particular Confidence you have placed in me, shall  
“ be made Use of in such Manner only, as may most effectually  
“ conduce to the attaining those good and great Purposes.”

The Parliament  
prorogued.

Then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majesty's Command,  
prorogued the Parliament to the Twenty first of July; they  
were afterwards, by several Prorogations, prorogued to the  
17th of January.



## SPEECHES and DEBATES

In the FIFTH SESSION of the

*Second Parliament of King GEORGE I.*

Anno 12. Geo. I.  
1726-27.

**O**N the 17th of January the King came to the House  
of Peers with the usual Solemnity; the Commons  
being come thither, the Lord Chancellor read his  
Majesty's Speech to both Houses, as follows:

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The King's Speech  
at Opening the  
Fifth Session.

“ I Acquainted you last Year with the Treaties of Peace  
“ and Commerce concluded between the Emperor and  
“ the King of Spain. As that sudden and unaccountable  
“ Conjunction gave, at the first Appearance, just Grounds of  
“ Jealousy and Apprehension to the neighbouring Powers  
“ of Europe, the subsequent Proceedings and Transacti-  
“ ons in those two Courts, and the Secret and Offen-  
“ sive Alliances concluded between them about the same  
“ time, have laid the Foundations of a most exorbitant and  
“ formidable Power, and are so directly levelled against the  
“ most valuable and darling Interests and Privileges of this  
“ Nation, that we must determine either tamely to submit  
“ to the peremptory and unjust Demands of the King of  
“ Spain, in giving up Gibraltar, and patiently to acquiesce  
“ in the Emperor's usurped and extended Exercise of Trade  
“ and



“ and Commerce, or must resolve to be in a Condition to do  
 “ our selves Justice, and to defend our undoubted Rights a-  
 “ gainst these reciprocal Engagements enter'd into, in Defiance  
 “ and Violation of all National Faith, and the most solemn  
 “ Treaties.

“ I have likewise received Information from different  
 “ Parts, on which I can entirely depend, that the placing  
 “ the Pretender upon the Throne of this Kingdom is one of  
 “ the Articles of the secret Engagements ; and if Time  
 “ shall evince, that the giving up the Trade of this Nation  
 “ to one Power, and Gibraltar and Port-Mahon to another,  
 “ is made the Price and Reward of imposing upon this King-  
 “ dom a Popish Pretender, what an Indignation must this  
 “ raise in the Breast of every Protestant Briton !

“ Nor were these fatal Combinations confined to those  
 “ Parts of the World alone, but they extended themselves  
 “ into Russia ; and had not the Designs of that Court against  
 “ some of their Neighbours been prevented by the seasonable  
 “ Arrival of our Fleet in those Seas, a Way had been open'd  
 “ for invading these Kingdoms, and giving a powerful Assis-  
 “ tance to any Attempt to be made from other Quarters.

“ Such Circumstances would not suffer Me and my Allies,  
 “ among whom there has been and is the most perfect Harmony,  
 “ Union, and Concert, to be idle Spectators, and regardless  
 “ of our own Safety and the Common Cause of Europe ; for  
 “ which purpose his most Christian Majesty has been at a great  
 “ Expence, this last Year, in augmenting his Forces ; and  
 “ the States General, sensible of the imminent Danger, have  
 “ not only acceded to the Defensive Alliance concluded at  
 “ Hanover, but have come to strong and seasonable Resolu-  
 “ tions for an extraordinary Augmentation of their Forces  
 “ both by Sea and Land. The Accession of the Crown of  
 “ Sweden is in such a Forwardness, and the Negotiations  
 “ with the Crown of Denmark are so far advanced, that we  
 “ may reasonably depend upon the Success and good Effect  
 “ of them.

“ This short View of the present Posture of Affairs will, I  
 “ am confident, not only secure to Me the Support and  
 “ Assistance of my Parliament, in carrying on this great and ne-  
 “ cessary Work, in Conjunction with my Allies ; but justify  
 “ the Measures hitherto taken, and the Expences already  
 “ made.

“ The Confidence you reposed in me last Year has been  
 “ made use of for the Benefit of the Publick ; and as the  
 “ chief Article of Exceeding has, by my equipping and  
 “ sending to Sea three considerable Squadrons, fallen upon  
 “ the Head of the Navy, I am persuaded the Necessity of  
 “ the Services, and the Security, Advantage, and Glory  
 “ that

Anno 1<sup>o</sup>. Geo. I.  
1725-27.

“ that has accrued to this Nation from those Squadrons, will  
“ sufficiently speak for themselves, as long as both Friends  
“ and Foes, with Joy, or Concern, confess they have seen  
“ and felt the Effects of the Naval Power of Great-Britain.

“ It is not to be wonder'd at, that the Princes engaged  
“ in these Enterprizes are very much disturbed to see their  
“ Projects render'd abortive: The King of Spain, impatient  
“ of the Disappointments he has met with, can no longer dis-  
“ guise that Enmity to Us, which for some time he has only  
“ waited for a favourable Opportunity to declare. He has  
“ now ordered his Minister residing here, to depart immediate-  
“ ly from this Country, leaving a Memorial, that is little  
“ short of a Declaration of War, wherein he again demands  
“ and insists upon the Restitution of Gibraltar. He does not  
“ himself deny the Offensive Alliance, nor his Engagements  
“ to support the Ostend Company: He makes my recalling  
“ those Squadrons, which his Conduct had put Me under  
“ a Necessity of sending to the West-Indies and the Coast of  
“ Spain, the Condition of any farther Correspondence between  
“ the two Crowns; and supposing the Continuance of my  
“ Fleets abroad to be actual Hostilities, threatens to repel  
“ them with Force, to the utmost of his Power.

“ But not content with these Menaces, Insults, and Infrac-  
“ tions of Treaties, his Catholick Majesty is now making  
“ Preparations to attack and besiege Gibraltar; and in order  
“ to carry on that Service, or to cover another Design, has  
“ assembled a great Body of Troops in that Neighbourhood:  
“ But the present State and Condition of that Garrison,  
“ with the Reinforcements I have ordered thither, give Me  
“ little Cause to apprehend, or my Enemies to hope for Suc-  
“ cess in that Undertaking. The certain and undoubted Intel-  
“ ligence I have, that it is now resolved to attempt an In-  
“ vasion upon these Kingdoms in Favour of the Pretender, by  
“ an Embarkation from the Coasts of Spain, gives Me Reason  
“ to believe, that tho' the Siege of Gibraltar may probably  
“ be undertaken, the publick, avowed, and immense Pre-  
“ parations made for that Purpose, are chiefly calculated to  
“ amuse the World, and to disguise the intended Invasion,  
“ which, I am surely informed, has been for some Time agreed  
“ to be the first Step and Beginning of the long premeditated  
“ Rupture.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ These Considerations must awaken in you all such a Sense  
“ of our common and immediate Danger, as will, I doubt  
“ not, inspire you with a Zeal and Chearfulness in raising the  
“ Supplies necessary for the Defence of your Country, and for  
“ making good our Engagements with our Allies.

“ I

“ I receive too much Satisfaction from the Happiness of  
 “ my People, in their full Enjoyment and future Prospect of  
 “ Peace, Ease, and Prosperity, not to be sensibly affected  
 “ with these new Convulsions, and the unavoidable Necessity  
 “ I am under, of asking larger Supplies of my People, and  
 “ of desiring to be enabled to make such an Augmentation of  
 “ my Forces, by Sea and Land, as the present Exigency of  
 “ Affairs requires.

“ I will order the proper Estimates to be laid before you,  
 “ and such Treaties as I have made with Foreign Princes for  
 “ the Hire of Foreign Troops ; and as the Expence I was last  
 “ Year in a particular Manner intrusted to make, has a-  
 “ mounted to no considerable Sum, and the publick Utility  
 “ may again require the like Services to be performed, I  
 “ hope you will again repose the same Trust and Confidence  
 “ in Me.

“ It is with great Pleasure that I see the Time so near ap-  
 “ proaching, when such a considerable Addition will be made  
 “ to the Sinking Fund ; Let all that wish well to the Peace  
 “ and Quiet of my Government, have the Satisfaction to see  
 “ that our present Necessities shall make no Interruption in  
 “ the Progress of that desirable Work of gradually discharging  
 “ the National Debt : I hope therefore you will make a Pro-  
 “ vision for the immediate Application of the Produce of the  
 “ Sinking Fund to the Uses, for which it was so wisely con-  
 “ trived, and to which it stands now appropriated.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I have had no Thoughts of making any Acquisitions to  
 “ any Parts of my Dominions ; my whole Care and Concern  
 “ has been to preserve and maintain the undoubted Rights  
 “ and Privileges of my People ; and therefore all my Measures  
 “ have been Preventive and Defensive : But such Endea-  
 “ vours being now render'd impracticable, vigorous Resolu-  
 “ tions, and a speedy Execution of them, can alone put an  
 “ effectual End to the Dangers that surround us. However  
 “ hazardous and desperate the Enterprizes formed against us  
 “ may appear to be, your being assured that they are re-  
 “ solv'd upon, will, I am perswaded, be sufficient to prevail  
 “ upon you, to put yourselves in a Condition to resist and  
 “ defeat them.

“ If preserving a due Balance of Power in Europe, if  
 “ defending the Possessions of the Crown of Great-Britain,  
 “ of infinite Advantage and Security to our Trade and Com-  
 “ merce, if supporting that Trade and Commerce against  
 “ dangerous and unlawful Encroachments, and if the present  
 “ Establishment, the Religion, Liberties, and Properties of  
 “ a Protestant People, are any longer Considerations worthy  
 “ of the Care and Attention of a British Parliament, I need  
 “ say



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1725-27.

“ say no more to incite my loyal and faithful Houses of Par-  
liament to exert themselves in the Defence of all that is  
“ dear and valuable to them.”

Mr Onslow moves  
for an Address of  
Thanks.

The Commons being return'd to their House, and Mr Speaker having reported his Majesty's Speech, Mr Onslow mov'd, ' That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to return him the Thanks of this House for his most gracious Speech from the Throne ; To acknowledge his Majesty's Goodness, in acquainting his Parliament with the several Proceedings and Alliances entred into between the Emperor and the King of Spain, giving such just Cause of Jealousy to the neighbouring Princes and States, so formidable and destructive of the true Balance of Power in Europe, and striking at the Foundation of the most valuable Privileges and Interests of the Subjects of his Majesty, and those of his Allies ; To declare the Resentment of the Commons of Great-Britain, at the unjust Demand of the King of Spain for the Restitution of Gibraltar, and the unwarrantable Usurpation of the Emperor, in erecting and carrying on the Ostend Trade, and their mutual Obligations to support each other in these unjustifiable Attempts and Undertakings : But above all, to express our highest Indignation at the Resolutions and Engagements entred into, for attempting to place the Pretender on the Throne of these Kingdoms ; To return his Majesty the Thanks of this House, for his great Care in strengthening his Alliances, and for employing his Royal Fleet so usefully for the Security, Advantage, and Glory of this Nation. And, as this House cannot but look upon the Measures and Resolutions, taken in Opposition to and in Defiance of most solemn Treaties, as tending to an immediate Rupture, humbly to desire his Majesty, that he will forthwith give the necessary Orders for putting this Kingdom in a Posture of Defence ; and to assure his Majesty, that this House will not only chearfully and effectually raise the Supplies necessary for the present Exigency of Affairs, but will stand by and support his Majesty in making good his Engagements with his Allies ; in preserving the Balance of Power in Europe ; in defending the Possessions of the Crown of Great-Britain ; in supporting the Trade of this Nation against all unjustifiable Encroachments ; and in defeating and confounding all Attempts that shall be made in Favour of the Pretender, and to the Destruction of our Religion, Liberties, and Properties ; and that this House will apply the Produce of the Sinking Fund to its proper Uses ; and repose such a Trust and Confidence in his Majesty, as the publick Utility shall require, and his Majesty shall find reasonable and necessary, for carrying on the great Work in which his Majesty is engaged

engaged, for the Interest and Security of his People, and the common Cause of Europe.'

This Motion was seconded by the Hon. Mr John Finch \*, Member for Higham-Ferrers ; but was strenuously opposed by Mr Shippen, Sir William Wyndham, Mr Hungerford, Mr William Pulteney, and Sir Thomas Hanmer ; who were answer'd by Mr Doddington, Mr Horatio Walpole, and Sir Robert Walpole. Mr Shippen urg'd, ' That the Matter of Peace and War is of the greatest Weight that can fall under the Consideration of that Assembly ; That as his Majesty's Speech contain'd many Points of the highest Moment and Importance, so no doubt his Majesty, in his great Wisdom and Goodness towards his People, expected, on this Occasion, not only the Support, but likewise the Advice of that House : That, in order thereto, they ought maturely to deliberate on those several Heads, which could not be done before several Papers were communicated to them, that seem'd absolutely necessary to state some Facts relating to those weighty Matters ; That the Motion, as it was drawn up, imply'd an Approbation of Measures taken to prevent Dangers ; which seem'd preposterous before they knew either what those Measures were, or whether those Dangers were real ; That therefore they ought, for the present, to content themselves with returning his Majesty the most humble Thanks of the House for his most gracious Speech, with Assurances of supporting his Majesty in all just and necessary Measures ; and appoint a Day for taking the said Speech into Consideration.'

Sir William Wyndham took Notice of the Unsteadiness of our Counsels, and observ'd, ' That of late Years our Measures had been in a perpetual Fluctuation ; that Penelope-like, we were continually weaving and unravelling the same Web ; one time raising up the Emperor to depress France, and now we were for depressing the Emperor, which could not be done without aggrandizing France, which, in the End, may make the latter too powerful : So that at this rate, under Pretence of holding the Balance of Europe, we should be engaged in continual Wars.'

Mr Hungerford said, ' That the Dangers with which we were threaten'd, were not, in his Opinion, so great, as they were by some People represented to be : That the Czarina's and the King of Spain's Design of invading us with five or six Men of War seem'd altogether romantick, since such a Project, may, at any time, be defeated by our ordinary Guard-Ships, much more when we had such strong Fleets at Sea : That therefore the Fears of the Pretender

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Debate thereon.  
Hon. Mr J. Finch.

Mr Shippen.  
Sir W. Wyndham.  
Mr Hungerford.  
Mr W. Pulteney.  
Sir Tho. Hanmer.  
Mr Doddington.  
Mr H. Walpole.  
Sir R. Walpole.  
Mr Shippen.

Sir W. Wyndham.

Mr Hungerford.

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were

\* One of his Majesty's Council learned in the Law.

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were groundless and chimerical, and he could not tell how they could bring him over, unless they borrowed Captain Gulliver's floating Island. As to the Ostend Company, he owned it to be a National Concern, and a very just Motive to a War with the Emperor; but that it had been an easy Matter to nip that Project in the Bud: For, if he was rightly inform'd, ten thousand Pounds would have prevail'd with the Marquess de Prie to drop it, whereas now, when that Company has had time to get Footing both in Europe and in India, it may prove a difficult Matter to suppress it. That as to Gibraltar, the Demand of which was alledg'd as a Proof of an offensive Alliance between the Emperor and Spain, he had in his Pocket the Purport of the Secret Article relating to that Affair, which was only, That in case the King of Spain could produce a positive Promise from Great-Britain to restore Gibraltar, his Imperial Majesty would engage to become a Mediator and Guarantee for the Performance of such a Promise. That, upon the whole Matter, he hoped Things were not yet brought to so desperate an Issue, but that some Means of Accommodation might be found out, without running into an expensive War, and augmenting our Forces, which, he was afraid, would prove an Aggravation of Misfortunes.'

Sir Tho. Hanmer.

Sir Thomas Hanmer declar'd, ' That if the Dangers they were threaten'd with, were so real, and so imminent as some People pretended, he would be one of the foremost in the most speedy and most vigorous Resolutions. But that he thought those Dangers yet extream distant, to say no more— That, indeed, some Foreign Princes may make a political Use of the Pretender, as a State Bug-bear to frighten and alarm us, and thereby endeavour to make us subservient to their ambitious Designs; but that, in his Opinion, his Interest was never so low, nor his Party so inconsiderable and so despicable, as at present, and, therefore in this Day's Debate he ought to be left intirely out of the Question. That he was apprehensive the Acquisition of some Dominions Abroad had sown the Seeds, and were the true Causes of the Divisions and Distractions, which now threaten the general Tranquility of Europe, by drawing us into unaccountable Compliances for the Emperor, on the one Hand, and into a Promise, at least a Conditional one, for the Restitution of Gibraltar on the other Hand: Both which had brought us at last into the present Difficulties.

Mr Doddington.

In Answer to these Objections, Mr Doddington took Notice, ' That the Eyes of all Christendom were, at this critical Juncture, fix'd upon the British Parliament, whose Resolutions had ever a great and just Weight and Influence in all the Affairs of Europe: And the Season of the Year being

being so far advanced, they ought not to slip the first Opportunity that offer'd to give his Majesty the strongest Assurances of supporting him in all his Engagements, he had enter'd into with his Allies, and in the Measures that shall be judg'd necessary, for securing the Rights and Interests of his Subjects, and the common Cause of Europe. That Delays were often dangerous, and might be fatal in the present Situation of Affairs, which required vigorous and speedy Resolutions, both for the Encouragement of our Friends, and the perfecting some Alliances, that were already in great Forwardness; and for the Discouragement of our Enemies, who had already block'd up Gibraltar, and threaten'd it with a Siege. That the Measures that had been taken, were but a Consequence of the last Year's Resolutions, which that House had come to, after a full Examination, and mature Consideration of the State of Affairs, then laid before both Houses by his Majesty: But that however, such an Address as was proposed, did not preclude a farther Inquiry into those Matters.'

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Mr H. Walpole, in Answer to the Objection of the Unsteadiness of our Counsels, observ'd, ' That it had often been Matter of Complaint; but that it was the unavoidable Result of our Situation, which puts us on that Necessity, and, at the same Time, gives us the Prerogative of holding the Balance of Power in Europe: But that besides the preserving of that Balance, which was in great Danger of being destroyed by the Conjunction of the Emperor and King of Spain, and the Intermarriages of their Issue, we had an intimate and immediate Concern in maintaining our invaluable Rights and Privileges of Commerce, which had been notoriously invaded; and in defending our Possessions of Gibraltar and the Island of Minorca, which we had acquired, in lawful War, at a vast Expence of Blood and Treasure, and which had been yielded to us by several solemn Treaties.'

Mr H. Walpole.

Sir Robert Walpole said, ' As to the Promise of restoring Gibraltar to the King of Spain, That such a Promise not having been made while he had the Honour to be in the Administration, he could say nothing to it; That if such a Promise was ever made, he durst aver, That it was conditional, and made void and invalid by the King of Spain's refusing to comply with the Conditions on which it was made; and that whenever the Performance of that Promise was mention'd to him, as insisted on by the King of Spain, he always delivered it as his fix'd and positive Opinion, That Gibraltar could not be given up without the Consent of Parliament. As to the Ostend-Company, which a Gentleman suggested, might have been nipp'd in the Bud; he left it to the House to judge, whether it had not been highly imprudent and impolitic in us, to quarrel with the Emperor about

Sir R. Walpole.

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it, before we had engag'd both France and Holland in the Danger and Expence of that Quarrel, who have, at least, an equal Concern with us, in the Suppressing of the Ostend Trade. And as to the Danger of an Invasion in favour of the Pretender, such early Measures had been taken to defeat it, that he hoped by this Time, it was pretty well over: But that besides the glaring Appearances of Enmity to his Majesty, and of Favour and Countenance to the Pretender's Friends, at the Courts of Vienna and Madrid, his Majesty had such undoubted and concurring Evidence of a form'd Design to invade his Dominions, that it had been the most unpardonable Want of Duty, and a criminal Supineness in his Ministers, not to take all possible Precautions against it. And, as to any Measures that had been taken many Years ago, and to which another Member ascribed the Convulsions which now threaten the Tranquility of Europe, he was not at all concern'd in those Measures; and so could say nothing to them; neither were, indeed, such remote and groundless Causes a proper Subject for their present Consideration.

At last, the Question being put upon Mr Onslow's Motion, it was carried in the Affirmative, by 251 Voices against 81; and a Committee was appointed to draw up an Address accordingly, which was the next Day reported and agreed to.

January 19. The House presented the same to his Majesty, as follows:

Most Gracious Sovereign,

The Address.

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of Great-Britain in Parliament assembled, return your Majesty our humblest Thanks for your most Gracious Speech from the Throne.

The Communication, which your Majesty has been pleased to make, of the Proceedings and Transactions in Europe for some Time past, and of the Engagements entered into between the Emperor and the King of Spain, is an Instance of your Majesty's singular Goodness, in being as desirous to give your People all reasonable Satisfaction, as you have ever been solicitous for their Good and Welfare.

We are very sensible of the fatal Tendency of the sudden and unaccountable Conjunction between those two Crowns; and as this Nation has always looked with jealous Eyes upon the very Beginning of every Attempt made by their Neighbours to establish a Commerce, at the Hazard and to the Prejudice of our undoubted Rights and Privileges; We cannot but be greatly alarmed to see these Incroachments upon our Trade, and notorious Infractions

Of Treaties, accompanied with a Scheme of Greatness that  
 lays the Foundation of a most exorbitant Power, which,  
 if not timely opposed, and withstood with Vigour and Re-  
 solution, may become formidable to all Europe, and enable  
 the Aggressors, without Controul, to maintain their un-  
 warrantable Attempts.

Nor can we at all doubt of the Spirit and Design of this  
 new Friendship and Alliance, when we see it cemented by  
 mutual Obligations for supporting one of the Contracting  
 Powers in the unjustifiable and usurped Exercise of the Of-  
 fend Trade, at the same Time that a peremptory Demand  
 is made and insisted upon by the other, for the Restitution  
 of Gibraltar, a Place of such Importance to the Trade of  
 this Kingdom.

But the Consideration that creates the highest Resent-  
 ment in your faithful Commons is, to see that whenever the  
 Ambition of Foreign Princes leads them to aspire and  
 grasp at exorbitant Power, or to acquire and possess them-  
 selves of any valuable Rights and Privileges belonging to  
 the Subjects of your Majesty and your Allies, all Guarant-  
 tees, and the most solemn Engagements of Faith and Grati-  
 tude to your Majesty, purchased by the Blood and Treas-  
 ure of this Nation, are cancelled and forgot; and it is  
 vainly imagined that your Majesty must either tamely sub-  
 mit to, and patiently acquiesce under, the greatest Indigni-  
 ties and Injuries to your Crown and People, or be insulted  
 with Menaces and Projects in favour of a Popish Pretender.

But your Majesty's loyal, faithful, and affectionate Sub-  
 jects, the Commons of Great Britain, sensible of the inesti-  
 mable Blessings they enjoy under your Majesty's most graci-  
 ous and happy Government, have too great a Regard to the  
 Honour and Dignity of your Crown, and too much Ab-  
 horrence and Detestation of an abjured Pretender, to suf-  
 fer these vain Terrors to have any ill Effect upon their  
 Minds or Deliberations.

It is with Indignation that we see this injurious Treat-  
 ment and these provoking Insults; and it is with an un-  
 shaken Fidelity and Resolution, that we are determined,  
 with our Lives and Fortunes, to stand by and support your  
 Majesty against all your Enemies.

We must, at the same time, with all Gratitude, ac-  
 knowledge your Majesty's Wisdom and Vigilance, in  
 strengthening your self with the Alliance of Powers united  
 in Interest, and best able to withstand the impending Dan-  
 ger, and to support the Common Cause of Europe.

We see, with the greatest Satisfaction, the Naval Power  
 of Great-Britain appearing in distant Regions, in its pro-  
 per Lustre, so usefully and wisely employed to carry Safety  
 and

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‘ and Protection to your own Subjects and to your Allies, and  
‘ to curb and restrain the boasted Projects of the Disturbers  
‘ of the Peace of Europe.

‘ And as we cannot but look upon the Measures and Re-  
‘ solutions concerted and taken in Opposition to, and in De-  
‘ fiance of the most solemn Treaties, as tending to an imme-  
‘ diate Rupture, We humbly beseech your Majesty, that  
‘ you will be pleased forthwith to give the necessary Orders  
‘ for putting this Kingdom into a Posture of Defence; and  
‘ we assure your Majesty, That we will not only cheerfully  
‘ and effectually raise the Supplies necessary for the present  
‘ Exigency of Affairs, but will support your Majesty in mak-  
‘ ing good your Engagements with your Allies, in preserv-  
‘ ing the Balance of Power in Europe, in defending the pre-  
‘ sent Possessions of the Crown of Great-Britain, in support-  
‘ ing the Trade of this Nation against all unjustifiable and  
‘ pernicious Incroachments, and in defeating and confounding  
‘ all Attempts that shall be made in Favour of the Pretender,  
‘ and for the Destruction of our Religion, Liberties, and  
‘ Properties.

‘ And that all, who wish well to the Peace and Quiet of  
‘ your Majesty’s Government, may have the Satisfaction to  
‘ see, that our present Necessities shall make no Interruption  
‘ in the Progress of that desirable Work of gradually dis-  
‘ charging the National Debt, we will consider of the most  
‘ proper Methods for immediately applying the Produce of  
‘ the Sinking Fund, to the Uses for which it was so wisely  
‘ contrived, and to which it stands now appropriated; and  
‘ will repose such a Trust and Confidence in your Majesty as  
‘ the publick Utility shall require, and as your Majesty shall  
‘ find reasonable and necessary for carrying on the great  
‘ Work in which your Majesty is engaged, for the Interest  
‘ and Security of your People, and the common Cause of  
‘ Europe.’

To this Address the King return’d the following Answer.

Gentlemen,

“ I Return you my Thanks for this very Dutiful and Loyal  
“ Address: The just Sense you have express’d of the pre-  
“ sent Posture of Affairs in Europe, and the hearty Assurances  
“ you have given me of your Support in defending my Pos-  
“ sessions and the Rights and Privileges of my People, as  
“ they are Evidences of your known Zeal and Affection to  
“ my Person and Government, I am persuaded they will con-  
“ firm the Spirit and Vigour of my Allies, and convince my  
“ Enemies how vain and ill-grounded all their Expectations  
“ are, of being able to succeed in any Attempts to disturb the  
“ Peace

The King’s An-  
swer thereto.

Peace of Europe, and in offering Injuries and Insults to this Nation.

*January 20.* In a Committee of the whole House his Majesty's Speech was taken into Consideration, and a Motion that a Supply be granted to his Majesty was unanimously agreed to.

*Jan. 21.* Mr Farrer, from the Committee of the whole House, reported the preceding Day's Resolution for a Supply, which was agreed to *Nem. Con.* and it was resolv'd, to address his Majesty for the usual Estimates for the Year 1727.

A Supply voted.

*Jan. 23.* The Commons resolv'd to address his Majesty for the Accession of the States General to the Treaty of Hanover, together with the separate Articles, if there were any; as also for the Copies of such Memorials, and Letters with the Answers thereto, as pass'd between his Majesty's Ministers, and the Courts of Vienna and Spain, since the Communication of the Treaty of Peace between the Emperor and the King of Spain, to his Majesty, by the Emperor's Minister: But a Motion being made by Sir William Wyndham, and the Question put, to address his Majesty, for a Copy of the Memorial presented to the King of Sweden, by Mr Poyntz, his Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary, relating to the Accession of the Crown of Sweden to the Treaty of Hanover, dated at Stockholm the 4th of June, 1726: As also another Motion being made by Mr Pulteney, and the Question put, to address his Majesty, for the Secret Offensive Alliance between the Emperor and the King of Spain, both these Questions were carried in the Negative, without Dividing.

Address to the King for Copies of some Letters, Memorials, &c. resolv'd on.

Motion for several others rejected.

*Jan. 25.* The Commons, in a Grand Committee, consider'd farther of the Supply, particularly with Relation to the Land Forces; and Mr Henry Pelham, having shewn the Necessity of an Augmentation of about eight Thousand Men, Dragoons and Foot, the same was warmly oppos'd by Mr Shippen, Dr Friend, Sir William Wyndham, Mr Hungerford, and others; who were answer'd by Mr Henry Pelham, Col. Bladen, Sir William Yonge, and General Wade; so that it was, at last, resolv'd by 250 Voices against 85, I. That the Number of effective Men to be provided for Guards, Garrisons, and Land Forces for the Year 1727 be, including 1850 Invalids, and 555 Men, which the fix Independent Companies consist of for the Service of the Highlands, 26,383 Men; II. That the Sum of 885,494 l. 9 s and 4 d. be granted for defraying the Charge thereof. These Resolutions, being the next Day reported, were agreed to by the House.

Debate concerning the Number of Land Forces—Mr H. Pelham.

Mr Shippen.  
Dr Friend.  
Sir W. Wyndham.  
Mr Hungerford.  
Mr H. Pelham.  
Col. Bladen,  
Sir W. Yonge.  
Gen. Wade.

*Jan. 27.* Copies and Translations of several Memorials, Letters, &c. relating to the Courts of Vienna and Spain, were laid before the House, and order'd to lie on the Table &

after



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Sir R. Walpole's Motion for a Land-Tax of 4s. in the Pound, which, after some Debate, is agreed to.

Mr Sandys's Motion for a Copy of the Letter, on which the K. of Spain founds his Demand of the Restitution of Gibraltar.

Debate thereon.

Sir W. Wyndham.  
Mr. Hungerford.  
Mr W. Pulteney.

Mr H. Pelham.  
Mr T. Broderick.  
Mr H. Walpole.  
Sir R. Walpole.

Address for Papers relating to the Imperial Ostend-Company.

Lord Morpeth's Motion relating to the Fleet sent into the Baltic last Year.

Debate thereon.

after which, in a Grand Committee, the Commons consider'd of Ways and Means to raise the Supply, and Sir Robert Walpole having shew'd the Necessity of laying four Shillings in the Pound on Land, the same was oppos'd by some Members, who alledged, 'That it were more eligible to apply the Produce of the Sinking Fund towards the present Necessities; but the Question being put upon Sir Robert Walpole's Motion, it was resolv'd in the Affirmative, by 190 Voices against 81, which Resolution, being the next Day reported, was agreed to by the House.

*February 6.* Mr Sandys moved, 'That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleas'd to communicate to this House, Copies of the Declaration, Letter, or Engagement, which in the Marquiss de Pozobueno's Letter to the Duke of Newcastle of the 21st of December last, is asserted to be a positive Promise, upon which the King of Spain founds his peremptory Demand for the Restitution of Gibraltar, which had been so solemnly yielded to the Crown of Great-Britain by the Treaty of Utrecht, and was afterwards confirm'd and granted to Great-Britain by the King of Spain's Accession to the Quadruple Alliance.' This Motion was seconded, and strenuously supported by Sir William Wyndham, Mr Hungerford, and also by Mr William Pulteney, who took Notice of a Letter, written in 1721, to one of the Emperor's Plenipotentiaries at Cambray, wherein a Promise for the Restitution of Gibraltar was expressly mention'd: 'But they were oppos'd by Mr Henry Pelham, Mr Thomas Broderick, Mr H. Walpole, and Sir Robert Walpole. The latter did not disown, 'That such a Promise might indeed have been made in a former Administration; but this he was sure of, that if there was such a Promise, it was upon certain Conditions, which, not having been perform'd within the limited Time, was thereby become invalid; and as for the Declaration or Letter, the Communication of which was insisted on, the same was altogether impracticable and unprecedented; the private Letters of Princes being almost as sacred as their very Persons.' Then the previous Question being put, whether the Question upon Mr Sandys's Motion should be put? It was carried in the Negative, by 204 Voices against 97. The Reader will find a Copy of this Letter in the *APPENDIX*.

*Feb. 7.* The Commons resolv'd to address his Majesty for Copies of such Memorials and Representations, as have been made to the Court of Vienna, concerning the Charter granted to the Ostend Company, with the Answers thereto: After which, the Lord Morpeth mov'd, 'That another Address be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleas'd to direct Copies to be laid before this House, of all such

Such Memorials, or Representations to his Majesty, from the Crowns of Sweden and Denmark, as did induce him to send the Squadron of Ships the last Year into the Baltick, at so great an Expence to this Kingdom.' He was seconded by Sir William Wyndham; but opposed by Sir William Yonge, and the Hon. Mr Verney. Hereupon Mr Walpole endeavoured to justify all the Steps that had been taken by Great-Britain, since his Majesty's happy Accession, particularly from the Opening of the Congress of Cambray to this present Time, to preserve the Balance of Power, the Peace of Europe, and the Tranquility of the North; and with this last View to prevent the Czarina's Designs against Sweden and Denmark, in favour of the Duke of Holstein. Mr William Pulteney answer'd him, and was replied to by Mr Broderick; and the Question being put upon the Lord Morpeth's Motion, it passed in the Negative, by 196 Voices against 79.

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Sir W. Wyndham.  
Sir W. Yonge.  
Hon. Mr Verney.  
Mr H. Walpole.

Feb. 13. Upon the Order of the Day, for the House to go into a Grand Committee to consider of the Supply, several Papers were referr'd to the said Committee, viz. The Copy and Translation of the Convention between Great-Britain, the States-General, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, February 13th, 1701-2, also the Estimate of the Charge of 4000 Horse and 8000 Foot of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, from the 1st of April, to the 24th of December 1727. Then a Motion was made by the Court-Party, and the Question put, 'That the Account shewing how the Money given for the Service of the Year 1726, has been disposed of, distinguished under the several Heads, until the first Day of February 1726-27, and the Parts thereof remaining unsatisfied, with the Deficiency thereupon, be referr'd to the said Committee:' But there being in that Account an Article of the Sum of 125,000l. charged, in general Terms, as issued out for other Engagements and Expences over and above such as are therein particularly specified, Mr Shippen, Mr Onslow, and Mr William Pulteney strenuously insisted, 'That before the said Account of the Deficiency of the last Year's Grants was referr'd to the Grand Committee, which Reference, according to the Usage of Parliaments, tacitly implies an Acquiescence in the Disposal of the Money therein mentioned, the House should be acquainted with a particular Disposition of so considerable a Sum as that of 125,000l. This was as strongly opposed by Sir William Strickland, Mr Horatio Walpole, and Sir Robert Walpole, so that the previous Question being put, That the Question be put upon the Motion before-mention'd, the same occasion'd a Debate that lasted till six in the Evening, when the said previous Question being call'd for, it was resolv'd in the Affirmative, by 178 Voices against 78; and the main Question being put, it

Motion relating to the Sum of 125,000l. charged for Extraordinaries in the Account of the Deficiencies of last Year's Grants.  
Debate thereon.

Mr Shippen.  
Mr Onslow.  
Mr W. Pulteney.

Sir W. Strickland.  
Mr H. Walpole.  
Sir R. Walpole.

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was ordered, That the said Account be referr'd to the said Committee. This done, the House went into a Grand Committee on the Supply, and resolv'd to grant the Sum of 160,306l. 17s. 5d. to make good the Deficiency of the Grants for the Year 1726.

An Address for an  
Account of the  
said Sum.

*Feb. 14.* The above-mentioned Resolution being like to meet with great Opposition, by reason of the 125,000l. above-mention'd, it was moved, and resolv'd, without dividing, to address his Majesty for a particular and distinct Account of the Distribution of the Sum of 125,000l. which, in an Account laid before the House, shewing how the Money given for the Year 1726, has been disposed of, is charged to have been issued for other Engagements and Expences, over and above such as are therein particularly specified, for the securing the Trade of this Kingdom, and preserving the Peace of Europe; and also of the Times when the said Sum of 125,000l. was issued and distributed. After this, Mr Farrer reported the Resolution on the Supply above-mentioned, which was agreed to.

Petition from the  
Commissioners of  
Hawkers to enable  
them to compound  
for a Debt  
to the Crown.

*Feb. 15.* A Petition of George Townsend and others, late Commissioners for Licensing Hawkers, &c. was presented to the House, and read, praying, That Leave may be given to bring in a Bill to enable the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury to compound with the Petitioners for a Debt due to the Crown, occasioned by the Default of Thomas Tomkins, late Cashier of the said Office, who hath withdrawn himself beyond the Seas, or that they may have such other Relief as to the House shall seem meet. Sir Robert Walpole having acquainted the House, That his Majesty gave his Consent, that such a Bill might be brought into the House, as was desir'd by the Petitioners, the said Petition was referr'd to a Committee of the whole House.

Sir Paul Methuen  
reports the King's  
Answer to the  
above Address.

*Feb. 21.* Sir Paul Methuen reported to the House, That their Address of the 14th Instant, viz. 'That his Majesty would be graciously pleased to direct the proper Officers to lay before this House a particular and distinct Account of the Distribution of the Sum of 125,000l. which, in an Account laid before this House, shewing how the Money given for the Year 1726 has been disposed of, is charged to have been issued for other Engagements and Expences, over and above such as are therein particularly specified, for the securing the Trade of this Kingdom, and preserving the Peace of Europe, and of the Time or Times when the said Sum of 125,000l. was issued and distributed,' had been presented to his Majesty; and that his Majesty had commanded him to acquaint this House: "That the Sum of Money mentioned in this Address has been issued and disbursed, pursuant to the Power given to his Majesty by Parliament, for necessary Services and Engagements of the utmost Importance."

“ tance to the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom, and  
 “ the Tranquility of Europe, and which require the greatest  
 “ Secrecy ; and therefore a particular and distinct Account  
 “ of the Distribution of it cannot possibly be given, with-  
 “ out a manifest Prejudice to the Publick.”

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Hereupon Mr William Pulteney endeavour'd to shew the  
 Insufficiency of that Answer, alledging, That he had an en-  
 tire Confidence in his Majesty's great Wisdom, paternal Care,  
 and Royal Word ; but that, when in the last Session the  
 House came to a Resolution, 'effectually to provide for and  
 ' make good all such Expences and Engagements as should  
 ' be made, for the Security of the Trade and Navigation  
 ' of this Kingdom, and for the Preservation of the Peace of  
 ' Europe ;' [See p. 370.] the Commons did not thereby divest  
 themselves of their undoubted Right of being acquainted with  
 the Disposition of publick Money ; that if they gave up so es-  
 sential a Right, that House would become altogether useless, or  
 serve only blindly to approve of, and register the Acts and  
 Deeds of the Ministers. That he did not, in the least, doubt  
 the issuing and Disbursement of the 125,000 l. in Question,  
 for necessary Services : But that if they were satisfied with  
 such a general Account, the same might, in future Reigns,  
 prove a very dangerous Precedent, and serve to cover Im-  
 bezzlements of the publick Treasure ; therefore he moved,  
 ' That a farther humble Address be made to his Majesty, hum-  
 bly representing the indisputable Right of this House, to have  
 particular and distinct Accounts laid before them of the Dispo-  
 sition of all Money granted by this House, for the Service of  
 the Publick ; and that this House did most earnestly beseech  
 his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to order  
 such an Account of the 125,000 l. said to have been expend-  
 ed for securing the Trade of this Kingdom, and preserving  
 the Peace of Europe, to be forthwith laid before the House.'

Upon which Mr  
 Pulteney moves  
 for a second Ad-  
 dress upon that  
 Head.

This Motion was seconded by Mr Shippen, but was op-  
 posed by Mr Doddington, Mr Lewis, [of Southampton] and  
 Sir William Yonge ; upon which there was a high and warm  
 Debate, from one till six in the Afternoon. The Courtiers  
 represented, ' That the Sum in Question was inconsiderable,  
 and that it was impossible effectually to carry on important  
 Negotiations, without expending a great deal of Money in  
 Secret Service.' And Mr St. John Broderick mention'd, in  
 particular, a Case in Queen Anne's Reign, when the Com-  
 mons acquiesced in such a general Answer, for a more con-  
 siderable Sum. The Precedent by him quoted was read by  
 the Clerk, as follows, viz.

Debate thereon.  
 Mr Shippen.  
 Mr Doddington.  
 Mr Lewis.  
 Sir W. Yonge.

Mr St. J. Broderick.

' On the 16th of January 1710-11, Mr Secretary St  
 ' John \* acquainted the Commons, that their Addressee of  
 C c c 2 ' the

\* Late Lord Viscount Bolingbroke.

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1726 27.

‘ the 5th and 8th Instant, had been presented to her Majesty, viz. That she would be pleased to give Direction to the proper Officers to lay before the House, Accounts relating to the Poundage and Days-Pay, deducted out of the Pay of the Army; of the Deficiencies of the Grants, and of the Funds since Michaelmas 1701; of the Payment of her Majesty’s Proportion of Subsidies to her Allies; of all the Pensions, payable out of the Revenue, and Warrants and Directions for Pensions; and also of the Distributions of the Contingencies, and Forage and Waggon Money, granted for the Forces in Flanders, in her Majesty’s Pay, and of the Distributions of the Money granted for Contingencies of the Guards, Garrisons and Land-Forces in Great-Britain: And that her Majesty had been pleased to give Directions for laying all the said Accounts before this House, except the Accounts of Contingencies, and that the Account touching the Deficiencies of the Grants and Funds, had already been laid before the House; and that other of the Accounts were preparing, and would soon be laid before the House; but that as to the Account of Contingencies, it was not possible from the Nature of the Service, which required the utmost Secrecy, for any Account of them to be made; but that they were really distributed.’

Mr Onslow.

Some Objections were raised to this Precedent, as if the Case was not parallel: Besides which, Mr Onslow chiefly insisted on the Promise made to the House the last Session, by a great Man in the Administration, That they should have a particular Account of all the Money that should be expended upon that Vote of Credit, which Promise induced the House to come so readily into it. They were answer’d by Sir William Strickland, Mr Trelawney, Mr Conduit\*, and Sir Robert Walpole; to whom Sir Thomas Hanmer reply’d; after which the Question, upon Mr Pulteney’s Motion, being call’d for, it was carried in the Negative, by 235 Voices against 110. Then it was mov’d, and resolv’d, without dividing, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the Thanks of this House, for his great Care and Wisdom, in taking such Steps and entering into such Engagements, as his Majesty thought would best conduce to the Security of the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom, and to the Preservation of the Peace of Europe; And to assure his Majesty, That this House, placing an entire Confidence in his Majesty’s Goodness and Regard for the true Interest of his People, will stand by and support his Majesty, in all such farther Measures as his Majesty shall find necessary and expedient for preventing a Rupture, and for the Honour and Advantage of these Kingdoms.

Feb.

\* Appointed Warden of the Mint in this Session.

Sir W. Strickland.  
Mr Trelawney.  
Mr Conduit.  
Sir R. Walpole.  
Sir T. Hanmer.

*Feb.* 22. Sir Paul Methuen presented to the House Copies of such Memorials and Representations, as had been made to the Court of Vienna, concerning the Charter granted to the Offend Company, with the Answers thereto.

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1726-27.

Several Papers relating to the Offend Company laid before the House.

*Feb.* 28. In a Committee of the whole House, they examin'd the Allegations of the Petition of the late Commissioners for Licensing Hawkers and Pedlars, and also the Papers annex'd to it, and likewise call'd in and examin'd several of the Persons order'd by the House to attend the said Committee, and came to several Resolutions, the Report whereof was put off till the 7th of March. Upon this Occasion very severe Reflections were made on the Neglect and loose Management of his Majesty's Revenues.

*March* 7. Mr Farrer reported from the Committee of the whole House, to whom the Petition of George Townsend, &c. late Commissioners for Licensing Hawkers, &c. had been referr'd, the Resolutions they had directed him to report, which were as follows, viz. I. That it appears to this Committee, That no Money was paid into his Majesty's Exchequer on Account of the Duties upon Hawkers and Pedlars, from Midsummer 1719, to Midsummer 1723, except 1500 l. although the Commissioners for managing the said Revenue are required, by Act of Parliament, to pay all the Money arising by the said Duties, into the Exchequer, once in every Week. II. That it appears to this Committee, That by Reason of the loose, careless, and neglectful Management of the late Commissioners for the Duties upon Hawkers and Pedlars, there is a Deficiency of 36,693 l. 13 s. 5 d. over and above 6000 l. which has been paid by the Securities of Thomas Tomkins, late Cashier to the said Commissioners.

The Report from the Committee relating to the Petition from the Commissioners of Hawkers, &c.

Which is agreed to.

The said Resolutions, being severally read a second Time, were, upon the Question severally put thereupon, agreed to by the House: After which, Sir William Wyndham took Notice of the Neglect of those who were a Check on the Managers of that Branch of the publick Revenue; and who therefore ought in Time to have call'd upon them, for the Money that pass'd through their Hands, according to the Direction of the Act of Parliament. That it might be said, that they were even more guilty than the Commissioners of Hawkers and Pedlars themselves; since they not only had conniv'd, for four Years, at the Imbezzlement of the publick Money, but had, for three Years more, neglected to recover the same, and seem'd, at last, to have encourag'd a Petition to the House, to have it remitted; and that the granting such a Petition, would be giving a Parliamentary Sanction to such vile Practices, and opening a wide Door for the like Mismanagements of the publick Treasure.' He was seconded by Mr William Pulteney, who animadverted very severely

Debate on that Occasion.

Sir W. Wyndham.

Mr W. Pulteney.

on

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1720-27.

Sir W. Yonge.

The above Peti-  
tion rejected.

Lord Fitzwilliams  
takes Notice of an  
abusive Memorial  
being presented to  
the King, by the  
Emperor's Mini-  
ster; and moves  
for the same to be  
laid before the  
House;

Which is agreed  
to.

on the Neglect of the Commissioners of the Treasury, whose Office and Duty it was, to have call'd the Petitioners to Account.' Hereupon Sir William Yonge endeavour'd to excuse the present Administration, the Failure of the Cashier of the Commissioners of Hawkers and Pedlars, which had occasion'd the Deficiency in Question, having happen'd before their Time; and the Multiplicity of arduous, important and intricate Affairs that fell out since, having so taken up the Attention of the Managers of the Treasury, that it was no Wonder if so inconsiderable a Branch of the Revenue had escaped their Notice.' And then mov'd, 'That the Petition of the late Commissioners of Hawkers and Pedlars be rejected; which was carried without dividing. Nevertheless, some Gentlemen of the Country Party, came on again to the Charge, and inveigh'd against the Audaciousness of some Persons, who, by their corrupt Management, thought themselves so powerful and secure, as to dare to screen the greatest Offenders.' To which an eminent Member replied, 'That he could not help reflecting on the Envy and Rancour of some Men, who made it their constant Business to thwart and revile those who had the Honour to have a Share in the Administration, and who, not satisfy'd with shewing their Malignity within those Walls, shot likewise their Poison in the Dark, and scatter'd it under Allegories in vile Libels.' To prevent farther Altercation the Courtiers call'd for the Order of the Day, and the Question being put thereon, it was carry'd in the Affirmative, by 248 Voices against 124.

*March 8.* Lord Fitzwilliams, Member for Peterborough, took Notice, 'That on the 2d Instant Monsieur de Palm, the Emperor's Resident, in an Audience he had of the King, deliver'd into the Hands of his Majesty, a Memorial in Latin, couch'd in a very indecent and injurious Stile, altogether unusual, and very unbecoming the Majesty of Crown'd Heads; and to add to the Indignity, that the said Memorial was, the next Day, publicly dispers'd, and that printed Copies of Translations of it, one in English, the other in French, had been sent to several Members of both Houses of Parliament, Aldermen of London, and other Persons, together with a Translation in the same Languages, of a Letter from the Count de Sinzendorf, to M. de Palm, wherein that Resident was order'd, 'To present the said Memorial, first to the King of Great Britain, and afterwards to publish it to the whole Nation.' His Lordship added, 'That this Appeal from a Foreign Power to the People of Great Britain, against their lawful Sovereign, was so unprecedented, and so great an Insult upon the Crown of Great Britain, and on his Majesty's sacred Person, that he thought the House ought to resent it in the most lively Manner; and thereupon

he

he mov'd, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to give Directions, that the said Memorial, presented to his Majesty by Monsieur de Palm the Imperial Resident, might be laid before the House; and being seconded by Sir Gilbert Heathcote, the said Address was order'd to be presented.

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*March 10.* Sir Paul Methuen, by his Majesty's Command, laid a Copy of Monsieur de Palm's Memorial before the House, together with the Translation of it; whereupon it was resolved to take the same into Consideration on the 13th.

Sir Paul Methuen  
lays before the  
House a Copy of  
the said Memorial.

*March 13.* The Commons proceeded to take into Consideration the Memorial presented to his Majesty by Monsieur de Palm; and the Translation of the said Memorial being read, Complaint was made to the House, that the Substance of the said Memorial had been printed and publish'd in a Paper intitled, *Translation of a Memorial, &c.* whereupon the said Paper was brought up to the Table and read; after which the Lord Fitzwilliams, Sir Robert Walpole, Mr Onslow, Sir William Yonge, Mr Doddington, and Sir William Strickland; also Sir William Wyndham, Mr William Pulteney, Mr Sandys, Mr Shippen, Mr Hungerford, and Sir John St Aubin, spoke on this Occasion, and agreed in expressing the highest Indignation and Resentment at the Affront offer'd to his Majesty, by the Memorial deliver'd by Monsieur de Palm; and, in a particular Manner, at his Audaciousness in printing and dispersing it throughout the Kingdom; and very severe Reflections were made on the ill Returns from his Imperial Majesty to the great Obligations he had to Great Britain. They only differ'd, as to the Manner of Wording their Censure upon so extravagant an Insult upon his Majesty; but at last it was moved, and resolved, *Nem. Con.* That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, ' To express the highest Resentment of this House at the Affront and Indignity offered to his most sacred Majesty, by the Memorial delivered by Monsieur de Palm the Emperor's Resident, and at his Insolence in printing and dispersing the same throughout the Kingdom; To declare their utmost Abhorrence of this audacious Manner of appealing to the People, against his Majesty; and their Detestation of the presumptuous and vain Attempt of endeavouring to instill, into the Minds of any of his Majesty's faithful Subjects, the least Distrust or Diffidence in his most sacred Royal Word; To return his Majesty the Thanks of this House, for his Care and Vigilance, in discovering the secret and pernicious Designs of his Enemies, and his Goodness in communicating to his Parliament the Dangers that threatened this Kingdom; And to assure his Majesty, that this House will stand by and support his Majesty against all his open and secret Enemies, both at Home and Abroad;

Debate thereon.

Ld Fitzwilliams.  
Sir R. Walpole.  
Mr Onslow.  
Sir W. Yonge.  
Mr Doddington.  
Sir W. Strickland.  
Sir W. Wyndham.  
Mr W. Pulteney.  
Mr Sandys.  
Mr Shippen.  
Mr Hungerford.  
Sir John St. Aubin.

An Address re-  
solv'd, on that  
Occasion.



Anno 13. Geo. 1.  
1725-27.

Abroad ; and effectually defeat the Expectations of all such as may have, in any Manner, countenanced, encouraged, or abetted the Disturbers of the publick Tranquility in this extravagant Insult upon his Majesty, or flattered them with Hopes, that an obstinate Perseverance in their destructive Measures, could stagger the Firmness of the British Nation, in Vindication of his Majesty's Honour, and the Defence of their Rights and Privileges.' And a Committee was appointed to draw up an Address upon the said Resolution.

The Commons at a Conference desire the Concurrence of the Lords to the said Address.

*March 14.* The Lord Hervey was sent from the Commons, to desire a Conference with their Lordships upon a Matter of the highest Importance to the Honour and Dignity of the Imperial Crown of Great Britain. This Conference being readily agreed to by the Lords, and the Managers of both Houses met in the Painted Chamber, those of the Commons desired the Concurrence of the Lords to the Address relating to Monsieur de Palm's Memorial, which had been drawn up by their Committee, reported by the Lord Fitzwilliams, and agreed to ; and the Managers for the Commons left the said Address with the Lords, with other Papers relating thereto.

Which being agreed to, is presented.

*March 15.* At a second Conference, the Managers for the Lords declared to those of the Commons, that their Lordships had agreed to the said Address ; which the next Day was by both Houses presented to the King, as follows :

Most Gracious Sovereign,

The Joint Address of both Houses to the King on occasion of the Emperor's Memorial.

WE your Majesty's most dutiful and faithful Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, think it our indispensable Duty to express the highest Resentment at the Affront and Indignity offered to your most Sacred Majesty, by the Memorial deliver'd by Monsieur de Palm, the Emperor's Resident ; and at his Insolence in printing and dispersing the same throughout the Kingdom.

This audacious Manner of appealing to the People against your Majesty, under the Pretext of applying to you for Redress and Reparation of supposed Injuries, and turning a Memorial, presented to your Majesty, into a seditious Libel, is a Proceeding that creates in us the utmost Abhorrence and Detestation.

The Endeavouring to instill, into the Minds of any of your faithful Subjects, the least Distrust or Diffidence in your Majesty's most Sacred Royal Word, or to make a Distinction between your Majesty and your People, is an Attempt as vain as presumptuous ; for, by your Goodness, the Interest of your Majesty and your People is but One, and as inseparable ; as their Duty, Affection and Confidence in your Majesty are most justly and deservedly unalterable ;

alterable ; and if Time has not effaced the Memory of the glorious Exploits and important Succours, confessed to have been received from Great-Britain ; Gratitude, Affection and Esteem for this Nation will be best manifested, by doing Honour to the King, whom the People honour, and Justice to the People, whose Rights and Privileges the best of Kings is now defending against the Invasions and Incroachments made upon them.

‘ We return your Majesty our sincerest Thanks for your Care and Vigilance, in discovering the secret and pernicious Designs of your and our Enemies, and for your Goodness, in communicating to your Parliament the Dangers that threatened this Kingdom.

‘ And we beg Leave to assure your Majesty, That no Amusements, by artful or evasive Denials, shall lead us into a false Security, or divert us from exerting our selves in Vindication of your Majesty’s Honour, or from defending and supporting your Majesty against all your open and secret Enemies, both at Home and Abroad. And if any among your own Subjects have been so wicked as to countenance, encourage and abet the Disturbers of the publick Tranquility, in this extravagant Insult upon your Majesty, or flattered them with Hopes, that an obstinate Perseverance in their destructive Measures could stagger the Firmness of the British Nation ; We are resolved effectually to defeat all such groundless Expectations, and to convince the World, that the Intrigues of a Few cannot, in any Degree, abate or slacken that Vigour and Resolution, with which a true Love and Concern for our Country, a just Sense of its Interests, and an unshaken Loyalty to your Majesty have inspired us.’

Anno 13. Geo. 1.  
1727.

To this Address his Majesty return’d the following Answer.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ **Y**OUR unanimous Concurrence, in this dutiful and affectionate Address, gives me the greatest Satisfaction. The just Concern you express for my Honour and the Dignity of the Crown is very becoming a British Parliament. And this fresh Proof of your Confidence in me will convince the World, that all Attempts to divide our Hearts and Interests will be vain and ineffectual.”

His Majesty’s Answer thereto.

*April 12.* After the Reading of the Order of the Day, for the House, to resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House to consider farther of the Malt-Bill, Mr Scrope mov’d, ‘ That it be an Instruction to the said Committee, that they have Power to receive a Clause of Appropriation, with a Power to his Majesty to apply such

Mr Scrope’s Motion for a Vote of Credit.

V o l. I.

D d d

Sums

Anno 13. Geo. 1.  
1727.

Debate thereon.  
Mr Farrer.

Sir E. Bacon.  
Lord Gage.  
Sir W. Yonge.  
Sir P. Yorke.  
Mr Talbot.  
Mr Doddington.

Mr How.  
Mr Winnington.  
Mr Hopkins.  
Mr St. J. Broderick.  
Sir W. Lawfon.  
Lord Morpeth.  
Mr T. Broderick.  
Mr Gore.  
Mr Wortley Montague.  
Mr Lutwyche.  
Sir W. Barker.  
Mr Danvers.  
Mr D. Pulteney.  
Mr Shippen.  
Sir W. Wyndham.  
Mr Palmer.  
Mr Sandys.

Sums of Money as shall be necessary for answering and defraying such Expences and Engagements, as have at any Time been, or shall before or until the 25th of December 1727, be made by his Majesty, in concerting such Measures as he, in his great Wisdom, thinks will best conduce to the Security of the Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom, and to the preserving and restoring the Peace of Europe.' He was seconded by Mr Farrer, and back'd by Sir Edmund Bacon, Lord Gage, Sir William Yonge, Sir Philip Yorke, Mr Talbot \*, and Mr Doddington, who alledg'd, in Support of the Motion, ' That his Majesty was so unwilling to put his Subjects to any extraordinary Expences, that he had demanded no more Supplies this Session, than what he thought absolutely necessary for the Service of the Year: But that, in the present Posture of Affairs, some unforeseen Accidents might require a farther Expence, for which no Estimate could now be made, because some Treaties, which his Majesty thought fit to enter into, were not yet finish'd; therefore they ought to enable his Majesty to answer such Contingencies; That the House had several Times repos'd the same Confidence in his Majesty, which had never been abused; and what was now ask'd was only for a short Time. They were oppos'd by Mr How, Mr Winnington, Mr Hopkins, Mr St John Broderick, Sir Wilfrid Lawfon, Lord Morpeth, Mr Thomas Broderick, Mr Gore, Mr Wortley Montague, Mr Lutwyche, Sir William Barker, Mr Danvers, Mr Daniel Pulteney, Mr Shippen, Sir William Wyndham, Mr Palmer, and Mr Sandys, who urg'd, ' That it was unparliamentary to ask or grant Supplies without an Estimate of the Expence; That the Clause moved for was inconsistent with that Part of the Bill which forbids the issuing of the Supplies thereby granted, to any other Purposes than those specified; and render'd ineffectual that Appropriation of the publick Money, which the Wisdom of all Parliaments had thought a necessary Security against the Misapplication of it, which was the more to be feared, because no Provision was made to oblige any Person to account for any Money that should be disposed of, by Virtue of the Power in this Clause. That vast Sums had already been granted, which appeared sufficient to answer any Occasions, as far as their present Views could reach; and if any unexpected Emergency should demand a farther Supply, it might be provided for, in the usual Manner, when Necessity required: That this might be done with less Inconvenience, and with less Danger of Misapplication, than by such a Delegation of almost a Dictatorial Authority to the Ministers. That this Parliament had already

\* *Appointed Solicitor General, April 23. 1726.*

already given so many Instances of their Zeal and Affection for his Majesty, that there could be no room to doubt of their Readiness to make good whatever his Majesty should expend, in concerting such Measures as, in his great Wisdom, he should think most conducive to the Advantage and Interest of his People. That such an unlimited and absolute Power ought never to be given in a free Government, but upon Occasions of evident Necessity, when the very Being of the Government is in imminent Danger. That the reposing a Confidence in the Crown, in the Disposition of such immense Sums of Money, as by the Advice of unthrifty Ministers may be expended, might be attended with great Prejudice to the Properties of the Subject, and great Danger to our most excellent Constitution, which cannot be preserved, but by a strict Adherence to those essential Parliamentary Forms of granting Supplies only upon Estimates, and of appropriating the same to Services and Occasions publicly avow'd and judg'd necessary. That the departing from these excellent Methods would, by Degrees, render Parliaments altogether useless. That the Precedents alledged to justify this Clause were far from being full to the Point, and satisfactory; and if they were, ought not to be follow'd, lest Clauses of the same Nature might become so frequent, as in time to lodge in the Crown, and in the Ministers, an absolute and uncontrollable Power of raising Money upon the People, which by our wise Constitution is, and with Safety can only be, lodg'd in the whole Legislature.' Mr Hungerford observ'd,

Anno 13. Geo. I.  
1727.

Mr Hungerford.

in particular, ' That they had already given four Shillings in the Pound upon Land, which he could not but think a very heavy and extraordinary Tax, especially considering they were more than once told by a great Man, that in his Opinion we should have no War: But if now they pass'd this Clause, it would be tacking a Tail to a Whale, which might sweep away the other sixteen.' The Debate being ended about eight in the Evening, and the Question put upon Mr Scrope's Motion, it was carry'd in the Affirmative, by 225 Voices against 109; and the House having resolv'd itself into a Grand Committee, the Clause above mention'd was added to the Malt-Bill.

*April 26.* The House went into a Grand Committee to consider farther of Ways and Means for raising the Supply; and Sir \* William Yonge mov'd, ' That towards raising the Supply granted to his Majesty, the Sum of 370,000 l. be raised by Loans, or by Exchequer-Bills, to be charged on the Surpluses arisen, or to arise, from and after Michaelmas

Sir W. Yonge moves for 370,000 l. to be granted out of the Coal-Duty towards the Supply.

D d d 2

1726,

• One of the Lords of the Treasury.

Anno 13. Geo. I.  
1727.

Debate thereon.

Mr Doddington.  
Sir C. Turner.  
Mr H. Pelham.  
Mr Talbot.  
Mr Onslow.  
Sir Philip Yorke.

Mr Shippen.  
Mr How.  
Mr Hungerford.  
Sir J. Jekyll.  
Mr Barnard.  
Mr Bootle.  
Mr Wortley Montague.  
Sir W. Strickland.  
Mr Palmer.  
Mr Hutcheson.  
Mr W. Pulteney.  
Sir W. Wyndham.

1726, for the Duties on Coals and Culm, granted by an Act of the Fifth Year of his Majesty's Reign, from the 29th of September 1725, to Lady-Day 1751, and by a subsequent Act of the Sixth Year of his Majesty's Reign, made perpetual, and which are reserved for the Disposition of Parliament.' This Motion was seconded by Mr † Doddington, and back'd by Sir † Charles Turner, Mr H. Pelham, Mr Talbot, Mr Onslow, and Sir Philip Yorke; but was strenuously opposed by Mr Shippen, Mr How, Mr Hungerford, Sir Joseph Jekyll, Mr Barnard, Mr Bootle, Mr Wortley Montague, Sir William Strickland, Mr Palmer, Mr Hutcheson, Mr William Pulteney, and Sir William Wyndham. The Objections offered against the Motion, were, 'That, by several Votes and Acts of Parliaments, all the Exceedings or Surpluses of publick Funds were to be applied towards the lessening of the publick Debts, or to the Increase of the Sinking Fund; and that this Disposition could not be altered without wounding publick Credit, which was already extreme low, since the taking off any Part of the Mortgage could not but lessen the Security of the Debt. That it was somewhat strange, such a Motion should be made by those very Persons who had the Honour of being in the Administration, who could not have forgot what his Majesty had so strongly recommended from the Throne, at the Opening of this Session,' "That the Produce of the Sinking Fund" might be immediately applied to the Uses for which it was "so wisely contrived, and to which it now stands appropriated," 'And that this Motion was still the more surprising, after the large Vote of Credit the House had so lately come to.' To all this the Court-Party answer'd, 'That the Surpluses on Coals could not be deemed a Part of the Sinking Fund, since they had never been appropriated, but were reserved for the Disposition of Parliament.' And the Question being, at last, put upon Sir William Yonge's Motion, it was carried in the Affirmative, by 209 Voices against 82.

A Bill order'd to be brought in according to Sir W. Yonge's Motion;

Which passes the House.

*April 27.* Mr Farrer reported the said Resolution, which being agreed to, a Bill was order'd to be brought in thereupon, which the next Day was read the first Time, and ordered to be read a second Time.

*May 4.* The said Bill was read the third Time, pass'd, and sent up to the Lords, and afterwards pass'd into an Act.

*May 15.* The King came to the House of Peers, with the usual State, and the Commons attending, his Majesty gave the Royal Assent to several Bills; after which, the Lord Chancellor read his Majesty's Speech to both Houses, as follows:

My

†† *Lords of the Treasury.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ I Acquainted you, at the Opening of this Session, with  
“ the Dangers which threatened this Kingdom, and the  
“ Peace and Liberties of Europe. I am now to return you  
“ my Thanks for the Zeal and Dispatch with which you  
“ have proceeded upon the several Points I then recom-  
“ mended to your Care ; for the Confidence you have reposed  
“ in me ; and for the Assurances you have given me of your  
“ Support and Assistance in Vindication of my Honour, and  
“ in the Maintenance and Defence of the undoubted Rights  
“ and Privileges of this Nation, so openly and notoriously  
“ invaded and attacked.

“ The Siege of Gibraltar proves, beyond all Dispute, the  
“ End and Design of the Engagements entered into by the  
“ Emperor and the King of Spain ; but the Preparations I  
“ had made for the Defence of that Place, and the Bra-  
“ very of my Troops, will, I doubt not, convince them  
“ of the Rashness and Folly of that Undertaking. How-  
“ ever, the Love of Peace has hitherto prevailed upon me,  
“ even under this high Provocation, to suspend, in some  
“ Measure, my Resentments ; and instead of having imme-  
“ diate Recourse to Arms, and demanding of my Allies  
“ that Assistance which they are engaged and ready to give  
“ me, I have concurred with the most Christian King and  
“ the States General, in making such Overtures of Accom-  
“ modation, as must convince all the World of the Upright-  
“ ness of our Intentions, and of our sincere Disposition to  
“ Peace ; and demonstrate to whose Ambition and Thirst of  
“ Power the Calamities of a War are to be imputed, if  
“ these just and reasonable Propositions are rejected. In  
“ the mean Time, I have the Pleasure to acquaint you,  
“ that the Crown of Sweden has acceded to the Treaty of  
“ Hanover, and that the Convention between me, his most  
“ Christian Majesty, and the King of Denmark, is actually  
“ signed.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

“ The Vigour and Chearfulness you have shewn, in raising  
“ so effectually, and upon such easy Terms, the necessary  
“ Supplies for the Service of the current Year, are not only  
“ Instances of your Zeal and Affection to me, but demon-  
“ strate the established Credit, Power, and Strength of this  
“ Kingdom.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

“ It would have been a great Satisfaction to me, if before  
“ your Separation I had been able to speak to you more po-  
“ sitively, and with greater Certainty, upon the present  
“ Posture and State of Affairs : But as you have now  
“ dispatch'd

Anno 13. Geo. I.  
1727.

“ dispatch’d the Publick Business, and as the Season of the  
“ Year requires your going into your respective Countries  
“ I choose rather to put an End to this Session, than to  
“ keep you any longer together unnecessarily. The Provi-  
“ sions you have made, and the perfect Union and Har-  
“ mony between me and my Allies, will, I hope, enable me, by  
“ the Divine Assistance, either to withstand and defeat the  
“ Designs of our Enemies, if their Conduct shall bring upon  
“ us the Necessity of a War ; or to improve the Blessings of  
“ Peace, if Peace can, with Justice, Honour, and Security,  
“ be obtained.”

The Parliament  
prorogued.

Then the Lord Chancellor, by the King’s Command, prorogued the Parliament to the 27th of June : On the 3d of the same Month, his Majesty set out to visit his German Dominions ; and on the 14th, an Express arriv’d at St. James’s, with Advice, that his Majesty was taken ill suddenly on the Road, and died at Osnabrug on the 11th, in the 68th Year of his Age, and the 13th of his Reign : He was succeeded in the Throne by his only Son and Heir, his Royal Highness, George Prince of Wales.

The Death of  
King George I.

*The End of the FIRST VOLUME.*







Latelp Publiſh'd

*Jus Parliamentarium :*

OR, THE

ANCIENT POWER,

JURISDICTION,

RIGHTS and LIBERTIES,

OF

PARLIAMENT,

REVIVED and ASSERTED.

By *WILLIAM PETT*, Esq;

Keeper of the RECORDS in the Tower of  
L O N D O N.



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*ADDENDA to the <sup>Sixth</sup> ~~First~~ Volume.*

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# Mr *Hutcheson's* SPEECH

Against REPEALING the

## TRIENNIAL ACT.

Mr Speaker,

I Cannot content myself in the great Question now before you, to deliver my Opinion barely by voting in it ; for I think it of that Importance to the Nation, to deserve and need the most thorough Examination. I heartily wish it might have had a much longer Time of Consideration, than I perceive Gentlemen are disposed to give it ; but since we are entered on the Debate of it, I shall endeavour to express my Thoughts about it with great Plainness and Freedom.

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My present Opinion, Sir, according to the best Judgment I am able to form, is, That if we should give our Consent to the Passing of the Bill before us into a Law, we should be guilty of the most notorious Breach of the Trust reposed in us, by those who sent us hither, and should make a very dangerous Step towards the Undermining of that Constitution, which our Ancestors have been so careful to preserve, and thought no Expence, either of Blood or Treasure, too much for that Purpose, and under which we do yet enjoy those Privileges, and Advantages, which no other Nation in the World can at this Day boast of.

This is the Light in which the Bill yet appears to me ; and therefore if I did believe what some Gentlemen do, That it would be conducive to several good Ends, yet that would not be sufficient to gain my Consent thereto ; for I cannot think those Ends, however desirable, equivalent to such a Price, as that of giving up, or even of making a dangerous Advance towards the giving up entirely, the British Constitution. Much less would I give my Consent to such a Law, when I am of Opinion, That it would be so far from contributing to the Ends pretended to be aimed at thereby, that it would have the direct contrary Effect : And if we

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are not to do Evil that Good may come of it, surely we must not do Evil, only to bring Mischief upon ourselves.

These are my Reasons against the Bill, That our Consent to it would be a Breach of Trust, and a dangerous Breach upon our Constitution; and that, if it were not liable to this Objection, That yet it would serve to Purposes directly contrary to those pretended to be aimed at, by Gentlemen who are for the Bill; I shall endeavour to explain myself in these Points.

Give me Leave therefore to mention, what appears to me to have been the ancient Constitution of Parliament, and also how the same has been, and stands changed at this Time, with Relation to the Matter which is now the Subject of our Debate. I believe it will, nay, it must be agreed, That before the Reign of Henry VIII. there was no single Instance of a Prorogation of Parliament: That Parliaments had only one Session, and those generally very short ones, none of which ever lasted a Year: That to prevent the Mischief of long Intervals of Parliament, it was enacted in the fourth Year of Edward III. That Parliaments should be holden annually, and this was confirmed by subsequent Acts of Parliament: And therefore I may venture to affirm, That by the ancient Constitution, Parliaments were to be holden frequently, and to be of the Continuance only of one Session, and that there was no Right or Power in the Crown to prorogue the same: I say, this I can affirm, on the same Foundation, and with as strong Reason, as I can affirm, That the eldest Son, after the Death of his Father, shall inherit, as Heir at Law, the Lands in Fee-Simple; or that the youngest Son shall inherit, where the Custom of Borough-English prevails; or that all the Sons shall equally inherit the Lands of Gavel-Kind; or, indeed, as I can affirm of any Part of the common Law, or the particular Usages of the Kingdom; for these are supported only by constant Practice and Prescription immemorial; and they neither need nor can have a stronger Support than this; for surely of all Laws, those must be allowed to carry with them the strongest Evidence of Justice, which have been always submitted to, without any Change or Alteration.

The Application is obvious to the Point in Debate, I mean as far as the Reign of Henry VIII. And if at that Time this was the Constitution of Parliament, it will not be easy to shew how the same has been since legally changed; but I shall speak to this more fully, after I have answered an Objection which has been made. It has been said, 'That it is no Proof that the Crown had no Power to prorogue Parliaments, and to continue the same Parliament for several Sessions, although there were no Instances thereof

‘ thereof until the Reign of Henry VIII.’ ‘ If this Objection has any Weight, it will equally hold against any other Part of the common Law, which hath hitherto remained uncontested: For may not the younger Sons, in this Way of Reasoning, say, That although there be no Instance, that any of them have hitherto claimed to inherit, equally with the Eldest, the Lands in Fee-Simple, that yet this is no Proof against their Right of making such a Claim, and having it determined for them. And if such a Case should be brought into Westminster-Hall, it is evident, that there is no Act of Parliament which settles the Point, nor any preceding Resolution, because the Matter was never in question before; and yet surely no Gentleman will affirm, that the Judges would be at Liberty to determine this as a new Case, whatever Equity they might conceive in the Pretensions of the younger Sons, but would be strictly tied to adjudge according to the constant and uninterrupted Usage. And had the Lords and Commons, when the first Attempt of proroguing was made upon them, insisted, That the Crown had no such Power, and the Opinion of the Judges had been required therein, it was impossible that they could have determined otherwise, than according to the constant Usage, or that they would have adjudged such an original Power in the Crown, which had never been exerted, from the earliest Mention which our Records, or History, make of Parliaments, to that very Day; or that they could have conceived it possible, that the Crown could have had such a Power, and yet never have asserted it in one single Instance, in the Course of so many hundred Years.

‘ If the Facts I have mentioned are, as they appear to me to be, undeniably true, the Inference I thence make is next to a Demonstration; and I may venture to add, That there is no Part of our Laws built on a more solid Foundation, and supported with stronger Reasons; Reasons which must eternally have the greatest Weight, and make the deepest Impression, on the Minds of a People, who have any Sense of Liberty: And, Thanks be to God! we are yet a Free Nation. For without the Frequency of Parliaments, the Opportunity of Redressing those Grievances would be lost, which more or less have happened in all Reigns, from the Influence and Administration of evil Counsellors, and wicked Ministers, who will always prefer their own private Interests and sinister Views, to the Honour of their Prince, and Welfare of their Country: And it is to the Dread which such impious Monsters have always had, and I hope will ever have, of the just Vengeance of a Parliament, that we hitherto owe the Preservation of our Liberties; for, had the Times of being called to an Account in Parliament been at

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any considerable Distance, the Attempts of bold and daring Men would have had no Curb ; and indeed it is but one Step more, and that not difficult, from a long to the entire Disuse of Parliaments, and resolving the Government into an absolute Monarchy ; but I will urge this Point no farther, because I believe it will be generally allowed ; and that, whatever might be the private Opinion of any particular Person, no Briton will be yet so hardy, as to declare himself against the Necessity of frequent Parliaments.

‘ I wish Gentlemen would as generally concur, that the other Part which I have mentioned, and I think have made appear, to have been our ancient Constitution, were as absolutely necessary to the Preservation of our Liberties ; I mean Parliaments of one Session, not only frequent, but frequent New Parliaments. The Thing indeed appears very evident to me ; so evident, that in my poor Opinion, our Liberties would not be more, nay, not so precarious under an absolute Monarch, as with a House of Commons who had Right to sit either for many Years together, or without any Limitation of Time : For ’tis certain, that a Prince, who had stood only on the Bottom of his own absolute Authority, assisted with a few Ministers and some Troops, would still think himself pretty much upon his good Behaviour towards the united Body of his People ; and would, probably, be cautious of exerting his Power in such a Manner, as to give a just Provocation to a general Revolt, and setting up another in his Stead ; but a Prince, with a Parliament at his Devotion, would be infinitely more terrible, and, with much greater Security, might give a Loose to every Extravagancy of Power ; for when the Representatives of the People, who are chosen by them to be the Guardians of their Liberties, can be prevailed on, for little Advantages to themselves, to betray their Trust, and come into all the Measures of a designing Ministry, ’tis then, indeed, that the Liberties of a People are in the most imminent Danger ; and surely, there is great Reason to apprehend, that a House of Commons might soon become very obsequious to a Minister, if they were to sit for a long Period, or without Limitation, and that there were no near Day in View of a new Election, when the Conduct of Gentlemen in this Place, would be inquired into, in their respective Countries.

‘ I believe it will not be denied, That ’tis very possible for a Ministry, by Pensions and Employments to some, and by the Expectations raised in others, and by the Corruption of Electors, and returning Officers, to obtain a very great Majority, entirely and blindly at their Devotion, even at the very first Meeting of a Parliament, and that by a Com-  
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mittee of Elections and other proper Helps, their Party may daily increafe ; and that such a Parliament may be so far from protecting the Liberties of their Country, or from being a Terror to Evil Ministers, as to become themselves the Tools of Oppression in the Hand of such a Ministry, and by their Authority, to consecrate the worst of Actions, to declare every honest Patriot, who has the Courage to attempt to stem the Tide of Wickedness, and to stand up for the Liberties of his Country, to be its greatest Enemy ; and those who are ready to give it up, to be the only true Friends of our Constitution ; and if this should ever happen to be our Case, I beg Gentlemen to consider, Whether a greater Curse could fall on any People than to have such a Parliament as This entailed upon them.

‘ I remember very well, what an Outcry was raised against the last Parliament, on Suspicion only, that a Repeal of the *Triennial Act* was intended, and the Arguments against it without Doors, were then the very same with those which are now urged against it within : What an Inconsistency must it then appear, to see those very Gentlemen, who were then the most zealous Opposers of such an Attempt, become now the most violent Advocates for it ? And will it not also in some Measure affect their Integrity, publicly to own, that the Arguments they pretended to be then influenced by, had not the least Weight with them ; and that the Thing in itself was very desirable, when there should be a good Ministry and Parliament in Being, and pernicious only in the then Situation of Affairs ? It was not certainly from this Consideration, that the late Ministry and Parliament were diverted from the Attempt : They, doubtless, had a very good Opinion of themselves, and were confirmed therein by the Voice of a great Majority of the People, and which, by a most strange and unaccountable Witchcraft, still continues in their Favour ; if I may depend upon what several who have argued for the Bill seem to have agreed to.

‘ I must beg Gentlemen to consider, that the Mischief I have mentioned, will be no ways prevented by the present Posture of our Affairs ; for tho’ we may have now a good Ministry and Parliament, their Continuance, notwithstanding the intended Law, will still depend on the Pleasure of the Prince ; for I do not perceive that any Gentleman will move for a Clause, to continue the Ministry for Life ; or that the Parliament shall not be dissolved without their own Consents ; and if, by ill Advice to his Majesty, a Change should happen, may it not so fall out, that a long Continuance of a new Ministry and Parliament, may be of infinite Prejudice to the Nation : Surely, therefore, it will

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will be Wisdom, in the making of this, or any other Law, not to consider some little present Conveniency, but the general and obvious Tendency of the same. I therefore think that I am yet warranted to say, and shall say it, 'till I am convinced that I have mistaken the Matter, That frequent new Parliaments was the ancient Constitution; that until the Reign of Henry VIII. there was no stronger Evidence for any Part of the common Law, than there was for this Part of our Constitution; and that the same was built, and stands upon as solid a Foundation as any Law ever did, or can do, being absolutely necessary and essential to the Liberties of a free People.

It is true, Henry VIII. in the 21st Year of his Reign, prorogued the Parliament, which was the first Instance of this Kind, and succeeding Princes have, more or less, continued the same Practice; but I can in no wise agree, to what some Gentlemen would thence infer, That the Crown had always a Right to do so; for I think I have made the contrary very evidently appear; and that until the 21st of Henry VIII. no Part of our common Law was better established than this ancient English Constitution of frequent new Parliaments; but it is remarkable, that this having been the first Instance of a Prorogation, it was thought convenient to strengthen the farther Continuance of that Parliament by Adjournment also: If the Crown, before the Time I have mentioned, had not the Power of continuing the same Parliament by Prorogations, it will not be easy to shew, how they have come legally by it since: Sure I am, that there is no Act of Parliament which vests any such Power in the Crown, and Prescription immemorial is not so much as pretended to. The Short of the Matter seems to me then no more than this: A very arbitrary Prince, the better to serve the Ends he had then in View, boldly invades the Liberties of his People, and usurps a new Prerogative, unheard of before; that Parliament tamely submits thereto, either out of Fear, or for baser Reasons; perhaps, they were pleased with a longer Continuance, and the agreeable Prospect of sharing in the Advantages of Laws, which they were afterwards to make, I mean, the Dissolution of Abbies; and although thereby the Foundation of our happy Reformation was laid, yet that is entirely owing to another Cause, and in no wise to the pious Intentions either of that Prince, or of that Parliament. This new Prerogative was at first used with much Caution, and thereby the fatal Tendency thereof was not so soon discovered; and when the Possession of this Power became strengthened in the Crown by a Continuance of Time, and the Acquiescence of the Nation, it was much more difficult to get rid of the

the Innovation, than it was at first to have prevented the same; and it has been, I presume, thought more prudent to continue our Acquiescence, whilst the Inconveniences were in any Measure supportable, rather than to endeavour to retrieve this most valuable Part of our ancient Constitution by Force of Arms; although this Remedy hath been resorted to frequently, and on much slighter Occasions in my Opinion.

But I cannot see, that from a Power so assumed, and so continued, it will follow, either that the ancient Constitution was so, or that it ought to be so at this Day; and I must say, that whatever Arguments can be brought to support that Doctrine, will equally justify the Exercise of any other Part of Arbitrary Power; for upon the starting up of any new Prerogative, 'tis but saying, that the Crown had always a Right to it, although it was never claimed or exercised before; and there may be Parliaments complaisant enough to acquiesce therein, which perhaps might be ashamed, by a new express Law, barefaced and unmasked, to give up the Liberties of their Country; and I do not see, but that this would be as good a Commencement for any new Prerogative, as the Power of Proroguing at first had. Let Gentlemen consider what the ancient Laws of England were, in the Matter of Imprisonments, and what the Practice was for some Time before the Act of *Habeas Corpus*. I hope there is no Briton, so abandoned to the Notions of Slavery, as to affirm, that it ever was by the Laws of England, in the Power of the Prince to imprison any of his Subjects during his Will and Pleasure, and without any Reasons assigned: They were to be imprisoned only, when legally charged with Crimes, and were either to be tried for the same, or released from their Imprisonment, in a reasonable Time; and as to this, the Act of *Habeas Corpus* was not introductive of a new Law, but declarative only of the old; this is so essential to the Being of a free People, that it must be agreed, that our Law was always thus; I am sure, without it, our Condition would differ little from the Slavery of Turkey; for the Bow-String itself, a speedy Death, is Mercy, when compared to a lingering Confinement. And yet it is certain, that before the Act of *Habeas Corpus*, the good Subjects of England were sometimes thus arbitrarily and illegally imprisoned, to gratify the Avarice, Ambition, Malice, or Revenge of evil Counsellors and wicked Ministers; and the Advocates for Prerogative did as strictly insist on the Legality of this Power, as they did on any other, which was claimed by the Crown. I cannot indeed tell how long this Power of arbitrary Imprisoning had been exercised,



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exercised, but I am apt to believe it may vye for Antiquity, with the Power of Proroguing Parliaments.

I must also put Gentlemen in mind of the Prerogatives claimed and exercised by King James II. to dispense with the Laws, to command our Bishops and Clergy to read in their Churches his illegal Proclamations, and to suspend and imprison them for disobeying, with many others of the like Kind, which are recited by the Claim of Rights; and it is certain, that had we not been rescued by the Revolution, all these and many more, had been good Prerogatives at this Day, and might have been all of them supported with as good Arguments, as any can be used for the Power of Proroguing in the Reign of Henry VIII. and some of them with as good, nay, with the very same Arguments as are used for the Legality of the Power at this very Time. I hope therefore we shall be very cautious of admitting such Arguments, as tend naturally to support all Extravagancies of Power whatsoever, and to let in upon us an Inundation of Oppressions.

In the late Reigns, and in particular by the long pensionary Parliaments in the Reign of Charles II. the Nation became very sensible of the mischievous Consequences, which had already happened, and the more fatal which might still result, from the dangerous Breach which had been made in our ancient Constitution: It was now evident to the meanest Capacity, That a designing Prince, who, with the Assistance of a wicked Ministry, should be able, after several Trials, at last to procure a Parliament to his Purpose, would have the Liberties of his People entirely in his Power, and might govern them at Pleasure; from which State of Slavery it was evident, that nothing less than a Revolution could rescue them; and if they failed in that Experiment, that then their Chains would be riveted for ever. Under this melancholy Prospect of Affairs the Nation groaned, and Complaints were heard in every Corner of our Streets; and even the very Pensioners in that Parliament were not arrived to such a Pitch of Impiety, as to take Pleasure in the Drudgery they had engaged in, but acted with Reluctancy and Remorse, and as we have been very lately told in this Place, betrayed the Cause they had so wickedly espoused, and frequently gave Notice to the Friends of England, of the Attempts which were to be made on the Liberties of their Country. This pensionary Parliament was at last dissolved, but on what Views, and by what Advice, I will not pretend to say. Certain it is, that that Prince never had it afterwards in his Power, in a parliamentary Way, to destroy the Liberties of the People. The Resumption of Charters was then put in Practice, with many

many other Expedients, towards the Establishment of an absolute Monarchy, which had been long in View : But by the Death of that Prince, and the unskilful Conduct of his next Successor, an End was put to those Designs for that Time, the People having unanimously applied the only Remedy in such Cases ; and this brought about the late happy Revolution.

I Have been often surprized, when I reflected how wanting we were to ourselves upon that Turn, in not retrieving and securing for ever, by the Claim of Rights, our ancient Constitution of frequent new Parliaments, which, in my poor Opinion, was much more valuable than all that we claimed besides ; but we obtained this in Part, by the Act passed in the 6th Year of the Reign of King William, and which the Bill before us is intended to repeal ; for by that Act, we are to have new Parliaments, at least once in three Years ; and even this is such a Security to the British Liberties, that all the Objections against triennial Elections are but very Trifles, when compared with that : Therefore I am not a little surprized, when I hear Gentlemen say, That the Triennial Act is a new Constitution, and that the Repeal intended thereof, will be but restoring the King in Part to his Prerogative, and setting the Constitution a little nearer to what it anciently was ; surely there is nothing farther from the Truth of the Fact : The ancient Constitution was, at least, annual new Parliaments, and this was broke in upon, and that Breach afterwards continued in the Manner which I have already set forth ; and by this Act we have no new Privilege granted, but only restored in Part to those which we always had a Right to. But were it in Reality a new Grant : Shall we give it up only to enlarge the Prerogatives of the Crown ? May we not, in the same Way of reasoning, give up the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and all the other Privileges and Immunities, which have been obtained to the People from the Crown, from the Date of *Magna Charta* to this very Day ? This surely has not been the good old Way of reasoning in this Place, and I presume, it will meet with due Discouragement at this Time. I hope we shall, on this and all other Occasions, acquit ourselves like Britons, and not give up, in Complaisance to any Ministry, the smallest, much less the greatest and most valuable Privilege of those we represent ; and that we shall have the utmost Caution in making any Step, that may have the least Tendency towards that Slavery, from which, at the Risque of a Revolution, and the immense Expence of Blood and Treasure, we have so lately rescued ourselves. I hope yet to live to see the Day, when our present gracious Sovereign King George I, will have the Glory to compleat the

the entire restoring of our ancient Constitution, to which his Predecessor King William III, hath made such a considerable Advance; and that instead of triennial, we shall have annual new Parliaments. Then indeed the British Liberties will be founded on a Rock, which the Machinations of the first Ministries will never be able to prevail against; and the Crown will be frequently and faithfully informed of the Sentiments of the People, and be thereby enabled to preserve with them that Confidence and good Correspondence, so absolutely necessary for the Happiness of both: To this I may add, that the Inconveniencies from triennial Elections, will thereby be much more effectually redressed and cured than ever they will be, by passing the Bill before us into a Law. Upon the whole therefore, I shall take Leave to affirm, That we have at present an undisputable Right to triennial new Parliaments, and a very just Claim, for I know of no Law that has deprived us thereof, to annual Elections.

‘ But I have something to urge, as to the Breach of our Trust in the passing of this Law; it is agreed on all Sides, that whatever the ancient Constitution might be, yet we were chosen when the Law for triennial Parliaments was, as it still is, in Force; and that we were, and could be chosen only for the Term of three Years, if his Majesty should think fit to continue us so long; therefore to continue ourselves for a longer Term, would be a manifest deceiving of those who chose us, who expected, and could not but expect, at the End of three Years to have the Opportunity of a new Choice, and to alter where they found themselves mistaken. It would also be a very great Injustice to many thousands of others, who have a Right to offer their Service to their Country, and who, for the Honour of the Nation, I am willing to hope, are in all Respects equally qualified for the Service with us, who have at present the Honour to fill those Seats.

‘ If this Bill were to enlarge only the Continuance of future Parliaments, I should give my Negative to it for the Reasons I have already mentioned, and yet in that Case the Electors would have a fair Warning for what Time they were to chuse, and those elected, would be truly and properly the Representatives of the People; which I conceive cannot be said with Truth of the present Parliament, if they should be continued beyond the three Years: This, to me, is an insuperable Objection against this Part of the Bill; for if we may add four Years to our present Term, may we not add forty, may we not make ourselves perpetual; or even extinguish Parliaments themselves? Nay, what is it which we may not do, or after this Step, what is it which

which the People of Great Britain may not apprehend that we will do? Can we do any Thing much worse, than to subvert one of the three Estates of the Realm, and to substitute a new one in the Place thereof, and instead of a House of Commons by the Choice of the People, as it always has been, and ever ought to be, to establish a new Kind of House of Commons, and 'till now unheard of, by Act of Parliament?

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' The great Partiality which all Parties in their Turns have shewn in the Determination of Elections, has been too long the general Complaint, and one of the greatest Blemishes on the Justice and Conduct of the House of Commons; and 'tis certainly a crying Wickedness, and a most dangerous Practice; therefore I am willing to hope that we shall not, by giving our Consent unto the Bill before us, out-do all that ever was done of this Kind by former Parliaments. They have chosen only thirty or forty Members for some particular Places, which is a trifling Peccadillo to what is now attempted, I mean the chusing of five hundred fifty eight at once, for the whole Nation.

' It has been said by some who have spoke in the Debate, ' That we are chosen with full Power to consent to ' such Laws as we shall judge for the Benefit of the Nation; that there are no Restrictions or Limitations in ' our Powers; and that therefore we may pass such new ' Laws, or repeal such old ones, and the Triennial Act, ' as well as any other, as we shall think expedient; and ' that by a Repeal of the Triennial Act, we shall, after ' the three Years, still continue to be the Representatives of ' the People by Virtue of their former Choice, without ' any new Election for that Purpose.' This appears to me to be a plain begging of the Question, and a very fallacious Way of reasoning. I constitute a Person my Attorney, with very large and general Powers for the Term of three Years, and, no doubt; what he shall do pursuant to those Powers, during that Term, shall bind me, but what he shall afterwards do is void; and it cannot be said, that by the general Words of doing all Acts and Acts in my Name, that he is enabled to add four Years more to the Continuance of his Power. I know there are great Disparities between such Powers, and those given by the People to their Representatives in Parliament: But yet I think, that to the Purpose that I intend it, the Parallel will hold. I will readily agree, that the Powers given by the People to their Representatives are very large, but I can by no Means go the Length of some Gentlemen, to think them absolutely unlimited, or that such ill Use may not be made of this Power, as to amount to a Forfeiture thereof.

‘ Our Histories are full of Instances, and we have a very late one, that Kings themselves may be guilty of such an Abuse of their Power, as to forfeit the same, and give the People a Right to a new Choice, and it will not, it cannot be said, that the immediate Creatures of the People, who have no Pretence to Power, but by Delegation from them, are more absolutely their Masters, or more independent than the Crown itself: Pray consider, whether we can be guilty of a greater Provocation to those we represent, than to deprive them for any Time of being represented by their own Choice, and to change the ancient third Estate of the Nation, into a new invented one, unknown to former Ages; and whether they will think a little Sophistry, and a few Finesses of Arguments, a sufficient Reparation for an Injury of so high a Nature.

‘ But I have a much stronger Objection against this Part of the Bill, and cannot help being yet of Opinion, That if it should go through all the Forms of an Act of Parliament, pass both Houses, and have the Royal Assent, that it will still remain a dead Letter, and not obtain the Force of a Law; for I am warranted by one of our greatest Lawyers to affirm, ‘ That an Act of Parliament may be void in itself;’ and if there are any Cases out of the Reach of the Legislature, this now before us must be admitted to be one; what can be more against common Sense and Reason, than to be a *Felo de se*, to destroy that Constitution, or any essential Part thereof, upon which our Existence in our political Capacity depends. I am also supported in this by the Authority of learned Divines; I shall mention but one, and I speak it for his Honour, the present Bishop of Bangor, who has unanswerably made it evident, ‘ That all People ‘ have natural Rights, and that a free People have legal ‘ ones, which they may justly maintain, and which no legislative Authority whatsoever can deprive them of.’ And can a free People have a more valuable Right, than that of being fairly and frequently represented in Parliament, by Persons of their own choosing? This surely is a Right as valuable as Liberty itself, being absolutely necessary to the Subsistence and Continuance thereof.

‘ For the Sake of those Gentlemen who seem so very fond of the unlimited Power of Parliaments, and by which only they can support the Validity of such a Law, as the Bill before us is intended to introduce, I shall mention some Cases, to which they themselves will agree, that this unlimited Power doth not, cannot extend. As for Instance, Suppose, instead of the Bill before us, we should pass a Law, as was done in the Reign of Richard II. the worst Prince that ever sat upon the English Throne, That the Power of both Houses

Houses should be vested in twelve great Lords! or, as was done in the Reign of Henry VIII. the first Proroguer of Parliaments, That the King's Proclamation, with the Consent of the Privy-Council, should have the Force of Law: Or, as in 1641, That the Parliament should not be dissolved or prorogued without their own Consents: Such Laws as these, through Oppression and Violence, have been for some Time submitted to; but surely no Gentleman will say, that they ever were, or should they be now re-enacted, that they would be legally in force; for if so, the Parliament of 1641, is still in being, for I never heard that they gave their Consents to their own Dissolution.

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' I will suppose one Case more, which has never happened, and God forbid it ever should! That an Act of Parliament should pass to vest the whole legislative Authority in the single Person of the Prince, to cloath him with an absolute dictatorial Power, to extinguish for the future both Houses of Parliament, and all other Rights and Privileges of the People, and to put all Things hereafter intirely into the Power, and to be disposed of at the Will and Pleasure of the Prince. I am sure no true Briton will ever say, that such an Act of Parliament as this would have the least Validity of Force, or be any wise binding on the People: I am sure it would not, but instead thereof would, in due Time expose the Authors of it to the Vengeance of an injured Nation; which I think is a full Proof of what I have affirmed, That the Powers given by the People to their Representatives, are not absolutely unlimited; nor the Power of the Parliament itself so omnipotent, as some are willing to suppose it: I therefore hope no one will endeavour to support this Bill by such Arguments as will equally support the Cases I have mentioned, and lead us into the most dangerous and unwarranted Paths; and on this Occasion I shall take leave to put Gentlemen in Mind, that France, Denmark, and Sweden were formerly free Nations; and what their present Situation is, and how they have been reduced thereto, is too well known to need to be repeated.

' I have been often much surprized at the Boldness of the Roman Clergy, in introducing the Doctrine of Transubstantiation; how they could have hoped to prevail with their good Subjects the Laity, to believe so monstrous an Absurdity, and did not rather dread that it would stagger their Obedience, and occasion a general Revolt. But our Histories inform us, That this was done in an Age of the grossest Ignorance, and of the greatest Corruption of Manners: A proper Season for such an Undertaking! Accordingly the Popish Clergy laid hold thereof, well knowing, that if they succeeded in this, their Empire was secured, and implicit Faith,

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Faith, without Reserve, would be thereby for ever establish-  
 ed ; it being evident, That if this prodigious Camel was once  
 swallowed down, it was impossible afterwards that any Thing  
 could stick. I cannot suppose, nay, it were monst'rous to  
 suppose, that our present virtuous and uncorrupt Ministry,  
 can, by the passing of this Bill, have any Design in View  
 parallel to that of the Romish Clergy, to plain thereby the  
 Way to some other Laws, which may be thought necessary  
 to the full Establishment of their Power. No certainly ;  
 they are too well satisfied of the Uprightness of their Con-  
 duct, to stand in need of any indirect Supports, and too pe-  
 netrating, to think they could obtain them in a Parliament,  
 where the Majority are so entirely independent of them,  
 and who, in the present and former Parliaments, have ap-  
 proved themselves Champions for the Liberties of their  
 Country : Besides, the present is so far from being an Age  
 of the grossest Ignorance, that never was Learning at so  
 high a Pitch, nor Men arrived to so noble a Way of Free-  
 Thinking, that our Motto may justly be, *Nolumus jurare*  
*in verba Magistri* : We scorn the musty Sayings of Anti-  
 quity, and will in nothing be pinn'd down by the Dictates  
 of the Learned of this or of any other Age ; therefore 'tis  
 impossible to suppose any such Design in the Bill before us,  
 and yet I am very sorry it hath been attempted, and hope  
 it will never pass, for the Reasons I have already mention-  
 ed ; and also, lest it should give too great a Handle to Peo-  
 ple without Doors, to entertain untoward Jealousies and  
 Surmises, who may be apt to say, That those who can com-  
 pliment a Ministry with such a Law, can never afterwards  
 refuse them any Thing.

' I shall, on this Occasion, put Gentlemen in Mind of the  
 great Debt with which the Nation is incumbered ; a Bur-  
 then which is almost become insupportable, and ready to  
 crush us into Ruin ; and yet, to our great Misfortune, in-  
 stead of diminishing, it is daily increasing. I have long ob-  
 served the fatal Methods by which this Mischief was brought  
 upon us : I was indeed in great Hopes, that the putting an  
 eternal Stop to the farther Increase of our Debt, and the  
 settling the most proper Measures for the lessening thereof,  
 in such Proportions as in a reasonable Time might entirely  
 discharge the same, would have been the very first Work  
 of the present Parliament, as it was the most valuable for  
 the Interest of the Nation ; but I'm sorry to see it has hi-  
 therto given Way to so many other Considerations, which,  
 how important soever they may be thought, I will be bold  
 to say, when compared to this, are but like the *tyabing* of  
*Mint* and *Cummin*, to the *weightier Things of the Law*.  
 Surely something must, and very soon too, be done in this  
 Matter ;

Matter; for I am persuaded no Man can be so wicked, as to entertain a Thought of declaring the Nation Bankrupt, and paying off this Debt with a Sponge, to the utter Ruin of Thousands of Families; and as little can I suppose any Man so stupid as to sleep securely, whilst the Liberties of his Country, and thereby his own, and the Property of every single Person in the Nation, is in the most precarious Situation; for, should we, loaded as we are, be engaged in a new War with any powerful Enemy, must we not either submit to all the unreasonable Impositions of such an Enemy, or find some extraordinary Means to support such an expensive War? Will it not therefore be our Wisdom to put our Affairs, as soon as possible, on such a Foot, as to make the Second Part of the Dilemma practicable, without referring to so black an Injustice as that I have hinted at, either of spunging out all our past Debts, or at least of borrowing the Funds for the Use of the Publick, during the Continuance of such a War? This surely is a Subject of such Importance, that it will justify the Speaking of it, either seasonably or not; nay, I think it never ought to be out of our Minds, till something very effectual be done therein; but I mention it chiefly at this Time, to divert Gentlemen from passing the Bill before us, and continuing the present Parliament beyond the Term of three Years; lest what shall be afterwards done in so great and so good a Work by this Parliament, if continued, may be liable to Objection, from the Doubts which the Nation may have of the Legality of such a Parliament; and for the same Purpose I shall observe, that we seem pinnioned down for a long Tract of Years, and indeed for ever, in the Methods we proceed in, to a Land-Tax of two Shillings in the Pound, and to the Malt, to support such a Fleet, and such Guards and Garrisons, as in the profoundest Peace, I presume, will be always esteemed necessary. The ancient Revenues of the Crown, applicable to these Purposes, have long since been mortgaged and sold away, and if our present unhappy Divisions, should for some Time require a greater Force, for the Quiet and Security of the Nation, even in Times of Peace, 'tis easy to compute how much higher the aforesaid Taxes will rise.

Let Gentlemen seriously consider, whether it will not greatly increase the Uneasiness of the People, under such heavy Burthens, if they think they are laid upon them by Representatives whom they never chose. For my own Part, I dread the Consequence of such a Law, as that which we are now about, and doubt it cannot be long supported in any other Manner, than those extraordinary Laws were for some Time, which I have already mentioned; and I am persuaded, 'tis far from the Design of any in this House, that this Law,



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Law, if it pass, should be supported in that Way ; and to make a Standing Army necessary only to support a Standing Parliament ; for to me they seem to be Sister Twins, which can only live, and must die together.

‘ I have now given my several Reasons against this Bill, which appear to me so strong, as would engage my Negative to it, were it even in some Measure conducive to the Ends which are pretended ; but much more when I am thoroughly convinced, that it is so far from promoting those Ends, that if ever it pass into a Law it will have a Tendency directly contrary.

‘ It has been said, ‘ That three Years is too short a Time to effect any Thing of great Moment for the Service and Benefit of the Nation : That the First Sessions is generally spent and wasted away in the Determination of Elections ; in the Second something is done ; but that the last Sessions is usually as much lost as the first, Gentlemen’s Minds running so much on the ensuing Election, as to think of nothing else ; and the Fear also of disabling their Electors, on so near a View of a new Choice, becomes a very great Byass to their Conduct in Parliament, to the Prejudice of the Publick Service ; so that in this short Term of Three Years, there is little more than the Work of one Year done.’

‘ I am not a little surprized, that such Assertions as these should be made use of as Arguments against Triennial Parliaments ; because it seems to me to be *protestatio contra factum*, as was said by a very great Man of Dr Sacheverell’s Speech. It is evident, that the Business of the Publick was carried on for some Hundreds of Years by annual Parliaments only, and our Histories for that Time do not acquaint us with any Complaints made of the Shortness of their Duration : And is it not most notorious, that there never were such great Things done by any Parliament, as by those which have been holden since the Triennial Act ? Was ever a War so long and so successfully carried on before, and in which this Nation bore so great a Proportion of Expence ? Were ever Sums so amazingly great, given by any Parliament or Parliaments before, in the like Compass of Time, as has been done by these Triennial Parliaments ? I affirm, there has been more given by them for the Supply of a single Year, than was given in the whole Reign of any of the Predecessors of the late King William III. and that the Expence of the Publick Service, since the Revolution, has amounted to more than it did from the first Foundation of the English Monarchy down to that Time ; and I will venture to add, that they were such Supplies, as could have been raised only by Parliaments of a short Continuance ; for

’tis

'tis not supposable, that the Nation would have remained quiet under such heavy Taxes, had the same been imposed by a long Pensionary Parliament, such as that of King Charles II, but, when they were convinced of the absolute Necessity of such Supplies, from the concurring Sentiments of frequent new Parliaments, they were by this, and, by this Method only, could have been disposed to the chearful Payment of the same; when this is seriously consider'd, I am perswaded that no Gentleman will say, That Triennial Parliaments are incapable of doing great Things, when it is true beyond the Possibility of Contradiction, that they have actually done much greater Things than were ever done by Parliaments before: Let us but compute what was done by the long pensionary Parliament of King Charles II. and what has been done in a like Number of Years by Triennial Parliaments, and then the Preference will be easily determined: And surely Arguments from Matters of Fact and long Experience, ought to be of much greater Weight than those, which depend only on conjectural and ill grounded Surmises, and a fanciful Way of Reasoning.

' I will agree that much Time is spent, not only in the first but in the second Year, in the Determination of Elections; but if these were all, without Distinction, left to the Committee appointed for that, it would not make so great a Part of the Business of the House, as it has of late Years done: And if the Right of Election for the several Cities and Boroughs were unalterably fixed, and not changed from Time to Time, with respect to the Petitioners and sitting Members, the Work, even of the Committee, would be greatly lessened: And I must say, That whenever Gentlemen are in Earnest disposed to cure this Evil, it may be done to the Honour and Reputation of future Parliaments, and to the saving Nine Parts in Ten of that Time, which has of late Years been consumed in the Business of Elections; and therefore, surely this Inconvenience can be no Objection against Triennial Parliaments, which is not owing to that, but to very different Causes; and which cannot possibly be cured by the Repeal of the *Triennial Act*; but may be done, if not entirely, yet in a great Measure, by proper Provisions for that Purpose.

' As to the Inconveniencies suggested to the Third Sessions of Parliament, from the near Approach of a new Choice; it will be much the same against the Second Sessions, in which something of Business is admitted to be done; for I see but little Difference between the Influence which the Prospect of a new Choice will have at the End of one, or at the End of two Years. The Objection therefore, as to this Purpose, is altogether trifling; but I will agree, that it has its Weight,

if it be urged for the long Continuance ; and greater still, if it be urged for the Perpetuating the present Parliament ; for then indeed Gentlemen would be freed from all Anxiety about a future Election, and would be under no Restraints, nor have any Byass on their Minds from the Sentiments of those who chose them ; but surely it ought not to be thus, nor is this, a Compliment fit to be made to the Electors of Great Britain, and is far from being a suitable Return for the Honour they have done us ; and 'tis monstrous to suppose, that we should render ourselves disagreeable to the People, by a faithful Discharge of our Duty, and doing that which is best for the Interest of the Nation.

' Surely we ourselves, in the first Part of this our First Sessions, notwithstanding all the Time spent in the Determination of Elections, have been able to find Time to give all the necessary Supplies for the Service of the Nation ; but perhaps we have made some Discoveries in this Age unknown to former ones ; we have a Glimpse of some Light undescribed before, yet it will still be true, that this Light has sprung up but very lately among us. And although this Consideration cannot weaken the real Strength of the Argument, yet it lays it under the Imputation of Novelty, and will be a full Justification of the Integrity, if not of the Sagacity, of those who shall persevere in their Opposition to the Bill.

' As to the Failure in the Triennial Act, of answering the Expectations of the Nation, it has been only asserted in general Terms, and I cannot easily guess at what is particularly meant ; for it has certainly answered all the Ends which, from the Preamble of the Act, we can apprehend to have been expected by the Makers thereof, or which indeed, in the Nature of the Thing, could have been expected from it ; for surely the Grievance which had been felt, of a very long Parliament, is thereby redressed, and the Constitution of frequent new Parliaments, in part, retrieved, and brought nearer to what it anciently and originally was.

' As to the Increase of Bribery and Corruption in Elections, since the Triennial Act, it is impossible it can be owing to that Law, or that it would be any wise diminished by a Repeal thereof ; and in Fact, the Increase of Bribery and Corruption in Elections may have happened since that Law, and yet be no wise a Consequence thereof ; 'tis contrary to common Sense to imagine, that those who would purchase their Seats in Parliament, would give more for a Triennial than for a Septennial One, or for a Continuance during Life ; or that such Electors, who will sell their Voices, have not Arithmetick enough to proportion their Prices, to the Times they choose their Representatives for ; therefore this Objec-

tion

tion against the Triennial Act is certainly very frivolous, unless something much farther be intended, than I believe any Briton has yet the Courage to speak out, I mean, unless it be intended, before the Expiration of the seven Years to add a farther Term by another Act, and so on: Then indeed there is an effectual Stop put to all future Bribery and Corruption in Elections, and the last Election which the People had, was to be the last they ever were to have.

This brings to my Mind a very scandalous Pamphlet, which came out a little before the Election of the present Parliament. I think the Title of it is, *English Advice to the Freeholders of England*: This Author takes great Pains to divert the People of England from choosing a certain Party of Men, whom he unjustly paints in very black Colours; and, amongst others, there is an Expression to this Effect: 'Don't give your Vote for one of these People, whatever they may offer you, for depend upon it, if there should be a Majority of them in Parliament, it is the last Vote you will ever have the Opportunity to give.' I am persuaded, 'tis far from the Intentions of any Gentleman here, to contribute to the Credit and Reputation of that Author, by giving even a Colour of Probability to the Truth of any of his Predictions; and this I hope will also have some Weight to prevent a Repeal of the Triennial Act; since that will have the Air of the first bold Step towards the fulfilling of this wicked Prophecy; and the making use of the Argument I have been endeavouring to explode, will not a little heighten the Suspicion; it being evidently of no Force, in any other View, but that of carrying the Matter to the Length which this Author has foretold. But surely Gentlemen need not thus hunt about, either for the Cause or the Cure of Bribery and Corruption in Elections.

On the late happy Revolution, by which our Religion and Liberties were preserved, we were unavoidably engaged in a very expensive War; and had it been carried on by Supplies within the Year, as it is evident it might have been, our War and our Taxes would have ended together; and we should have been then able, when justly provoked thereto, to begin the second War, as we were to undertake a first. But, unhappily for England, this Method was not pursued, but instead thereof the Nation was by Piece-meal exposed to Sale; and execrable surely will their Names be to latest Posterity, who at first began or have been since, the chief Supporters of this accursed Practice, by which one third Part at least of the great Sums given, have been lost to the Service of the Nation, which now remains loaded with a Debt of fifty Millions; besides, at least the Sum of seventy Millions, which has been actually raised and paid:

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paid. From hence it followed, that by the great Burdens on our Trade, a new Spring of Commerce more secure and beneficial having arisen, I mean the publick Funds, almost the whole numerous Body of our wealthy English Merchants, who were formerly the Glory of our own, and the Envy of other Nations, have thrown all their Money into this new Channel, and have left the ancient Trade, from which only the Wealth of the Nation can arise, to be carried on by Men of small Fortunes, who, trading only upon Credit, are little more than Factors for the Manufactures of England, who by this unnatural Transmigration, are now become the Merchants of the Kingdom; and under these Disadvantages a great Part of our Trade, which was formerly carried on with Vigour by our own, is now fallen into the Hands of foreign wealthy Merchants, and I am afraid irreparably lost to us; the inevitable Consequence of which hath been, Ruin to thousands and thousands of British Families. And it is as evident, that by the long Continuance of the Land and Malt-Taxes, and the high Prices of all Things, by the Addition of new Excises, the greater Part of the middling Gentry of the Kingdom are half undone; and even our greatest Commoners, and the Nobility themselves, have very sensibly felt these Pressures upon the Publick; and if the Distress, more or less, has become almost universal, no Wonder if it has plained the Way to Bribery and Corruption, and disposed those who had the Opportunities of doing it, to partake of the general Plunder, and to repair their own at the Expence of the publick Losses.

The Funds, as I am informed, produce above three Millions yearly, towards the Interest, and sinking of some Part of the Principal of our Debt: This great additional Revenue, though the Property of private Persons, is entirely under the Management of the Officers of the Crown, and thereby a Dependence vastly greater, on a Ministry, has been created, than ever was before, or could otherwise have been; and what Influence this had on our Elections throughout the whole Kingdom, the Acts of Parliament which have been made to prevent the same, sufficiently proclaim: We have now an Army of Civil Officers, as dangerous as any Military Force, entirely at the Devotion of a Ministry; and although we may run no Risque from this, in the Hands where his Majesty has now placed the Administration, yet we have formerly been; and may again be in Peril from this adventitious Power, of the total Loss of our Constitution.

The short of the Case seems to me to be, That some Ministers have by their Conduct gone a great Way to beggar the Nation; and others have corrupted those who have been

been so undone: And in this happy Situation of Men and Things, the publick Money has been employed to corrupt Electors, and Returning Officers, and thereby have filled some Parliaments with the Creatures of a Ministry, and many have likewise expended vast Sums of their own, when they saw it necessary, to get or secure a Place; and by this Means these Parliaments have been filled with great Numbers of mercenary Troops, whose Names were scarce known in the Countries where they were chosen, and without any Family Interests of their own, or the Assistance of those who had; and if there has been any Bribery on the Parts of those who have opposed such Men, as perhaps there may, it has been occasioned by the vile Arts which have been put in Practice against them: I think I may truly Affirm, that Bribery and Corruption, in Elections, have not followed as any Consequence of the Triennial Act, but from Causes widely different; and that the Foundation thereof was at first laid, and has been since improved and carried on by wicked and designing Ministers. As to the Cure of this Evil, I am afraid it cannot be thoroughly effected whilst the Nation labours under the present heavy Load of Debt; and for this, and many other Reasons, it does not a little concern us, to make all the Progress we possibly can in so great and so good a Work, as is the Discharge thereof.

As to the Heats and Animosities, which are likewise charged to the Account of the Triennial Act, and the Burden and Grievance of frequent expensive Elections, I shall readily agree, That the Frequency of Elections, is directly intended and designed by the Triennial Act, to prevent the mischievous Consequence of long continued Parliaments: But surely no one will say, That this, simply and abstractedly, is a Burden or Grievance; and as to the great Expence in Elections, and the violent Heats and Animosities about them, they are not in the least owing to the Triennial Act, as I have already shewn: And I presume no Gentleman would desire to extinguish the ancient English Hospitality, for which the Nation has been so long famed; nor can any Man imagine it more possible to cure all Heats and Animosities in Elections, than to prevent Contentions about them, which the laudable Ambition of serving the Nation hath formerly kept up, and I hope it will do so again, without the Help of any other Motives; but besides, I am persuaded, that Contentions arising from so worthy a Principle, and the old English Hospitality, will do no Harm: It is strange that any one Gentleman can fancy, that the passing the Bill before us into a Law, would cool our Heats, and settle us all in Tranquility; it seems

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1776.

seems to me to be calculated for the direct contrary Purpose, to blow up the Flame, and to fill up the Measure of the Nation's Discontents; for it is impossible to conceive, that the Electors of Great Britain, of whatever Party or Denomination they may be, will not be highly incensed by such a Law as this; and if they should universally turn their Resentments against those, who without their Choice have made themselves the Representatives of the People; I leave Gentlemen to judge, whether this would not be an Animosity of a much more dangerous Consequence, than that which we are pretending to extinguish by this Bill.

It is also urged, That these frequent Elections are a great Encouragement to the Idleness and Debauchery of the meanest and lowest of the People; Opportunities only to gratify the Drunkenness and Lewdness of the Mob. I am sorry that there are any Excesses, to give Foundation for this Complaint; but surely the Evil proceeds from the same Cause, and must be cured in the same Way with those others which I have already taken Notice of, to have been objected to the Triennial Act. And I mention this now, only to observe, what pretty Epithets are given to the Electors of Great Britain. It was with Concern that I heard them lately treated in this Manner in another Place, but could never have believed it possible to have heard any Thing like it hinted within these Walls. How low and mean soever they may be, they are still the People of Great Britain, and we are one of the Three Estates of the Realm, by a Power derived and delegated from them. And are we then only the Representatives of a lewd, drunken, debauched Mob? To paint out the Commons of Great Britain, in such contemptible Colours, is surely doing great Dishonour to ourselves, and is equally ungrateful and unjust to them. I think we represent all the Commons of Great Britain, and surely amongst them there are many thousands every Way as well qualified to fill these Seats, as we who have now the Honour to do it: And even as to those of an inferior Rank, it must be owned, that they are a brave and a gallant People; and when we compare them with those of other Countries, we have Reason to be in Raptures with our own happy Constitution, which has made such a Difference between them and other Men: They are bred up from their Cradles with deep Impressions of Liberty, and have their Properties fenced in and secured by Law; and by their Representatives in Parliament, they have the Honour to share, even in the legislative Authority; and 'tis this gives our People the Spirit and Resolution of the ancient Romans, by which our Nation has obtained and preserved its great Character in the World.

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It is thus we ought to describe the People of Great Britain, and we shall then only do them the Justice they deserve: But if, on the Contrary, we show an Inclination to depreciate their Value, and seem to be ashamed of those we represent, will it not, especially if we pass the Bill now before us, give the strongest Jealousy, that we intend to represent them no more, but to set up for the future, a Third Estate entirely independent of them. And this Jealousy will be still encreased, by what has been with too great Freedom discoursed of without Doors, That People must be governed by their Fears, and surely so they must, if this Bill pass; for I think it will be scarce possible afterwards to govern them by Love. Unhappy Britain! to have brought forth Children so unnatural, as to treat thee thus: For whatever may have been put in Practice in former Times, the Doctrine of Slavery was never so openly avowed before: What, govern a free People by their Fears! monstrous Expression! and certainly a formed Design corresponding thereto, is an Act of Treachery, as foul and black as a Briton can be guilty of: An high Crime and Misdemeanor it certainly is; I will not call it high Treason, because I know no Law of the Land which has yet declared it so.

The Argument which I shall next take Notice of, is that which seems to me to be mentioned as the chief Inducement in the Preamble of the Bill, and which has been chiefly insisted upon by the Gentlemen who have spoken for it; 'Because of the Danger from the general Discontents, and great Disaffection of the People, which some Gentlemen are apprehensive, were a Parliament now to be called, would produce a Majority of very different Sentiments from those who now compose it: Others, who think better of the Inclinations of the People, believe, that this wicked Work could not be accomplished without the Help of foreign Money, to bribe and corrupt the Electors of Great Britain; but upon the whole, are of Opinion, that the Thing would be effected, and that instead of the present excellent House of Commons, so devoted to the true Interest of their Country, and to the Support of his Majesty, and the Protestant Succession, we should greatly risque the having such a Parliament as would be ready to call in the Pretender, and to deliver up their Country to Popery and arbitrary Power; and therefore those who are against the Bill, are charged with contributing to this Design, although they are charitably believed no wise to intend the Thing.' And this I think is the full Import of what has been said by Gentlemen on this Head of the Argument.



Anno 2. Geo. 1.

1786.

‘ As to the Danger which some Gentlemen imagine of an ill Parliament, were it now to be chosen, from the Help of French Money, it is, in my Opinion, a Reproach to the present Ministry, to fancy that they would be out-done, or out-witted by France in this, or in any other Way ; and I think that the defeating of such an Attempt, in the only Case in which a Ministry might unblameably apply the publick Money, in the Business of Election : I wish it never had been, or may be done on any other Occasion. But why do Gentlemen believe, that the Regent of France will meddle in our Elections ? Surely not long since, he had a much better Opportunity to have distressed us, had he been so disposed. On other Occasions we hear, I mean without Doors, of the good Understanding between his Majesty and that Prince ; that the Pretender will very soon be obliged to travel beyond the Alps ; and this certainly is highly probable, if the Regent have any Expectations of being himself one Day King of France. I shall say no more of this, and believe, those who made the Objection, scarce expected that any one would have taken so much Notice of it.

‘ As to the Danger of an ill Parliament, from the great Disaffection of the People ; this, I confess, is a most extraordinary and surprizing Argument, and such as I never thought I should have heard in this Place : For it is an open Declaration and Acknowledgement, that the People of Great Britain are not truly represented at this Time : that the present House of Commons are the Supporters of the Liberties and true Interest of the People, which the People themselves are endeavouring to destroy, and would effectually do so by a new Choice ; and therefore they are to be treated like indiscreet Children, and not to have their Frowardness humoured at the Price of their undoing. This indeed is telling the People of Great Britain, in the plainest Terms, That as they are not at present truly represented by those whom they did choose, so for the future, they shall be represented without any Choice at all. If this be the Way to ingratiate with the People, what is it which can give them a Disgust ? No, certainly this must make it absolutely necessary to govern them by their Fears, and to take such Measures as are proper for that Purpose ; a Design so black, that I cannot suppose it has yet entered into the Heart of any Briton.

‘ It is amazing to hear this very Suggestion, in my Opinion far distant from the Truth, not only on the present, but on other Occasions, so frequently made use of as an Argument ; for were it really true, can it be any Service to the Publick to be making daily and hourly Proclamations thereof ? For can this be a proper and a likely Means to strength-

in the Hands of his Majesty, and his faithful Subjects, or to weaken those of the Pretender, and his foreign and domestick Friends, to publish to all the World, (for what is said in this Place can be a Secret no where) that the Disaffection to his Majesty is very general, and the Party of the Pretender so considerable in the Nation, as to risque another Rebellion in his Favour, if they had the Opportunity of assembling together in Numbers on a new Election, or any other Opportunity equally propitious to their Purpose; and if this did not happen, that still there would be Danger, that the Majority on a new Election, would be in the Interest of the Pretender; and that this would not be less, perhaps might be more fatal, even than a Rebellion. A Bill founded on such Surmises as these, and supported with such Arguments, is highly dangerous, and if it passes into a Law, its Title ought to be, *An Act For the most effectual Encouragement of the Pretender and his Allies, to invade this Kingdom*; in my Conscience I believe it so, and so it will be found if this Bill should pass into a Law.

I believe it will be admitted, that from the first Establishment of the Succession, until it happily took Place, a vast Majority of People expressed the greatest Zeal for it, and Satisfaction in it; that from the Death of the Queen to the Arrival of his Majesty, the Nation was never known to be in a greater Calm. That the Parliament then in being, unanimously settled the Civil List for the Support of the Dignity of the Crown, and compleated what was wanting for the Supplies of the Year; and whatever Faults they might have been guilty of before, there was nothing now wanting in the expressing of their Duty; and it has been surmised, that some Persons whose Zeal for his Majesty cannot be suspected, were not a little apprehensive, That that Parliament, and the Party of which their Majority was composed, would, to make amends for their past Conduct, go too great Lengths in their Complaisance to the Crown; and that for this very Reason, it was dangerous for the Nation that his Majesty should ever meet them; but whatever the Reasons were, certain it is that his Majesty saw them not. The Joy on his Majesty's Arrival was as great and universal, as was ever known in Britain; and from hence I think I may fairly conclude, that if there be such a Disaffection as is suggested, since it was not before, it must have happened since his Majesty's Arrival; and if this can be imagined possible, it must be then agreed, that such a general Disaffection is an Effect too considerable to be produced without any, or by a very slight Cause; his Majesty surely can be no wise the Cause of so surprizing a Change, as is surmised, in the Inclination of his People; therefore,

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Anno 2. Geo. I.  
1706.

if there be such a Disaffection, it can be only to the Ministers, and produced from something really ill, or which is apprehended to be so, in their Conduct. I am persuaded, that they themselves have too much Modesty, not to agree, that 'tis much more reasonable to suppose a Disaffection to them, than to the Person of the King; and I doubt not but this House will always distinguish, as they have hitherto done, between the Sovereign and the Ministers of State.

But, in Justice to the present Ministry, we must conclude, that the Disaffection to them is occasioned only by imaginary, and not by any real Evils done by them; and we have great Reason to hope, that by their wise and prudent Management, they will be able in a very little Time, to undeceive a mistaken and deluded People, and thereby regain those Affections, which, for the present, they apprehend to be lost to them. And if they should fail in this, I am persuaded, from their great Zeal for the Quiet of the King, and Welfare of their Country, from their known Disinterestedness, their generous Contempt of Advantages to themselves, and from that ancient heroick Roman Virtue, which so visibly appears in every Part of their Conduct, that they themselves would become suppliant to his Majesty, for Liberty to retire from the Burthen of their Trust, and to repose the same in such Hands, as might put an End to the Disaffections which are now complained of. And I am the more confirmed in this Opinion, because I myself have heard some of the greatest Men now in Power, before they were so, express themselves in such a Manner, as left me no room to doubt of the Sincerity of such a Disposition.

There is yet one Part of the Objection which I have not touched upon, the Danger which is apprehended of an Invasion from Abroad, and the Insurrection at Home, should a new Parliament be called at this Time, and this, I think, is the only Thing which I have heard mentioned, which has the Colour of an Argument for a longer Continuance of the present Parliament; but I believe, when it is a little examined, it will appear to have the Colour only, and to be *vox & præterea nihil*. I think I have already made it evident, that there is no such Disaffection to his Majesty, or his Royal Family, as is suggested, and if there be not, then the Danger of any Invasion or Insurrection on that Supposition, falls entirely to the Ground. But even admitting the Disaffection to be as it is suggested, 'tis still agreed, that the whole Nation is not disaffected, but only some Part thereof; and that therefore the Meeting together, on the Occasion of Elections, which are not made all on the same Day, would consist of mixt Multitudes of well and of ill-affected Persons, so that the former might balance the latter.

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But admitting that not only the Disaffection is, but that the Calling of a new Parliament at this Time, would be, as the same have been represented, yet this will not prove that there's any Necessity at this Time for the passing the Bill, which is the Subject of our present Debate. I do most readily agree, that if this Parliament were to expire in a very short Time, and that the publick Meeting of the People would really be of such a dangerous Consequence in the present Juncture, as has been mentioned; that then absolute Necessity, which always has been, and ever will be, a Justification of extraordinary Steps, would equally justify the Prolongation for a Time of the present Parliament, in the Manner now proposed; and no doubt but that the next succeeding Parliament, convened in the usual legal Manner, would approve and confirm what should be done in this, on so pressing an Occasion. But surely it will no wise follow, because this might be done in a Case of absolute Necessity, that therefore it may or ought to be done, when there is no Necessity at all. And it is evident, that there is no immediate Necessity for the passing of this Law, since, notwithstanding the Length of the first, his Majesty may still have two Sessions more of this very Parliament; and will it not be time enough to pass such a Law in the last Session, if it should then appear as necessary as it is now pretended to be? And therefore admitting every Thing which has been alledged, there is not the Colour of a Necessity for such a Law at present; and this gives me strong Suspicion, that there is a Snake in the Grass, and that we have not yet been acquainted with the true Reason of so unprecedented an Attempt. Certainly no Gentleman can be afraid of what every Gentleman must wish, that before the End of another Year, our Ferment will subside, and the Nation be restored to a perfect Calm, which would entirely take away all Pretences of doing what is now endeavoured: Or, that the unanimous Voice of the Electors of Great Britain, against such a Law, would, before another Session, be found too strong to be resisted by their Representatives, and that Gentlemen, upon a more mature Consideration, might come to think very differently of this Matter from what they at present may; and that therefore this great Master-piece must be struck off at one Heat, and that *now or never* must be the Word: Or may not others without Doors be apt to suspect, that this Law is really intended to encourage the Pretender to invade, and his secret Friends to shew themselves in publick, by soothing them up in the Hopes and Belief of the Greatness of their Numbers; and by leading them into that Snare, have an Opportunity of discovering and crushing them as thoroughly in England, as we have lately done

in Scotland ; and thereby secure for ever the Peace and Tranquility of the whole Kingdom ? For it is impossible to imagine, that such Encouragement would be given to the Pretender or his Friends, as seems to be done by the Preamble of this Bill, and the Debate of this Day, if those who were for the Bill were not entirely satisfied, that a new Rebellion, if it should happen, would be attended only with the Consequences I have just now mentioned. How right a Design of this Kind may be in Politicks, I will not pretend to determine, but will venture to affirm, that it is entirely inconsistent with the Christian Religion, and the Principles of Humanity, common to all Mankind.

‘ But besides, I think an Experiment of this Kind much too dangerous to be tried ; for when the Fire is once kindled, no human Wisdom can tell how much it may consume. And although we have happily suppressed the late unnatural Rebellion, yet I am persuaded, no wise Man can wish, to serve any End whatever, to see the Nation exposed again to the Risque of such another Attempt, although it should be as ill concerted at Home, and as little supported from Abroad, as the last seems to have been. Such Motives as these, therefore, can surely prevail with no Body, and yet I am not able to guess at those which should : And where no visible Reason does appear, for so violent and needless a Precipitation, there must, and will be great Variety of Conjectures at those which are not seen.

‘ Another Argument seems to have great Weight with Gentlemen for the passing of this Bill ; ‘ That it will encourage foreign Princes and States to enter into Alliances with us, when they see a certain fixed Administration, on which they may depend ; for that at present they look upon us to be in the Nature of a Triennial Government, a new Parliament being usually attended with a new Ministry, and a new Ministry with new Measures.’

‘ I believe that this is the first, and I hope it will be the last Time that ever an Argument of such a Nature was advanced, or would have been endured in an English or British Parliament. We have hitherto been able to form great Alliances, and to do great Things, on the Foot of our ancient Constitution ; and are we now sunk to a Condition so despicable low, as to be obliged to model it to the Genius or Humour of any of our Neighbours ? Can a Briton hear this with Patience ? Absolute Monarchy, and despotic Power, have no doubt, in some Conjectures, the Advantage of our Form of Government ; but shall we for the Sake thereof, give up the most valuable Constitution upon earth, so adapted to the Spirit of our People, and so well suited, in the general Circumstances of Life, for the Welfare

Welfare and Happiness of a free Nation, and by which we have hitherto shone forth with a distinguishing Lustre, from all other Countries in the World? But as to the Argument itself, why do Gentlemen imagine, that triennial Parliaments necessarily infer a triennial Government? Surely the executive Power is intirely in the Prince, there the Laws of the Land have placed it, and there I hope it will for ever remain: The Power of Peace, War, and Alliances, are the undoubted Prerogatives of the Crown, and no Parliament, I hope, will ever pretend to dispute the same. The Stability therefore of our Government, as it relates to foreign Nations, depends intirely on the Prince; and I believe our ancient Allies never had, nor had Reasons to have, a greater Reliance on any British Monarch, than on his present Majesty, who so worthily fills the Throne; and I hope that Reliance will never be transferred from him to any Ministry, supported by any Parliament whatever; which, I think, would be of the most dangerous Consequence to the Royal Dignity, the Liberties of the People, and to the true Interests of all our sincere foreign Friends. But I am also at a Loss to find out any necessary Connection between a new Parliament and a new Ministry, were there any Weight in that Objection; for, are not the publick Employments in the Disposal of the King, and whilst they are executed to his Satisfaction, will be continued in the same Hands? And when they are not, it is unfit they should. And whatever Changes his Majesty may at any Time happen to make, I am persuaded they will be always such as will be most for his own Service, and the Welfare of the Kingdom. And I must declare the same Opinion as to Employments, as I have done with Relation to Seats in Parliament: That there are great Numbers in Britain, every way as well qualified for them as the present Possessors; and how great soever my Esteem may be for the present Ministry, I cannot carry my Compliment so far as to think, that the Nation would be undone if they were laid aside. But if by the Passing of this Law the present Ministry should be effectually established, which is more than any Man can pretend to prophesy, what Encouragement could this in reality give to the Forming of Foreign Alliances; when by the same Law it is fully insinuated, and plainly admitted in the present Debate, that the Affections of a very great Part of the People are lost to this very Ministry; for my own Part, I think it is doing them the greatest Wrong, and furnishing Foreign Princes and States with the strongest Arguments against their entering into any Alliance with us. For it is not their being supported by a Majority of this House

ANNO 2. OCT. 2.  
1776.

House that will be any substantial Encouragement, if it is believed that a Majority of the Nation are in very different Sentiments.

Five hundred and fifty eight Gentlemen of Britain, abstractedly considered, were they all unanimous, bear but a small Proportion to the Numbers in the Nation; but when they sit within these Walls, clothed with the Authority of the People, and are thought to speak their Sense, 'tis then indeed that they will have the full Weight of the Commons of Great Britain. It is evident, that the present Ministry and Parliament were in Being when the late Rebellion broke out, and that notwithstanding all other proper Measures, six thousand Dutch Troops were thought necessary towards the suppressing thereof; they had not certainly been otherwise sent for, nor would any Briton have dared to have given such Advice; what Judgment then must that, and other States and Princes form from hence, of the Situation of our Affairs, especially when by this Law we proclaim aloud, that our Heats and Animosities do still continue, and that there are still very dangerous Dispositions towards a new Rebellion; and if this be an Encouragement to enter into, and depend upon our Alliances, I know not what can be a proper Discouragement.

I am therefore in Hopes that this Bill will not pass; instead of such extraordinary and unnatural Projects as these, there are others that deserve our Attention. I think it would be a Design worthy of a British Parliament, to concert and execute the most proper Measures for the healing up of our Breaches, and uniting our Minds for the common Interest and Safety of the Nation. The first Step absolutely necessary towards this great Work, seems to me to be, the forgetting all past Party-Quarrels, and extinguishing for the future those odious Names of Distinction, which have been so long, and so unhappily kept up. And I will venture to say, that this Expedient towards Unanimity, is much more Christian, less dangerous, and, though difficult, yet much more practicable, than the Extirpation or total Suppression of either of the contending Parties, which the unthinking Furioso's of both seem to be too fond of.

I would not have Gentlemen discouraged, in endeavouring what I recommend, from any Difficulties which they may conceive therein; for surely there was a Time, and not long since, when this blessed Work could not have miscarried; I hope it is still practicable, or else the Nation will be soon undone; for, we are sure, that a Kingdom divided against itself will be brought to Desolation. But as to the Possibility of the Thing, let me put Gentlemen in mind

mind of the great Heats and Animosities, which were raised and continued, by the unexampled Violences and Cruelties of a long and bloody Civil War ; yet these were all appeased in the very Beginning of the Reign of King Charles II. after his Restoration ; the History of that Time being sufficiently known, I need not repeat the Measures which were then taken : Certain it is, the Nation enjoyed a Calm for many Years, our Trade flourished, our Wealth increased, and we were both, in the literal and allegorical Sense, a Land flowing with Milk and Honey ; and this I hope will be again our Case. I would also recommend the Payment of our publick Debts, or at least of putting them in a Way of being discharged in some reasonable Time ; for 'till this is done, we are, in my Opinion, in a State of the greatest Insecurity ; for what Foreign Prince or State, will either court the Friendship, or dread the Enmity of a bankrupt People ? For though particular Persons are really rich, the Nation, whilst loaded with a Debt of fifty Millions, is undoubtedly very poor ; and is it not a melancholly Consideration, that when the Individuals are very wealthy, that yet the Nation should be very weak ; this is indeed a Paradox ; but greater still, that Men can be so infatuated, as to sleep secure under a Government, which can scarce be said to be in a Condition of giving them Protection, and that too when it is in their own Power to Redress the Evil.

Before I sit down, I must observe, that this Bill is brought in by no Order of this House, nor has arose on any Motion in it, but is a Present sent us by the House of Peers. I do not say, that their Lordships have not a Right to send us this, or any other Bill they please, a Money Bill excepted ; but since it chiefly, if not wholly, relates to our own, and the Rights and Privileges of those we represent, it would more naturally, in my Opinion, have had its Commencement here ; and this Consideration inclines me to believe, that it had not been easy to have found one among us, who would have been willing to have made himself remarkable by being the first Mover of so extraordinary a Law, so likely to disgust a vast Majority of the People. But there are other Reasons assigned, and pretty freely talked of without Doors, for beginning this Bill in the House of Lords, that thereby Time would be got, and proper Arguments applied, to convince Gentlemen of the Necessity of this Law, who, when it was first spoke of, seemed to be very much prejudiced against it ; and 'tis said, that there has been great Pains taken for that Purpose, and not without Success. But 'tis said, that the main Reason against beginning it here, was to take off that Byass, which was apprehended might be upon the Minds of Gentlemen, from the Doubtfulness



ANNO 2. GEO. 1.  
1716.

fulness of its Fate in another Place ; for though the Lords have, we have not an Inheritance in our Seats, but depend for a Continuance of them in future Parliaments, on the good Opinion of the Electors of Great Britain ; and to deprive them of the Right of frequent Elections, which they are now entitled to by Law, cannot be supposed a proper Recommendation to their Favour ; and it was therefore convenient to remove this stumbling Block out of the Way, that the Advocates for the Bill might argue and vote with greater Assurance. But I hope the Resolutions of this Day will fully make appear, how false and groundless these and such like Suggestions are, and that we cannot be deterred from a faithful Discharge of the Trust reposed in us, or influenced against it, by any Motives or Considerations whatsoever ; and that those Gentlemen particularly, who have sat long in Parliament, and on all Occasions have so worthily distinguished themselves, by being the greatest Advocates for the Rights and Liberties of the People, will at this Time shew the World, that they continue fixed and steady to the Principles they have always professed. I therefore hope, that a Law which even the worst Ministry, in the worst of Parliaments, never had the Wickedness to attempt, will not actually be established under the best Administration, and in the best Parliament with which this Nation was ever blessed.





# Mr *Hampden's* SPEECH

IN DEFENCE of the

## PEERAGE-BILL.

[See Page 202.]

Mr Speaker,

**A**S a Member of this House, I consider myself as the Trustee of those whom I represent; engaged in Honour to guard those important Trusts that are reposed in me, as well as to defend the Privileges of the House I belong to. By this Rule I measure my Duty, that whatever new Law is contrary to, or destructive of, those Trusts, I am bound to oppose it: but that whatever new Law is agreeable to them, considered in their natural Intent and Meaning, and consistent with the Dignity and Privileges of our House, I am at Liberty to vote for it; nay, I am indeed obliged to do so, if it be found for the Good of the whole Community, or to have any Tendency towards making the future Condition of those I represent, and those with whom I sit, better and happier.

Anno 6. Geo. I.  
1719.

I make no Exception here, even of those Laws which more nearly touch the principal Branches of our Constitution, provided they touch not the Vitals and Essentials of it. Every new Law is certainly an Alteration of the Constitution in some Sense, as it gives or takes away some Power or Privilege not enjoyed, or enjoyed before, by the Crown. But these new Laws added, or old ones abolished, every Day, do not affect the Vitals of the Constitution. The King is still the Executor of the Laws, tho' those Alterations make a daily Change in his executive Power; but in the Case before us, because the Bill propos'd is expressly declared to be designed to alter the present Condition of the House of Lords, and because that House is one of the States of the Realm; this seems to have affected some Members, as if it were something more essential to our Constitution than the Alteration of the King's Power, with his own Consent, in any other new Law. But as the Essence of the Constitution consists not in having the Number of Lords unbounded, any

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more than the Number of the Commons; the Limitation of the Royal Power, with Respect to this, is no more an Alteration of the Constitution in its Essentials, than the Alteration of many other old Laws or Customs. The King's Power of adding new Lords *in infinitum*, is indeed by the Intent of this Bill stop'd and cut off. But there still remains a House of Lords, and in the Crown the Prerogative of making new Lords upon all Extinctions and Failures that may be. And this being no more than the turning an unlimited Power into a limited, or an Alteration of the Exercise of one of the Powers of the Crown, it cannot possibly be said to disturb or affect our Constitution in its essential Parts.

The Design of the Bill in short is this, 'That, on the Part of Scotland, in lieu of Sixteen Elective Peers, Twenty five shall have Hereditary Seats in Parliament, to be filled up, upon any Extinction, out of the Peers of Scotland; and that on the Part of England not more than Six Peers may be added by the King, to the present Number; and all Failures to be supplied by the Crown, out of the natural born Subjects of Great Britain.' This is the Design of the Bill: And the only Point of Moment is, Whether this Alteration be of that Nature as that it can be honourable and becoming us, as Members of the House of Commons, to concur in it.

In the first Part of this Design which relates to Scotland, the increasing the Number of Scotch Peers, by the Addition of Nine, is the reasonable Consequence of the Increase of English Lords since the Union, in which it was always designed that some Proportion should be kept between the Lords of each Part of the Kingdom. Nor can we, in the whole, think this Proportion too great. The changing their Election into Hereditary Succession, is to accommodate their Condition to the Condition of these Peers with whom they sit. Besides, by this Means the Heads of the Noblest Families in Scotland may sit in Parliament; and they particularly who have former Claims by Patents may be called thither, to prevent the fatal Consequences of a repeated Refusal of those Claims, which is universally in that Country look'd upon as an open Breach of the Union.

I have heard several of the Scots Peers declare in the strongest Terms possible, that they would never have submitted to sit by way of Election, but in Hopes of meeting with such a favourable Opportunity of altering it; and that all their Acquaintance, and their Principals themselves, knew their Sentiments upon this Subject. And if such an Alteration, supposing it for the better, as it makes the Scots Lords much more independent upon Courts and Ministers,

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ought not to be made without the express Consent of their Principals, who have a present Personal Right to be Electors and Elected, I would only propose then, that it is impossible to come to such a Consent, because the Argument being taken from Personal Right, will make the express Consent of every individual Peer necessary, and not only the Consent of a Majority: That the Peers not nominated at first have still a Chance of being Hereditary Peers of Parliament upon any Failure; which is certainly a more honourable Condition than their present: And that the Union itself, of which this is only a Circumstance, was effected by elected Persons altering, in the most essential and important Points, the Condition and State of their Electors; without any Consent of theirs, obtained or sought after, or supposed. If therefore there is an Union, notwithstanding that the Principals of the Scots Commons were never so much as supposed to give any Consent; there may be an Alteration of the Circumstances of that Union, without any such Condition. And they who insist so zealously upon this Argument, should first declare that there is and can be no Union, before they declare it impossible in Justice to mend any such Circumstance belonging to it. For if this be impossible, the Union is none at all; but if the Union be good and right, or to be maintained, then this Alteration is not impossible in Justice and Equity. I might add, that tho' some other Articles of the Union are declared Fundamental and Essential, yet nothing of this Sort is declared, in the Act of Parliament, concerning the Election of the Scots Peers.

' The great Point to us, I think, is the determining the Number of Peers in the House of Lords for the Future, and the limiting the Crown in the Prerogative of making Lords: How this can affect the Publick, of which we are the Guardians; or the several Branches of the Legislature, for all which we ought to have a Concern; or our House in particular in its Dignity or Power of doing Good: These are what properly lie before us.

' As a Member of the House of Commons, I am obliged not only to have a great Concern for that Part of the Legislature in particular, but the Whole and every Part of it; that no One Part encroaches upon Another to the Detriment of the Whole; that the Ballance be as strictly and as nicely preserv'd as possible; that no One of the States be brought into Contempt or Disability; and that our own House in particular, or those we represent, do not suffer in any Instance, by the Loss of any Good, or by the Accession of any Evil.

' With a View to these Points, I consider what will be the Effect, if this Bill passes; and what will be the Consequence,

quence, if this, or something like it, does not pass. As to the Crown it self, supposing the Bill to pass, there will indeed be a Power restrained in the Exercise of it. But what Power? Why truly the Power of making Lords upon all Occasions, in all Events, and for all Purposes imaginable: And this Power lodged in every King for ever. This Bill therefore restrains a Power almost too vast to be conceived; carried already to a great Excess; proceeding in every Reign to greater; and still to go on, as long as such a Government, with such a House of Lords as must be in time, can keep up any Dignity; I might have said, can preserve any Being. It restrains a Power which must of Necessity, in the natural Course of many Reigns, destroy all the Honour and Dignity of the States, which I am concerned and obliged to preserve. And besides this, as a Commoner, can it possibly be disagreeable to me, that a Power in the Crown should be restrained, which is at least as liable to be abused, as to be well used; perhaps more so, if we consider what Men, vested with Power and Passions and Imperfections, too generally shew themselves to be.

If we come now to the House of Lords it self; this Bill, if it passes into a Law, will confine the Number of Peers in it to what it is at present, with the Additions before mentioned. What evil Consequences, or ill Effects, this can have in the House it self, in Comparison of the Contrary, will the better appear, if you will give me Leave to make a Supposition, which is very allowable in Argument, tho' I fear it would never be verified in Practice. Suppose therefore that the present, and all succeeding Kings, should take an absolute Resolution not to add to the Number of Peers, but to keep them exactly what they are, only by filling up the Failures in Families which may happen. Let me ask you, Is there a Man, is there a Member of the House of Commons, who, abstracted from private and restless Ambition and Impatience of waiting, would not rather commend such a Resolution, as Wisdom and Regard to the Publick; than condemn it as Weakness or Folly? And yet, with respect to any accidental evil Consequences, this would put the House of Lords exactly into the same State, in which the present Bill would leave it. The Increase or Decrease of the Influence of a Court in that House; the Management of a Ministry, and the Effects of that Management; nay, and the Formidableness of that noble Body it self; would, in all Respects, stand exactly where they will now stand if this Bill passes into a Law. And yet no one, I presume, would tax such a Resolution, either with Weakness or evil Design; because it is evident that, by this Means, one Way at least of forcing through the House of  
Lords

Lords what is agreeable to a Court, tho' never so bad in it self, or of hindering what is disagreeable, tho' never so good in it self, is entirely cut off. It is our Interest, and the Interest of the Publick, that the Consultations of that House should be free; which they could not be said to be, at a Time when the Crown poured in a Number of Lords to carry a Question in Danger. And by this Bill one Way, at least, to that Freedom is laid open and made secure for ever.

With respect to Our Selves in this Affair: One Thing the Commons, as the Guardians of Liberty, have to wish for, is, that the Lords should be as little under the Influence of a Court, as such a Body can be supposed to be. Now I would ask, Is it a small Number, or a great Number, in that House, which can render it most liable to this great Evil? I am confident, it will be granted that it is the Smallness of their Numbers which does it. Nor have we ever heard of so many and so constant Compliances with Courts, as in those Times when they were not half the Number of what they are now. This Evil is prevented by the great Number which is still to be left; and without doubt will be constantly kept full: A Number a little too large, I hope, for the Purse of a Court, considering how great an Occasion there is for Money in other Places, supposing the Conduct of Men to be influenced by so bad and so base a Motive. Where therefore can we stop better, than where we should applaud our Kings for stopping themselves; when there is a Number (as nearly as such Things can be calculated) great enough to take off the Superfluity of Dignity and Power in that House; great enough to be a Bar against the most fatal Managements of bad Ministers, by the sole Influence of Posts and Profits; and yet not great enough to create any Danger to the Whole, in any other Respect, if it be stop'd at once effectually. I appeal to you, if any Commoner can ever wish or hope for the Good of the Publick, to see a Number of Lords exceeding Two Hundred and Thirty Five; nay, whether we ever wished to see such a Number as there is at present; or ever thought any otherwise of the Additions made in late Years, than as of something not very wise or politick. And if so, I hardly think we can justly dissent, upon any very plain Reason, from the Confinement of that Number now designed.

Another Wish I have, as a Commoner, is, that there may not be a perpetual Incentive to the Ambition of our Members, to leave their Seats with us; as has been of late observed; which I have always thought to reflect a Dishonour and Ignominy upon our selves. Nor should there be wanting, at the same Time, as many Opportunities as can reasonably be thought sufficient, for the rewarding of the Merits

**Merits of Commoners.** This Bill, if it passes, will, as far as can be judged, very much contribute to these two Points. I do not mean, it will perfectly put a Stop to Applications and Solicitations; because there can be no such Thing hoped for, whilst there is such a Thing as a House of Lords. But as, on one Hand, many cannot be called up together; and, on the other, there will be some few Vacancies generally in Expectation; One cannot think of a better Medium than this, at once for the Encouragement of good Services in Commoners, and for the making them more content and easy, in applying themselves to the Business of the House; and less restless and impatient to be called out of it. And this you will easily agree in; that, after the Passing of this Bill, when a Commoner shall be called up for the future, he will be called up to an Honour much more valuable and distinguishing, than he is, in the present Condition of that House. I have often thought that the Dignity and Reputation of our House has sunk; in Proportion to the great Levies, if I may so say, made out of it; or to our Members voluntarily pressing and thronging into the other. And I think here is a Remedy as effectual as can be expected.

‘ But there is another Way of considering this Question, and that is, by supposing this Bill not to pass; and this Power in the Crown to continue infinite and unlimited, as it now is; and by weighing the Consequences upon this Supposition in future Ages; to which I hope we all mean to transmit our Constitution, unhurt in its essential Parts.

‘ Supposing this, I say, the Crown will indeed remain possessed of a Prerogative: But a Prerogative, the Exercise of which will come to reflect Shame upon itself, as well as upon those who will still partake of the Benefit of it. The Crown will have a Power, which will, I suppose, be from Time to Time exercised; nay, which must be supposed to be exercised to a great Extent, whenever any Ministry shall have any Designs to carry forward by it. The Power of the Crown will be untouched indeed; but the true Dignity and Glory of the Crown will be far from being untouched. It will be a Power, the Benefit of which at last no Man of Honour will either seek after, or accept; and so must be exercised, whenever there arises a real or supposed Necessity, upon Men of a different Character.

‘ The House of Lords, supposing the Exercise of this Royal Prerogative to remain unlimited by the rejecting this Bill; which too probably will be the last, as it is the first of the Sort: The House of Lords, I say, what will it become in Time? Who would not envy our Posterity the Sight of double or treble the present Number of Peers? Or, who would not applaud the Figure our Constitution must make,

make, at such a Time ; if it can be then called Our Constitution ; when it is impossible to suppose that Men of Worth and Virtue will be prevailed upon to help to fill that House ; and when yet it must be supposed that others will do it, to answer the particular Occasions of a Court, and their own Necessities, or Ends, at the same Time ? We cannot have a meaner Idea of a House of Parliament, than this gives us ; nor a more destructive one to the Nature of our Constitution ; nor a more fatal one to the whole Community. And as we ought equally to guard against the formidable, and the ignominious Estate of that House ; as well as the Dishonour and Injury of the whole Constitution ; I think we cannot wish to see the Number of Peers to go on and increase, as they must do.

But if you say, the Nature of Things will stop this Evil without a Law for this Purpose : I wish it were so, in Probability ; because then I am sure this Bill would be proved reasonable by this very Argument. For if it be reasonable that this Increase of Numbers should stop ; you must either find out that Point at which such an Evil will stop itself, which is beyond the Wit of Man to do ; or you must concur to stop it the first Opportunity you have, at such a Number as might be thought tolerably reasonable, as far as such a Matter can be calculated. And again, if it be reasonable that this Increase should stop somewhere ; certainly there can be no Argument against stopping it now, unless it be this, that the Number of Peers proposed is too little ; nay, that it is remarkably very much too little ; for there is no standing upon Niceties in such a Case. But no One, I believe, will say that the Numbers of Peers proposed is too little. Hitherto the Complaints have been on the contrary Part ; and no One could say this, who must not, by the same Breath, condemn our Princes, should they all resolve never to augment the Number. But indeed it is so far from being likely that this Increase will ever stop of itself, in the Course and Nature of Things ; that the Contrary must be certain, as long as it is certain that there will be too often, in all Ages and all Reigns, Designs to be carried on which will call for a sudden Increase of this Number ; and always Men in the World capable of accepting a Call, for the Benefit of such Designs. And this I think a very deplorable Consideration, supposing this Bill not to pass.

As to our House, and its Members ; and the Interest of the Commons as such ; besides that it is our strict Interest and Duty to preserve the whole, by the due Balance of its several Parts ; I shall only say, upon Supposition of the Number of Lords continual Increase upon the rejecting this Bill, that neither our Freedom in our Elections or our  
Votes,



Votes, nor our Honour in being at any Time called up to the House of Peers, can be said to be so great and so valuable, as it will otherwise be. In the Affair of our Elections before we sit, and our Proceedings whilst we sit, the increasing Number of Peers, which must be vast in Time, will have a great Effect, and not a very good one; perhaps indeed in a smaller Proportion in our Days, but in a more fatal Manner in Process of Time; in those future Times, to which we ought to extend our Concern, if we have any true Regard for our Country. It will be a small Comfort to the Commoners of Great Britain, even if they have a Mind to keep up too remarkable a Distinction between themselves and the Peers, to think that the Number of Peers increasing (as it must do without this Bill) does itself make the Peers contemptible and mean in their own House and in some other Respects; whilst this very Number, so perpetually increasing, must itself, as I apprehend, give them a much greater Power and Influence without their own Doors, and within ours, than they could otherwise have. For, even supposing them, in Time, to be many of them Persons but of indifferent Fortunes in the World, or the like; yet by their great Numbers, being dispersed every where in every Corner of the Land, and having numerous Descendents, Relations, Acquaintances and Dependents, this very immense Number must be a Weight, and a very great one. Their Influence in Elections of the Commoners must be vast; and their Influence afterwards, in the House of Commons, must be proportionable, after the Election; in carrying Votes, in forwarding or hindring any Law; and the like.

‘ There is another Evil for which the Commons of Great Britain have always used to wish to see some Remedy; and that is, the screening of evil Ministers and evil Counsellors from the Censures and Impeachments of our House. What more natural Way for a Court to do this, especially since a late Experiment, than to croud into the House of Lords a Number of Peers upon such a great Occasion? Supposing this Bill not to pass, this Evil remains without a Remedy: And it is an Evil which ought to affect every Member of the House of Commons, in a very peculiar Manner.

‘ It has been alledged that upon fixing thus the Number of Peers, they will think themselves the more powerful; and many of them living in a very Expensive Manner, and perhaps the more so after this, that the Fate of our Laws may come to depend upon such as have made themselves poor, and consequently Slaves to a Court. This is a Speculation, I confess, which may possibly prove true in Fact, if  
you

you can suppose any Person to resolve to make himself poor merely for the Pleasure of being a Slave ; or that there will be one Peer more or less expensive on this sole Account. But supposing this to be possible and probable both ; I still say, it is better to run the Risque of this which is uncertain, and to have the Fate of your Laws depend upon some who shall voluntarily make themselves indigent ; than to have the Fate of your Laws, or of any publick Designs, depend upon a Number of Persons at any Time to be called up, as a King or a Ministry shall think fit : Which is not the possible uncertain Consequence of not passing this Law, but the certain and unavoidable one in Times to come. And to prevent an uncertain Evil, I can never persuade myself to run into a certain one.

‘ It may be said perhaps, that our Liberties have hitherto subsisted under the Exercise of this unlimited Power of the Crown ; and therefore may still go on, and continue in a very good Estate, without any Limitation to it. But this Way of arguing is very unhappy, because it is equally good against making any new Laws ; and especially against preventing any probable Dangers to the Publick ; which is the great Business of a Parliament to do ; and of much greater Importance, than to wait ’till they become perhaps too big to be remedied. We have not been ruined, therefore we need not take Care to prevent Ruin, is but a very weak Way of Reasoning ; and worse than weak, where the Whole is concerned. The Attempt has once, in a very remarkable Manner, been made ; and there were few, I believe, who did not think it a fatal Precedent, supposing it to have been made even for a good Cause and a praise-worthy End. What has been done may be done ; what has been done in a great Degree may be done in a greater still. What might have ruined us once, may ruin us another Time. To prevent that Danger which might have come heretofore, and may come hereafter, in one certain Method at least, is one End which will be answered by this Bill.

‘ But it may be said, that all the Evils arising from the Crown’s making a great Number of Lords at one Time, to carry any one great Point, may be prevented in another Way, either by enacting, That Lords shall not vote in the House till a Year or two after they are created ; or by confining the Crown to a very small Number every Year. It must be owned, that this might possibly remedy those Evils particularly ; but it is not at all certain that this would do it effectually, supposing Courts to lay their own Designs long before-hand, and to have any Skill, as some have had, in the Choice of proper Persons. We Commons should remember, I think particularly, that there was a Time when  
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Anno 6. Geo. 1.

1739.

the Power of the Crown was unlimited as to our own House; and could give to new Boroughs the Privilege of sending Members. And was it not a great Evil, that Courts could choose such Boroughs for this Purpose, as they knew wou'd carry on their Designs, and elect such as they should nominate? We reckon it a Happiness that this Evil, which threaten'd the Freedom of our own House, is now cured by the Confinement of our Numbers. And shall we envy the other House the same Freedom, equally good for the Publick, which cannot be procured so effectually, as by the same Confinement upon which we reckon our own to subsist; especially, considering that the Method proposed instead of this, must by Degrees make an Increase of Lords vastly disproportionate to the Commons; and, by calling up rich Commoners, must make that House, of which we are so jealous peculiarly on the Account of Property, I will not say, to represent Property, but what is more, to possess almost all the Property in the Nation.

' Let us be as jealous of Ministers as we ought; that is, as jealous as they give us Occasion to be. But let not that Jealousy drive us out of the Temper, with which every Thing proposed to us demands to be considered; nor divert us from balancing the Good and Evil on both Sides; and determining our selves by that Balance. I leave my self open to new Light; but, 'till that comes, I will be so free as to add, ' Let it not be said by our Posterity (if it be, I fear it will be said with no very kind Reflections upon us their Fore-fathers) that there was a Time in Great Britain, when there was a King upon the Throne who had the Goodness so uncommon, as to be ready to recede from his Prerogative, in order to put our Constitution upon a Foot of greater Certainty and greater Freedom; and that there was a House of Commons not disposed to make Use of a Conjunction, which the Nation has little Reason to hope ever to see again as long it continues in Being.'



Mr



# Mr *Hutcheson's* SPEECH

In the DEBATE concerning the

Number of Land-Forces for the Year 1718.

[See Page 155.]

Mr Speaker,

**T**HE first Footsteps I find of a Standing Army in England, since the Romans left the Island, were in Richard the Second's Time, who rais'd Four Thousand Archers in Cheshire, and suffer'd them to plunder, live upon free Quarter, beat, wound, ravish and kill wherever they went; and afterwards he call'd a Parliament, encompass'd them with his Archers, forc'd them to give up the whole Power of Parliaments, and make it Treason to endeavour to repeal any of the arbitrary Constitutions then made: But being afterwards obliged to go to Ireland to suppress a Rebellion there, the People took Advantage of it, and dethron'd him.

The Nation had such a Specimen in this Reign of a Standing Army, that I don't find any King from his Time to that of Charles the First, who attempted to keep up any Forces in Time of Peace, except the Yeomen of the Guard, who were constituted by Henry the Seventh. And tho' there were several Armies rais'd in that Time for French, Scotch, Irish, and other foreign and domestick Wars; yet they were constantly disband'd as soon as the Occasion was over. And in all the Wars of York and Lancaster, whatever Party prevail'd, we don't find they ever attempted to keep up a Standing Army. Such was the Virtue of those Times, that they would rather run the Hazard of forfeiting their Heads and Estates to the Rage of the opposite Party, than certainly enslave their Country, though they themselves were to be the Tyrants.

Anno 4. Geo. I.  
1717.

Anno 4. Geo. L.  
1717.

‘ Nor would they suffer our Kings to keep up an Army in Ireland, tho’ there were frequent Rebellions there, and by that Means their Subjection very precarious; as well knowing they would soon be in England if call’d for. In the first three Hundred Years that the English had Possession of that Country, there were no Armies there but in the Times of War. The first Force that was establish’d, was in the 14th of Edward the Fourth, when one Hundred and twenty Archers on Horseback, Forty Horsemen, and Forty Pages, were establish’d by Parliament there; which six Years after were reduced to Eighty Archers and Twenty Spearmen on Horseback. Afterwards, in Henry the Eighth’s Time, in the Year 1535, the Army in Ireland was three Hundred; and in 1543, they were increased to three Hundred and Eighty Horse, and sixteen Hundred Foot, which was the Establishment then. I speak this of Times of Peace; for when the Irish were in Rebellion, which was very frequent, the Armies were much more considerable. In Queen Mary’s Days the Standing Forces were about twelve Hundred. In most of Queen Elizabeth’s Time the Irish were in open Rebellion; but when they were all suppress’d, the Army establish’d was between fifteen Hundred and two Thousand; about which Number they continu’d till the Army rais’d by Lord Strafford, in the 15th of Charles the First.

‘ Our thrice happy Situation defends us from the Necessity of a Standing Army, which the Indiscretion of some of our Neighbouring Nations have permitted, to the Destruction of their Liberty. Besides, lying open to continual Invasion, they can never enjoy Quiet and Security, nor take a sound Sleep, but Hercules like with Clubs in their Hands. So that the Halcyon Days which we for the most Part enjoy, must be solely attributed to our Tutelar God Neptune, who with a Guard of winged Coursers so strongly intrenches us, that we may be said to be *media insuperabilis unda*, and not unfitly compared to the Earth, which stands fixed and immoveable, and never to be shaken, but by an internal Convulsion. And yet we have much Talk of a Standing Army which is to be in Time of Peace, but no Body can tell us what they are to do: We know their usual Commission is to kill and slay, but where now is the Enemy? Many talk of this with as much Certainty, as if they were already established, and are pleased to affirm it necessary to have a vast Body of Forces continued on Foot. Whereas the first Project we find for a Standing Army, in the Year 1629, required only three thousand Foot in constant Pay, which were to bridle the Impertinence of Parliaments, and to over-run the Nation, to make

Edicts

Edicts to be Laws, to force upon the People vast Numbers of Excises ; and, in short, to overturn the whole Frame of this noble British Government.

Anno 4. Geo. I.  
1717.

‘ I wonder whose Advocates those Men are, who talk so warmly of this Matter ; for I am satisfy’d none of those brave Britons, who have fought honourably for their Country, ever meant, when the Service was over, to be a Charge, Burden and Terror at home ; nor to disfranchise us of two of our Native Liberties, Freedom from Martial Laws, and Billeting of Soldiers ; and thereby directly to take away from themselves, as well as from their Fellow-Subjects, one Half of the Benefit of the Petition of Right, and in Consequence the other Half too, the Freedom of their Persons and Estates. Neither can it be supposed a gratifying of his Majesty, to establish greater Forces than have been usual in former Reigns in Times of Peace. His Majesty has shewed and expressed so much Tendernefs and Concern for the Liberties and Ease of his Subjects, and even, when the Necessity of the State seemed to require it, was so very cautious in the Use of that Power invested in him by the Parliament, with respect to the raising of Forces for the Defence of the Kingdom and the Suppressing of the late Rebellion, that every Body admired his wonderful Resolution, in trusting his Royal Life and Crown to so inconsiderable a Number of Troops, in the most dangerous Juncture which threatened both. How then can it be imagined that His Majesty inclines to continue a Burden upon his Subjects, which he was so loath to impose when the greatest Exigences of State called for it ? But there are some Gentlemen, who a few Years since were the pretended Patriots of their Country, who had nothing in their Mouths but the sacred Name of Liberty, who in the late Reigns could hardly afford the Monarch the Prerogative that was due to him, and which was absolutely necessary to put in Motion this Machine of our Government, and to make the Springs and Wheels of it act naturally and perform their Function ; I say, these Gentlemen, that in some former Reigns could not with Patience hear of the King’s ordinary Guards, can now discourse familiarly of thirty thousand Men to be maintained in Time of Peace. But let them not deceive themselves, for supposing they vainly think to make their Court this Way, yet they would quickly find themselves out-flattered by the Party they fear, who have been long the Darling of Arbitrary Power, and whose Principles as well as Practices teach them to be Enemies to all the legal Rights and just Liberties of their Native Country ; and so these wretched Bunglers would be made use of only to bring together the  
Materials

ANNO 4. GEO. 1.  
1787.

Materials of Tyranny, and then must give Place to more expert Architects to finish the Building.

‘ And tho’ we are secure from any Attempts of this Kind during the Reign of a Prince, who preserves us from a Captivity that would be equal to what Moses redeemed the People of Israel from ; a Prince whose Life is so necessary to the Preservation of Europe, that both Protestant and Popish Princes have forgot their ancient Maxims, and laid aside their innate Animosities, and made it their common Interest to chuse him their Arbitrator : A Prince in whom we know no Vice, but what has been esteemed a Virtue in others, his undeserved Clemency to his Enemies. I say, was this most excellent Prince to be immortal, we ought in Prudence to abandon all Thoughts of Self Preservation, and wholly to rely on his Care and Conduct. Or had we as certain a Prospect of the Nation’s being perpetually blessed with Monarchs, that shall inherit his Royal Virtues as well as Kingdoms, as we have in the next immediate Heir, his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, there were no great Occasion or Necessity of appearing anxious for the future Welfare of our Country, more than for the present : But since no Virtue nor Pitch of Glory will exempt these Princes from paying the common Debt to Nature ; we ought not to intrust any Power with them which we do not think proper to be continued to their Successors. And doubtless his Majesty will not regret this, or any Thing else that can reasonably be required, in order to compleat that Deliverance, and Happiness of his People, so far advanced by his wonderful Conduct. For to set us within View of the promised Land, with a *ne plus ultra*, is the greatest of all human Infelicities ; and such I shall always take our Case to be, whilst a Standing Army must be kept up to prey upon our Entrails, and which must in the Hands of an ill Prince ( which we have had the Misfortune frequently to meet with ) infallibly destroy our Constitution.

‘ And this is so evident and important a Truth, that no Legislator ever founded a free Government, but avoided this Charibdis, as a Rock against which his Commonwealth must certainly be shipwrack’d, as the Israelites, Athenians, Corinthians, Achaians, Lacedemonians, Thebans, Samnites and Romans ; none of which Nations, whilst they kept their Liberty, were ever known to maintain any Soldier in constant Pay within their Cities, or ever suffer’d any of their Subjects to make War their Profession ; well knowing that the Sword and Sovereignty always march Hand in Hand ; and therefore they train’d their own Citizens, and Territories about them, perpetually in Arms ; and their whole Commonwealths, by this Means, became so many form’d Militia’s :

**Militia's**: A general Exercise of the best of their People in the Use of Arms, was the only Bulwark of their Liberties; this was reckon'd the surest Way to preserve them both at Home and Abroad, the People being secur'd thereby as well against the Domestick Affronts of any of their own Citizens, as against the Foreign Invasions of ambitious and unruly Neighbours. Their Arms were never lodg'd in the Hands of any who had not an Interest in preserving the publick Peace, who fought *pro aris & focis*, and thought themselves sufficiently paid by repelling Invaders, that they might with Freedom return to their own Affairs. In those Days there was no Difference between the Citizen, the Soldier, and the Husbandman; for all promiscuously took Arms when the publick Safety requir'd it, and afterwards laid them down with more Alacrity than they took them up: So that we find among the Romans, the best and bravest of their Generals came from the Plough, contentedly returning when the Work was over, and never demanding their Triumphs, till they had laid down their Commands, and reduc'd themselves to the State of private Men. Nor do we find this famous Commonwealth ever permitted a Deposition of their Arms in any other Hands, till their Empire increasing, Necessity constrain'd them to erect a constant Stipendiary Soldiery Abroad in Foreign Parts, either for the holding or winning of Provinces. Then Luxury increasing with Dominion, the strict Rule and Discipline of Freedom soon abated, and Forces were kept up at Home, which soon prov'd of such dangerous Consequence, that the People were forc'd to make a Law to employ them at a convenient Distance; which was, that if any General march'd over the River Rubicon, he should be declared a publick Enemy. And in the Passage of that River, this following Inscription was erected; *Imperator fove Miles, fove Tyrannus armatus quisquis sistito; vexillum armaque deponito, nec citra hunc annum trajicito*. And this made Cæsar, when he had presum'd to pass this River, to think of nothing but the pressing on to the total Oppression of that glorious Empire.

• Nor did any Nation deviate from these Rules but they lost their Liberty; and of this Kind there are infinite Examples.

• The Story of Denmark is so very well known, and so well related by an excellent Author [*Lord Moleworth*] that it would be Impertinence in me to repeat it; only this I will observe, that if the King had not had an Army at his Command, the Nobles had never delivered up their Government.

• Our Countryman Oliver Cromwell turned out the Parliament under which he serv'd; and this he effected by the Assistance of an Army.

• Some



Anno 4. Geo. I.

1717.

Some People object, that the Republicks of Venice and Holland are Instances to disprove my Assertion, who both keep great Armies, and yet have not lost their Liberty. To this I answer, that neither keep any Standing Forces within the Seats of their Government, that is, within the City of Venice, or the great Towns of the United Provinces; but they defend these by their own Burghers, and quarter their Mercenaries in their conquer'd Countries, viz. the Venetians in Greece, and the Continent of Italy, and the Dutch in Flanders. And the Situation of these States makes their Armies, so posted, not dangerous to them; for the Venetians cannot be attack'd without a Fleet, nor the Dutch be ever conquer'd by their own Forces, their Country being so full of strong Towns, fortify'd both by Art and Nature, and defended by their own Citizens, that it would be a fruitless Attempt for their own Armies to invade them; for if they should march against any of their Cities, 'tis but shutting up their Gates, and the Design is spoil'd.

I would not here be mistaken, as if I advanced any Argument against the Quartering of Guards in and about the City of London; for these being appointed for the Defence and Guard of the King and Royal Family, are obliged to be posted in all such Places wherever the Court resides. Neither do I object against the maintaining of a competent Number of Troops, such as have been allowed our former Kings to be kept in Pay in Times of Peace: But that an Army of thirty Thousand Men should now in a profound Peace be kept standing, is what no honest Man or Lover of his Country will venture to affirm. And to return the last Objection, tho' we should admit, that an Army might be consistent with Freedom in a Commonwealth, yet it is otherwise in a free Monarchy; for in the former, 'tis wholly in the Disposal of the People, who nominate, appoint, discard, and punish the Generals and Officers as they think fit, and 'tis certain Death to make any Attempt upon their Liberties; whereas in the latter, the King is perpetual General, may model the Army as he pleases, and it will be call'd High-Treason to oppose him.

This Subject is so self-evident, that I am almost ashamed to prove it; for if we look through the World, we shall find in no Country, Liberty and an Army stand together; so that to know whether a People are Free or Slaves, it is necessary only to ask, Whether there it an Army kept amongst them? This Truth is so obvious, that the most barefac'd Advocates for an Army do not directly deny it, but qualify the Matter by telling us, that a Number not exceeding twenty or thirty Thousand are a Handful to so populous a Nation as this. Now I think that Number may bring

bring as certain Ruin upon us, as if they were as many Millions, and I will give my Reasons for it.

‘ It’s the Misfortune of all Countries, that they sometimes lie under an unhappy Necessity to defend themselves by Arms against the Ambition of their Governors, and to fight for what’s their own ; for if a Prince will rule us with a Rod of Iron, and invade our Laws and Liberties, and neither be prevail’d upon by our Miseries, Supplications, or Tears, we have no Power upon Earth to appeal to, and therefore must patiently submit to our Bondage, or stand upon our own Defence ; which if we are enabled to do, we shall never be put upon it, but our Swords may grow rusty in our Hands ; for that Nation is surest to live in Peace, that is most capable of making War ; and a Man that hath a Sword by his Side, shall have least Occasion to make use of it. Now, I say, if a King hath thirty Thousand Men beforehand with his Subjects, the People can make no Effort to defend their Liberties, without the Assistance of a foreign Power, which is a Remedy most commonly as bad as the Disease ; and if we have not a Power within our selves to defend our Laws, we are no Government.

‘ For England being a small Country, few strong Towns in it, and those in the King’s Hands, the Nobility disarm’d by the Destruction of Tenures, and the Militia not to be rais’d but by the King’s Command, there can be no Force levied in any Part of England, but must be destroy’d in its Infancy by a few Regiments ; for what will twenty or thirty Thousand naked unarm’d Men signify against as many Troops of mercenary Soldiers ? What if they should come into the Field, and say, You must chuse these and these Men your Representatives, Where is your Choice ? What if they should say, Parliaments are seditious and factious Assemblies, and therefore ought to be abolish’d ; What is become of your Freedom ? If they should encompass this House, and threaten if they do not surrender up their Government, they will put them to the Sword ; What is become of your Constitution ? These Things may be under a tyrannical Prince, and have been done in several Parts of the World. What is it that causeth the Tyranny of the Turks at this Day, but Servants in Arms ? What is it that preserv’d the glorious Commonwealth of Rome, but Swords in the Hands of its Citizens ?

‘ I will add here, that most Nations were enslav’d by small Armies : Oliver Cromwel left behind him but twenty seven Thousand Men ; and the Duke of Monmouth, who was the Darling of the People, was suppress’d with two Thousand ; nay, Cæsar seiz’d Rome it self with five Thousand, and fought the Battle of Pharsalia, where the Fate

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of the World was decided, with twenty-two Thousand : And most of the Revolutions of the Roman and Ottoman Empires since were caus'd by the Pretorian Bands, and the Court Janezaries ; the former of which never exceeded Eight, nor the latter twelve Thousand Men. And if no greater Numbers could make such Disturbances in those vast Empires, what will double or triple the Force do with us ? And they themselves confess it, when they argue for an Army ; for they tell us, we may be surpriz'd with ten or fifteen Thousand Men from France, and having no regular Force to oppose them, they will over-run the Kingdom. Now, if so small a Force can oppose the King, the Militia, with the United Power of the Nobility, Gentry and Commons, what would an equal Power do against the People, when supported by the Royal Authority and a never failing Interest that will attend it, except when it acts for the publick Good ?

' We are told, this Army is not design'd to be made a Part of our Constitution, but to be kept only for a little Time, till the Circumstances of Europe, and of this Nation in particular, will better permit us to be without them. But I would know of these Gentlemen, when they think that Time will be, if it is not now ? We are at present not only at Peace with all our Neighbours, but are also ty'd in the firmest Alliance with France, formerly our most formidable Enemy : Shall we have less to fear from the Pretender to the Crown and his Friends at any Time hereafter, than at this present Time ? Or, are we apprehensive, lest France will keep Treaties with us no longer than is consistent with her own Interest ? Or, that she will be more capable of offending us just after the late tedious and consumptive War, than many Years hereafter when she has had a Breathing-Time to repair the Calamities she has suffer'd by it ? No ; we can never disband our Army with so much Safety as at this Time ; and this is well known by those Advocates for them, who are satisfy'd that a Continuation of them now, is an Establishment of them for ever : For whilst the Circumstances of Europe stand in the present Posture, the Argument will be equal to continue them ; if the State of Europe should alter to the Advantage of France, the Reason will grow stronger, and we shall be told, we must increase our Number. But if there should be such a Turn of Affairs in the World, that we were no longer in Apprehension of the French Power, they may be kept up without our Assistance ; nay, the very Discontents they may create, shall be made an Argument for the continuing of them. But if they should be kept from oppressing the People, in a little Time they would grow habitual to us, and almost become a Part of our Constitution,

Constitution, and by Degrees we shall be brought to believe them not only not dangerous, but necessary : For every Body sees, but few understand : And those few will never be able to persuade the Multitude that there is any Danger in those Men they have liv'd quietly with for some Years, especially when the disbanding them will (as they will be made believe) cost them more Money out of their own Pockets than to maintain a Militia.

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' But we are told, that we need be in no Apprehension of Slavery, whilst we keep the Power of the Purse in our own Hands ; which is very true ; but they do not tell us, that he has the Power of raising Money, to whom no one dares refuse it. For 'tis as certain that an Army will raise Money, as that Money will raise an Army ; but if this Course should be thought too desperate, 'tis only shutting up the Exchequer, and disobliging a few Tally-Jobbers, who have bought them for Fifty *per Cent.* Discount ; and there will be near three Millions a Year ready cut and dry'd for them : And whoever doubts whether such a Method as this is practicable, let him look back to the Reign of Charles the Second.

' But when all other Arguments fail, they call to their Assistance the old Tyrant Necessity, and tell us the Power of France is so great, and Treaties are of so little Force with that perfidious Nation, that let the Consequence of an Army be what it will, we cannot be without one ; and if we must be Slaves, we had better be so to a Protestant Prince than a Popish one, and the worst of all Popish ones, one under the Direction of France. Now I am of Opinion, that the putting an Epithet upon Tyranny is false Heraldry ; for Protestant and Popish are both alike ; and if I must be a Slave, it is very indifferent to me who is my Master ; and therefore I shall never consent to be rul'd by an Army, which is the worst that the most barbarous Conquest can impose upon me ; which notwithstanding we have little Reason to fear, whilst we keep the Seas well guarded.

' It is certain there is no Country so situated for Naval Power as Great Britain. The Sea is our Element, our Seamen have as much hardy Bravery, and our Ships are as numerous, and built of as good Materials as any in the World : Such a Force well apply'd and manag'd, is able to give Laws to the Universe ; and if we keep a competent Part of it well arm'd in Times of Peace, it is the most ridiculous Thing in Nature, to believe any Prince will have Thoughts of invading us, unless he proposes to be superior to us in Naval Power. For the Preparations necessary for such an Undertaking will alarm all Europe, give both to us and our Confederates Time to arm, and put our selves in a

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Posture of Defence. And whoever considers, that the Prince of Orange with six Hundred Ships brought but fourteen Thousand Men, and the mighty Spanish Armado, then the Terror of the World, embark'd but eighteen Thousand, will be assur'd, that no Invasion can be so sudden upon us, but we shall have Time to get ready our whole Fleet, bring some Forces from Ireland, and prepare our own Militia if there shall be Occasion for it; especially in Times of Peace, when we shall have the Liberty of all the Ports of France, and shall or may have Intelligence from every one of them.

' But they tell us such a Wind may happen as may be favourable to our Enemy, and keep us within our Ports; which, I say, as France lies to England, is almost impossible: For if we lie about Falmouth, or the Land's-End, no Fleet from Brest or the Ocean can escape us without a Miracle; and if the Design be to invade us from any Port in the Channel, a very few Ships, which may safely lie at Anchor, will certainly prevent it. Nor is it to be conceiv'd, that the French will be at a vast Expence for the Contingency of such a critical Wind, or will send an Army into a Country where their Retreat is certainly cut off, when the failing of any Part of their Design will bring a new War upon them.

' And here I must confess, that the Misapplication of our Naval Force, which is our known Strength, for these several Years past, is the strongest, as it is the most usual Argument against me; which unriddles a Mystery I did not understand before, tho' I never was so foolish as to believe all the Errors of that Kind were the Effects of Chance or Ignorance, or that losing so many Opportunities of destroying the French Fleet had not some extraordinary, tho' occult Cause; and yet notwithstanding the restless Attempts of our Enemies, and the paltry Politicks, and even Treachery of some preceeding Ministers, this Fleet triumphantly defended us, so that our Enemies in many Years War could not get an Opportunity of invading our Country.

' It is objected, that the Officers of our Fleet may be corrupted, or that a Storm may arise, which may destroy it all at once, and therefore we ought to have two Strings to our Bow. By which I perceive all their Fears lie one Way, and that they do not care, if they precipitate us into inevitable Ruin at Home, to prevent a distant Possibility of it from France. But I think this Phantom too may be laid by a well-trained Militia, and then all their Bugbears will vanish. This Word can be no sooner out, but there's a Volly of Small Shot let fly at me: What! must we trust our Safety to an undisciplin'd Mob, who never dream'd of fighting when they undertook the Service; who are not  
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inur'd to the Fatigue of a Camp, or ever saw the Face of an Enemy? And then they magnify mercenary Troops; as if there was an intrinsic Virtue in a red Coat, or that a Raggamuffin from Robbing a Henroost, in two Campaigns, could be cudgell'd into a Hero. Tho' I must confess the Conduct of the Advocates for a Standing Army industriously enervating this Force, does in some Measure justify their Objections: For the detestable Policies of the Reigns of King Charles the Second and his immediate Successor, were with the utmost Art and Application to disarm the People, and make the Militia useless, to countenance a Standing Army in order to bring in Popery and Slavery; and if any Methods were propos'd to make it more serviceable, the Court would never suffer them to be debated; and such Officers as were more zealous in Exercising their Companies than others, were reprimanded, as designing to raise a Rebellion. This Conduct was exactly imitated in the latter Part of Queen Anne's Reign, when the Militia of England was neglected and discountenanc'd, and that of Scotland attempted to be reduc'd to the Standard in England, by which Means that Force would have been render'd entirely useless in that Part of the Kingdom, the first Scene where the Enemy was to act the designed bloody Tragedy; and when the Army itself was daily more and more reform'd and modell'd to their Purpose of bringing in the Pretender.

' And now it seems some Men in this Reign are taking the Advantage of this traiterous Neglect and infamous Politicks, of those we just now mention'd. But why may not a Militia be made useful? Why may not the Nobility, Gentry, and Freeholders of England be trusted with the Defence of their own Lives, Estates, and Liberties, without having Guardians and Keepers assign'd them? And why may they not defend these with as much Vigour and Courage as Mercenaries who have nothing to lose, nor any other Tie to engage their Fidelity, than the inconsiderable Sixpence a Day, which they may have from the Conqueror?

' Why may not a competent Number of Firelocks be kept in every Parish for the young Men to exercise with on Holy-days, and Rewards offer'd to the most expert, to stir up their Emulation?

' Why may not a Third Part of the Militia be kept by Turns in constant Exercise?

' Why may not a Man be list'd in the Militia, till he be discharged by his Master, as well as in the Army, till he be discharged by his Captain? And why may not the same Horse be always sent forth, unless it can be made appear, he is dead or maimed?

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‘ Why may not the private Soldiers of the Army, when they are dispersed in the several Parts of the Kingdom, be sent to the Militia ? And why may not the inferior Officers of the Army in some Proportion command them ?

‘ I say, these and other like Things may be done, and some of them are done in our own Plantations, and the Islands of Jersey and Guernsey ; as also in Poland, Switzerland, and the Country of the Grisons, which are Nations much less considerable than England, have as formidable Neighbours, no Seas nor Fleet to defend them, nothing but a Militia to depend upon, and yet no one dares attack them. And we have seen as great Performances done formerly by the Apprentices of London, and in the War by the Vaudois in Savoy, the Miquelets in Catalonia, and the Militia in Ireland, as can be paralleled in History. And so it would be with us, if the Court would give their hearty Assistance in promoting this Design ; if the King would appear in Person at the Head of them, and give Rewards and Honours to such as deserve them, we should quickly see the young Nobility and Gentry appear magnificently in Arms and Equipage, shew a generous Emulation in outvying one another in military Exercises, and place a noble Ambition in making themselves serviceable to their Country.

‘ They object, that such a Militia as this is a Standing Army, and will be as dangerous, and much more chargeable. I answer,

‘ That there can be no Danger from an Army, where the Nobility and Gentry of England are the Commanders, and the Body of it made up of the Freeholders, their Sons and Servants ; unless we can conceive that the Nobility and Gentry will join in an unnatural Design to make void their own Titles to their Estates and Liberties ; and if they could entertain so ridiculous a Proposition, they would never be obeyed by the Soldiers, who will have a Respect to those that send them forth and pay them, and to whom they must return again when their Time is expired. For if I send a Man, I will as surely chuse one who will fight for me, as a mercenary Officer will chuse one that shall fight for me : And the Governments of King Charles the Second, and King James, are Witnesses to the Truth of this, who debauched the Militia more than ever I hope to see it again, and yet durst never rely upon them to assist their arbitrary Designs ; as we may remember at the Duke of Monmouth’s Invasions their Officers durst not bring them near his Army for fear of a Revolt. Nay, the Pensioner-Parliament themselves turned short upon the Court, when they expected to give them the finishing Stroke to our Ruin.

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' To the last Part of the Objection, That this Militia will be more chargeable than an Army ; I answer, That since no Man proposes wholly to lay them aside, if we add the extraordinary Expence of maintaining twenty thousand Men to the ordinary Charge of the Militia, it is much more than sufficient to make the latter useful. But if this Objection were true, it ought not to enter into Competition with the Preservation of our Laws and Liberties ; for it is better to give a third Part of my Estate, if it were necessary, than to have all taken from me.

' And tho' it should be granted, that a Militia is not as serviceable as an Army kept in constant Discipline, yet I believe these Gentlemen themselves will confess, sixty thousand of them trained as before, are as good as twenty thousand of their standing Troops, which is the Question ; for it is impossible to have them both used at the same Time, they being as incompatible as broad and clipt Money, never current together ; and therefore the Kingdom must depend wholly upon a Militia, or else it will not depend upon them at all.

' And this by the Way may silence that Objection, that we must keep our Army 'till the Militia be disciplined ; for that will never be done whilst the Court has an Army ; and the same Objection will be made seven Years hence as now ; so that even a small Army can be of no Use to us, but to make our Fleet neglected, to hinder the Militia from being trained, and enslave us at Home ; for they are too few to defend us against an Invasion, and too many for the People to oppose.

' My Lord Bacon in several Places bears his Testimony against a Standing Army, and particularly he tells us, that a mercenary Army is fittest to invade a Country, but a Militia to defend it ; because the first have Estates to get, and the latter to protect.

' I believe no Author ever treated of a Free Government, that did not express his Abhorrence of an Army ; for, as my Lord Bacon says, whoever does use them, tho' he may spread his Feathers for a Time, he will mew them soon after.

' Perhaps it will be said, that the Artillery of the World is changed since some of those wrote, and War is become more a Mystery, and therefore more Experience is necessary to make good Soldiers. But wherein does this Mystery consist ? Not in exercising a Company, and obeying a few Words of Command ; these are Mysteries that the dullest Noddle will comprehend in a few Weeks. Nay, I have heard that the Modern Exercise is much shorter and easier than the Ancient. But the great Improvements in War, are  
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in regular Encampments, Fortification, Gunnery, skilful Engineering, &c. These are Arts not to be learned without much Labour and Experience, and are as much gained in the Closet as in the Field; and I suppose, no Man will say, that the keeping Standing Forces is necessary to make a good Engineer.

As to actual Experience in War, that is not essential either to a Standing Army or Militia, as such; but the former may be without it, and the latter gain it according as they have Opportunities of Action. 'Tis true at present the Army hath been trained up in long Wars, and hath gained great Knowledge: But these Men will not be lost when they are disbanded, they will be still in the Kingdom; and if the Parliament does give them a Gratuity suitable to the Service they have done their Country, they will be ready to resume their Arms whenever Occasion offers.

I conclude this Subject of the Militia with this Observation, that a Standing Army in Peace will grow more effeminate by living dissolutely in Quarters, than a Militia that for the most Part will be exercised with hard Labour: So that upon the whole Matter, a Standing Army in Peace will be worse than a Militia, and in War a Militia will soon become a disciplined Army.

But I desire to know of these Gentlemen, how comes an Army necessary to our Preservation now, and never since the Conquest before in Times of Peace? Did ever the prevailing Party in the Wars of York and Lancaster, as I observed before, attempt to keep up a Standing Army to support themselves? No: they had more Sense than to sacrifice their own Liberty, and more Honour than to enslave their Country, the more easily to carry on their own Faction. Were not the Spaniards as powerful, as good Soldiers, and as much our Enemies as the French lately were? Was not Flanders as near us as France? And the Popish Interest in Queen Elizabeth's Time as strong as the Jacobite is now? And yet that most excellent Princess never dreamed of a Standing Army; but thought her surest Empire was to reign in the Hearts of her Subjects, which the following Story sufficiently testifies. When the Duke of Alanson came over to England, and for some Time had admired the Riches of the City, the Conduct of her Government, and the Magnificence of her Court; he asked her amidst so much Splendor, where were her Guards? Which Question she resolved a few Days after, when she took him in her Coach through the City, and pointing to the People (who received her in Crowds, with Acclamations) 'These, said she, my Lord, are my Guards; these have their Hands, their Hearts,

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‘ and their Purfes always ready at my Command. And thefe were Guards indeed, who defended her through a long and fuccefsful Reign of forty four Years, againft all the Machinations of Rome, the Power of Spain, a difputed Title; and the perpetual Conspiracies of her own Popifh Subjects; a Security the Roman Emperors could not boast of with their Pretorian Bands, and their Eastern and Western Armies.

‘ Were not the French as powerful in Charles the Second and King James’s Time, as they are now, after the long and destructive Wars wherein they have been fince engaged? And yet we then thought a much lefs Army than is now contended for, a moft fupportable Grievance; infomuch that in Charles the Second’s Reign, the Grand Jury prefented them, and the Penfioner-Parliament voted them to be a Nufance; fent Sir J. Williamfon to the Tower, for faying, ‘ The King might keep Guards for the Defence of ‘ his Perfon,’ and addreffed to have them difbanded. And now, which is ftrange to think, fome Gentlemen would make their Court, by doing what the worft of Parliaments could not think of without Horror and Confufion.

‘ They fay, the King of France was in League with our late Kings, fo France is with us; and they would have broke it then, if they had thought it fafe, and for their Intereft as much as now. But they add, we have more difaffected Perfons to join with them; which I muft deny, for I believe his prefent Majefty hath defervedly as much Intereft as any of his Prodeceffors; and if during the latter Part of the late Reign, when the Intereft of the Pretender was fo much advanced by the Miniftry itfelf, and the Friends to his Majefty’s Succeffion affronted and difcourage; if during the late formidable Rebellion, which was raifed to dethrone and murder his Majefty, and the whole Royal Family, and to overturn the prefent Religion, Laws, and Liberties of which he is the Defender and Protector; I fay, if at fuch dangerous Times he had fo many Friends, there can be no doubt but in Times of Peace, when the People reap the Fruits of that Conduct he hath fhewn in their Defence, he will be the moft beloved and glorious Prince that ever filled the Englifh Throne.

‘ I will affert farther, That the moft likely Way of bringing in the Pretender, is maintaining a Standing Army to keep him out.

‘ For the King’s Safety ftands upon a Rock, whilft it depends upon the folid Foundation of the Affections of his People, which is never to be shaken ’till it is as evident as the Sun is in the Firmament, that there is a new formed Deign to overthrow our Laws and Liberties, which I think

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we have no Reason to fear, when I reflect on the wise Provisions his Majesty has made against any future Attempts of that Kind : But if we keep, a Standing Army, all depends upon the uncertain and capricious Humours of the Soldiery, which in all Ages have produced more and violent sudden Revolutions, than ever have been known in any unarmed Governments : For there is such a Chain of Dependance amongst them, that if Two or Three of the chief Officers should be disobliged, or have Intreagues with Jacobite Mistresses ; or if a King of France could once again buy his Pensioners into the Court or Army, or offer a better Market to some that are in already, we shall have another Rehearfal Revolution, and the People be only idle Spectators of their own Ruin.

And whosoever considers the Composition of an Army, and doubts this, let him look back to the Roman Empire, where he will find out of Twenty Six Emperors, Sixteen deposed and murdered by their own Armies. Nay, half the History of the World is made up of Examples of this Kind : But we need not go any farther than our own Country, where we have twice kept Armies in Time of Peace, and both Times they turned out their own Masters. The first under Cromwel, expelled that Parliament under which they had fought too successfully for many Years ; afterwards under General Monk, they destroyed the Government they before set up, and restored King Charles the Second ; and he afterwards disbanded them, lest they should have conspired to exclude him again. The other Instance is fresh in every one's Memory, how King James's Army joined with the Prince of Orange, afterwards our rightful and lawful King.

And what could have been expected otherwise from Men, who call themselves Soldiers of Fortune ? who having no other Profession or Substance to depend upon, are forced to stir up the Ambition of Princes, and engage them in perpetual Quarrels, that they may share of the Spoils they make ? Such Men, like some Sort of ravenous Fish, fare best in a Storm ; and therefore we may reasonably suppose they will be better pleased with a tyrannical Government, such as was that of the late King James, than the mild and gracious Administration of his present Majesty.

But farther, there is a Crisis in all Affairs, which when once lost can never be retrived. Several Accidents concur to make the Disbanding the Army practicable now, which may not happen again : We have a loyal and uncorrupted Parliament, and we have a Prince, whose Inclinations as well as Circumstances will oblige him to comply with the reasonable Desires of his People. But let us not flatter ourselves,

selves, this will be always so ; for if the Army should be continued, they may in Time be accounted Part of the Prerogative, and then it will be thought as great a Violation to attempt the Disbanding them, as of the Guards in King Charles the Second's Time ; it will be interpreted a Design to dethrone the King, and be made an Argument for the keeping them up.

But there are other Reasons yet : The Publick Necessities call upon us to contract our Charge, that we may be the sooner out of Debt, and in a Condition to make a new War if there is a Necessity for it : And 'tis not the keeping great Armies on foot that will enable us to do so, but putting ourselves in a Capacity to pay them. We should put ourselves into such Circumstances, that our Enemies may dread a new Quarrel, which can be no otherways done, but by lessening our Expenses, and paying off the publick Engagements as fast as we are able. For Money is the Sinews of War ; but the Sinews once weakened, the Body is in a tottering Condition. A Standing Army must be fed, and when once without Pay, must live upon free Quarter ; for there is no Reason that Men raised for the Service of their Country, should starve in it.

In this Discourse, I purposely omit speaking of the lesser Inconveniencies attending a Standing Army, such as frequent Quarrels, Murders and Robberies ; the quartering upon publick, and sometimes private Houses ; the influencing Elections of Parliament by an artificial Distribution of Quarters ; the rendering so many Men useless to Labour ; with a greater Destruction of them, by taking them from a laborious Way of living to a loose idle Life ; and besides this, the Insolence and Debaucheries that are committed in all the Towns they come in, to the Ruin of Multitudes of Women, Dishonour of their Families, and ill example to others ; and a numerous Train of Mischiefs besides, almost endless to enumerate.

If the Parliament give the best King a Standing Army, the worst King shall hereafter claim and have it.

The Advocates for a Standing Army tell us, That tho' the Words, ' By being annexed to the Crown, and so becoming a Prerogative, could not be parted with, which was the Cause of the long Continuance of that Mischiefe, after it was known and felt to be so ; yet all this is cur'd by making the Act temporary, and settling a Standing Army only for a certain Number of Years.'

To this I answer, that succeeding Princes, if they find an Army, will keep it, and will not trouble themselves whether the Law be temporary or perpetual. A plain Instance we have of this in the Customs ; for tho' Tunnage and Poundage,

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dage, and the other Impositions, are a Subsidy and free Gift, and the King's Answer to the Bill thanks the Subjects for their good Will; and tho' Parliaments have always us'd such Cautions and Limitations in those Grants as might prevent any Claim, and heretofore limited them to a short Time, as for a Year or two; and if they were continued longer, they have directed a certain Space of Cessation or Intermision, that so the Right of the Subject might be the more evident; at other Times, they have been granted upon Occasion of War for a certain Number of Years, with Proviso, that if the War were ended in the mean Time, then the Grant should cease, and of Course they have been sequestered into the Hands of some Subjects for the guarding of the Seas. Notwithstanding all this, tho' the Parliament so carefully granted their Grants, yet King Charles the First took the Subsidy, without any Grant at all for sixteen Years together; tho' several Parliaments in the mean Time forbade the Payment of it, and voted all those to be publick Enemies that did not refuse it. The like did his Son, the late King James, 'till his Parliament gave it him: And in his first Speech to them he demanded it as his own, by the Name of, 'My Revenue;' and why then shall not another Prince come and say the same, 'Give me my Army,' if he ever have a Parliament to ask? To limit a Prince with Laws, where there is an Army, is to bind Sampson with his Locks on.

' In all Ages and Parts of the World, a Standing Army has been the never failing Instrument of enslaving a Nation.

' The very Reputation of a Force to back them, will make all Court Proposals speak big, tho' ever so contrary to the Interest of the Nation; For there is no debating nor disputing against Legions. It will tempt them to do many Things they durst not otherways think of: What is much out of our Reach, is rarely the Object of our Thoughts: But the Facility of Execution is generally the first Motive to an Attempt. Now 'tis abundantly the Interest of Court Flatterers to live under a corrupt Reign: Then Bribes and Confiscations fill their Coffers. No Man's Wife or Daughter is free from their Lust, or Estate from their Avarice. They extort Presents from the Nobility, Goods from the Tradefmen, and Labour from the Poor. In short, all is their own. And 'tis to be feared, these Gentlemen, unless they have more Virtue than usually falls to their Share, will put Princes upon such Councils as promote their own Advantage. They will tell them, how mean it is to be aw'd by a few Country Gentlemen, when all the Kings of Europe besides are got out of Pupilage, as Lewis the Eleventh

venth called it. They will fill their Heads with a thousand trifling Jealousies of Monsters, Commonwealths, and such like Bugbears: And it hath been difficult even for the wisest of Princes to free themselves from this Sort of Cattle. Nothing but the Fear of Punishment, and the being made a Sacrifice to the Peoples just Revenge, can make such Men honest. But if they have an Army to protect them, under a tyrannical Prince, all these Considerations will be laid aside, and all Arguments will be answered in a Word, The King has an Army, which will cut off all Reply. The King has an Army will be a confuting Answer to every Thing, but a better Army, which, Thanks be to God, and the late King William, we once found at the happy Revolution. But as we are not to live upon Miracles, so we are not to tempt Dangers.

I have stay'd the longer upon this Point, in shewing how inconsistent an Army, under a bad Prince I always mean, is with the Freedom of Parliaments, because they being the Keepers of our British Liberties can ill perform that Office when they have parted with their Power into other Hands. They are the last Resort of the Subject for the Redress of their Grievances: But how shall they relieve others from the Oppression and Insolences of the Soldiery, when perhaps they shall be subject to the like themselves? The Projectors are aware of this terrible Inconvenience, and therefore they have this Expedient, That it shall be the King's Army, but the Parliament shall have the Paying of them; whereby they shall in all future Times be as much the Parliament's humble Servants, as the Parliament their proper Masters.

Much at one I believe: For the Long Parliament had not such a King and Parliament Army as this, but an Army that was all their own; their Creatures, raised, lifted, commissioned, and paid wholly by themselves, and not in Partnership, and that had manfully fought all their Battles: And yet, upon the first Distaste they were pleased to take, they distressed their own Masters, and with an high Hand forced them to banish eleven of their principal Members, Denzil Holles, Sir Philip Stapylton, Glyn and such other great Men. Sir Philip Stapylton dyed in his Banishment. At another Time they would not suffer near an hundred Members to enter into the House, whom they thought not well affected to the Business then in Hand: And at the same Time evilly intreated and imprisoned about forty Members: This they called Purging the House. After they had thus handled them at several Times, in Conclusion, the Officers came and reprimanded the House, bid them take away their Fool's Bauble, the Mace, violently pulled the Speaker out

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out of the Chair, drove out the Members, and locked up the Doors, and so Good Night to the Parliament. The Wisdom of that Parliament was said to be very great by their own Party, but it was Nonsense for them to think, that an Army does not know its own Strength : For without dear bought Experience, any Body may know beforehand, what will be the natural Consequences of a Standing Army, in the Case above supposed of a bad Prince, which may possibly happen in some future Ages, tho' indeed we have a long and glorious Prospect of a better Fate to these Kingdoms. It will be the Conquest of the Nation in the silentest, shortest and surest Way. They will be able to dispose of Men's Lives and Estates at Will and Pleasure ; and what can a foreign Conqueror do more ? If after this the Subjects live and possess any Thing, it will be because they let them ; and how long that shall be, no Body knows.

' Nay, in many Respects an authorized Standing Army may prove far worse than a foreign Invasion, and a Conquest from abroad : For there we have a Chance for it, but this would be a Conquest in cold Blood, which might not be resisted. And thus we should lose the inseparable Rights of the Conquered, which is to rescue and deliver themselves, and to throw off the Yoke as soon as they can.

' It would likewise be a great Aggravation of their Misery to be enslaved at their own Cost and Charges : Besides the bitter Resentments of Unkindness and Breach of Trust, if it be done by those who ought to protect us, and provide better for us, at least should not leave us in a worse Condition than they found us. But above all, if we contribute to this Thralldom by our Folly, Flattery and little self-seeking : If the Destruction of our Posterity be of ourselves, that Reflection hereafter, when we come to foresee the bad Consequences that are yet hid from the Advocates for a Standing Army, will have a Sting in it ; and it will not then be enough to say, Who would have thought it ?

' Governments have their Infancy, their Meridian, and their Decay. But the Destruction of ours is more to be apprehended from ourselves than from a foreign Enemy.

' That unless we have an Army to lye Lieger, we are liable to be over-run by a foreign enemy e'er we are aware, is a Thought that could not possibly escape our Forefathers, yet we cannot learn that ever they put it in Practice, which is a great Sign they did not like it. No, we are well assured, that they would not have suffered a Standing Army to defend the Nation, if they would have done it gratis.

' But what signify the Proceedings of former Ages to us ? say some Gentlemen, the World is strangely altered, and the

the Power of France is become so formidable, that it can never be opposed in the Elizabeth Way. They still keep up a great Army, and how shall we defend ourselves against them, if they think fit to break Treaties with us, and assist the Pretender to invade us, without an Army of twenty or thirty thousand disciplined Troops?

But that we may for ever lay this Goblin, we will admit our Fleets to be kidnapped by an unlucky Wind, whilst the French land twenty thousand Men in our Country. Tho' in Gratitude for this Concession, I hope my Adversaries will grant that their Fleet cannot get back again without our meeting with them, since the same Wind that carries them home will carry us out, or if they will not be so good natured as to allow this, I will undertake for them, for we live in an Undertaking Age, that they will agree we shall intercept their Supplies. Then the Case is thus, that twenty thousand Men, of which few can be Horse, are landed in England without any human Possibility of being supply'd from abroad.

I say, this Army shall never march twenty Miles into the Country, for they cannot put themselves in a marching Posture in less than a Fortnight or three Weeks; and by that Time we may have an hundred thousand Militia drawn down upon them, whereof ten thousand shall be Horse, and as many Dragoons as we please: And if this Militia does nothing else but drive the Country, cut off their Foragers and Straglers, possess themselves of the Defiles, and intercept Provisions, their Army must be destroyed in a small Time. Neither will domestick Enemies, the Favourers of the Pretender, be able in the mean Time to give us much Disturbance; for by the prudent Care the present Government has already taken, and 'tis hoped will take for the future, these Malecontents can never be in a Condition to make any Head, or contribute the least Assistance to a foreign Enemy.

Of this Kind I could give many Instances out of History; but I will give you a late one out of Ireland.

First, I think it will be readily agreed, that there are ten Men in England for one in Ireland.

Secondly, That King William had more English and Scots to join with him in Ireland than there are Malecontents in England.

Thirdly, That our Militia have as much Courage as the Irish: And yet, tho' we had eight thousand Horse, and above thirty thousand Foot in Ireland, and a great Part of the Country in our Possession, we were more than four Years in conquering the rest, and almost a Miracle we did it then. And I believe no Man will deny, if we could  
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not have supply'd our Army from England, but they had all there perished; such is the Advantage of fighting upon one's own Dunghil.

And to shew what Treatment the French would be like to meet with in England, I will put you in mind of the Purbeck Invasion, which was so private, that it was seen only by an old Man and a Boy: And yet the Country thought the Government against them, we had above forty thousand Volantiers in Arms in two or three Days time, who came thither on their own Accord to give them the Meeting; and if they had been there, I doubt not would have given a good Account of them. Our Court, when it was over, shewed their Dislike of it, and questioned the Sheriff of Dorsetshire about it. And tho' we have forgot it, yet I believe the French will remember Purbeck; for it shewed the true Spirit and Genius of the English Nation.

But the Policy of France having now assumed a quite different Face since the Death of Lewis their late King, whose aspiring Temper gave so much Uneasiness to all Europe, all Arguments and Pretences for a Standing Army, that are drawn from any Views of a Breach with that Kingdom, are intirely cut off by this one Consideration.

Indeed, most of the Reasons these Gentlemen advance to enforce their Design, (and which without this additional Confutation, we have already sufficiently repelled) as they were chiefly made use of by the same Set of Men, in the Reign of the late King William, when the Nation with one Voice, as it were, declared for the disbanding of the Army after the Peace; so the Circumstances of those Times added a great deal of Weight to the same, and the Dispute on both Sides was then managed with so much Strength of Argument, as well as Wit and Art, that it was not an easy Matter for the best Judgment to decide the Case justly, so as neither the Safety of the Nation, or the Liberties and Ease of the People from heavy Taxes might suffer by it.

And yet, notwithstanding all the seeming ballancing Difficulties that were then obvious from the reducing the Forces, the Wisdom of the King and his Parliament thought fit to over-rule the Matter, and to give their Determination on the other Side. So that allowing the Projectors Arguments to carry with them the same Force and Energy now that the same had then, yet they ought in good Manners to yield up the Cause, because after the most obstinate, nice, and subtle Controversy and Debate by the wisest Heads

Heads of the Nation, the most impartial Decision of a Parliament has given their Authority against them.

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‘ But will any Man pretend to affirm, that an Argument relating to the Policy of a Commonwealth, is at all Times supported with equal Reason and Necessity? What Absurdities and Contradictions must needs be the Consequences of such a ridiculous Assertion?

‘ It may be averred with the like Parity of Reason, that our Monarchs ought always to keep Garrisons in most of the Cities, Towns and Castles of England, because William the Conqueror found it absolutely necessary to do so, for the securing of his new-gained Kingdom. No: there is nothing within the Compass of State Policy that is not as changeable as the Weather and the Seasons of the Year, and those Alterations are as necessary to the Preservation of the political Oeconomy, as these are to the Body Natural: And there is nothing unalterable in the Nature of a Government, but that which is its very Essence, the fundamental Laws of its Constitution, which cannot be changed or removed without the Overthrow and Destruction of the whole Building.

‘ Now as to the particular Point in Debate. We are to consider the French Affairs and Circumstances in a quite different Light, at present, from the Appearances these had in the Reign last mentioned.

‘ It is true, King William did not a little contribute by his heroick Courage and Conduct, to humble the Pride of that common Enemy of Europe, who aimed at no less than an universal Conquest; but the victorious Confederate Army in the last War, had brought him even to the Brink of Ruin, and would certainly have disabled that State from even a Possibility of raising its Head, or of giving any Annoyance to his Neighbours, had not our Ministry of the late Reign been too easily circumvented and bribed by French Policy and French Gold, to make a most inglorious and dishonourable Peace with that Nation.

‘ However, the dismal Effects of the late War sat so heavy upon them, that these were a Clog and Hinderance to all that King’s ambitious Projects and Designs, who was content to hold what he had preserved from a raging, unfortunate and destructive War, without running the Hazard of any future Attempts.

‘ But besides the miserable State of that Kingdom, occasioned by the War, we are presented with an entire new Prospect of their Affairs since that King’s Death; and they have their Hands too full at Home, to be meddling with their Neighbours. Every Body knows what domestick Heats and Quarrels they have among themselves at present,

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by which they are brewing a great deal of Mischief to the whole Kingdom, and which must necessarily determine in the Destruction of one of the Parties. The Affair of the Succession to the Crown of France, about which great Part of that Kingdom is already divided against the other, may produce as much Noise, Wars and Bloodshed as did lately that of Spain: And Great Britain being likely to have a considerable Share, some Time or other, in deciding the former as well as it had in the latter, which was the Ground of the late War, it is the Interest of both Kingdoms to carry fair with us. But it being stipulated as one of the grand Conditions and Articles of the Peace that Philip should renounce his Pretensions to the French Crown, and he having accordingly solemnly done so, it is evident whom we are to side with, if the Matter should come to be disputed. And this is the Foundation of the tripartite Alliance, Offensive and Defensive, lately concluded between Great Britain, France, and Holland, which makes so great a Noise in the World, and by which we seem to be infallibly quieted and secured from all Fears of any Disturbance from abroad.

But these Gentlemen, when all their other Arguments are refuted, betake themselves to their last Refuge, which they are persuaded can never fail them, and that is the Discontents and Disaffection of the Pretender's Party, who only wait a fresh Opportunity by raising a new Rebellion to restore their King, and revenge their late bad Successes.

I can assure these Gentlemen, that tho' I argue against a Standing Army, and tho' the Jacobites may perhaps be of the same Opinion, yet I am no Friend to the Pretender, but believe myself as firmly attached to the Protestant Succession, and the Interest of the present Government, and am as great an Admirer of his Majesty's Conduct and Personal Virtues, as any of them all. But nevertheless, I hope no Man will discover himself so void of good Sense, as to imagine that it is Treason to entertain any Notion in common with that Party. And notwithstanding they may vainly apprehend, that some Advantage will accrue to their Interest by disbanding the Army, this does not in the least incline me to the Opinion of the other Side.

Besides, I do not doubt but even these Malecontents will make greater Use of the Army, supposing it impossible to draw them off to their Side, by representing in ill Colours their Behaviour in those Parts where they are placed, in Hopes to gain Numbers to their Disaffection. And this is the more certain, if we consider that their first Manifesto's were full of the Grievances of an Army, even before any Army was in Being: Such a prevailing Address did

did they think this Argument to the Repentments of Englishmen. Nor do we find they have been more silent upon this Subject, since the Rebellion has been suppressed. What Noise have we heard of the Riot at Oxford? And of the other little Disorders of the Soldiery, in the several Parts of the Kingdom? And this has not been without its Effect; for many, who were good Subjects to his Majesty, have talked warmly on this Head, being jealous of their Liberties, who otherwise would not have wavered in their Respect to the present Government. How far therefore the Favourers of the Pretender may carry their Success, by insisting on the farther Effects of an Army, established by Law, who certainly cannot commit fewer Outrages, is not difficult to imagine.

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In short, the whole Management of this Project of a Standing Army is ridiculous; but the fatal Consequences of it require deeper Thought. For when we have fooled out ourselves into the Bondage of a Standing Army, how shall we ever get out of it again? Not as the Nation freed themselves from the Court of Wards. We cannot buy it off, for two very good Reasons: No Money will be taken for it; and we shall have nothing to give which is not theirs already; our Estates, Lives and Liberties will be all at their Command.

The Prince of Orange's Declaration is directly against a Standing Army, as a Means to assist all arbitrary Designs, and thereby enslave the Nation; directly against all wicked Attempts of Conquest, and all despotick Government, 'tis full of Liberty and Property in every Part. And his present Majesty, who is endowed with the same generous and heroick Temper, has given undeniable Proofs of the same gracious Inclinations; we may reasonably suppose that the wisest of Kings, in Conjunction with the best of Parliaments, will, in this important Affair, discover the same Sentiments with our glorious Deliverer, to whom we principally owe our present Happiness. That Declaration was so highly valued, and so wholly relied upon by the Parliament then, that it is incorporated into our Laws, as the only Redress of our past Grievances and Oppressions, and the best Foundation of our future Happiness: And with intire Confidence that his Majesty King William would continue to act in Pursuance of that Declaration, the Parliament resolved that he should be elected and declared King; so that it is to be accounted the *Pacta Conventa* of the Government.

Here I know some will say, that the Army condemned by the Declaration, was the late King James's Army kept up in Time of Peace without Consent of Parliament;

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whereas this Standing Army is to be kept up with their Consent.

‘ True it was so, and therefore, it was a Riot and unlawful Assembly every Hour it stood ; and having no Law for it, it might have been presented or indicted ; to no Purpose indeed : But as an Invasion upon the Subject, it might be resisted and pull’d down as a Nuisance, whenever the Nation found themselves able. But suppose this Army had been made Part of the Constitution, and had obtain’d an Act of Parliament for it, what then had been become of us ? They were Aids and Instruments of Arbitrary Government before, but then they had been legal Instruments, and had enslav’d us by Authority. In short, we could not have reliev’d ourselves from them, nor any one else in our Behalf, because our own Act and Deed would have always been good against us.

What I have said against Standing Armies, I would be understood of such as are the Instruments of Tyranny, and their Country’s Ruin, and therefore I need make no Apology to our own, which next unto God, have by their Bravery and Conduct preserv’d our Liberties and the Protestant Religion thro’ Europe, and have so lately delivered these Nations from the unnatural Designs and Attempts of their Fellow-Subjects to dethrone his present most gracious Majesty, who is the Guardian of our Laws and Privileges, and to introduce Arbitrary Power. For if in future Reigns any Designs should be levell’d against our Laws, we may be assur’d these Men would be discarded, and others promoted in their Rooms, who are fit for such Arbitrary Purposes.

‘ Nor do I think it reasonable that our Army should be ruin’d by that Tranquility and Peace, which, by their Courage and Fidelity, they have procur’d for their Country ; and I doubt not but the Generosity and Gratitude of the Parliament will give them a Donative equal to their Commissions, which will amount to no extraordinary Sum, at least, it will be an easy Composition for the Charge of keeping them.

‘ But if there are any Gentlemen who think we can no otherwise express our Gratitude, but by signing and sealing our Posterity’s Ruin, I hope we shall disappoint their Expectations, and not give the World occasion to tell so foolish a Story of us. They know very well, an Army has nothing in it so charming that could induce the Nation to raise one, but upon some pressing Necessity, and not to keep them up perpetually ; nor can the Service perform’d be ever so great, as not to be requited under such a Return.

‘ To conclude : The Honour and Safety of the Nation is the commendable Design ; and so far as any Side is for that,

that, it is certainly in the Right, since all Countries must have some Force to defend them against foreign Invasions and domestick Tumults; for as it was their own Good and Security which occasion'd Men first to quit the State of Nature, and to associate themselves into Governments; so the Raising and Regulation of their Forces must be directed and accommodated to the same Ends. An Island is best situated for Preservation, as having need of little other Force either to infest foreign Coasts, or to protect its own, besides a numerous Fleet, which it need never want. But if it be likewise a Government for Increase, such as ours, its Situation naturally leading to Trade and planting of Colonies; and if it has the noble Ambition of holding the Balance steady between other Governments, of succouring the Distress'd, and grudging Liberty to none, then it must be always provided with a considerable Land-Force. Of this there is no Dispute. Then the only Question is, Whether it be safer to trust Arms continually in the Hands of idle and needy Persons; or only, when there is Occasion for it, in the Hands of sober and industrious Freemen. That the latter can never be dangerous to our Liberty and Property at Home, and will be infinitely more effectually against an Enemy attacking, or invaded by us, I think I have sufficiently proved both by Reason and Experience. But that the former may hereafter prove of the worst Consequence, is a Truth equally undeniable, and therefore I must declare I am for 12,000 Men only.'



















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